This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

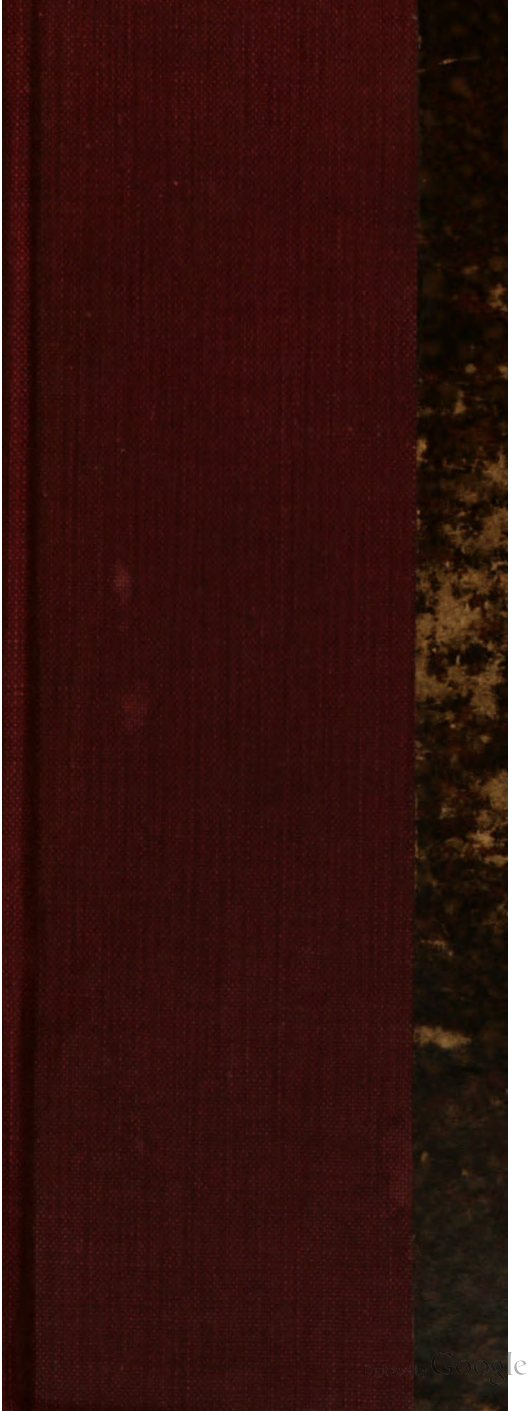
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`


Digitized by Google

SA1062.5.7 Bd. March, 18
X-

Harvard College Library

FROM

The Library Fund
of 1842

28 June, 1845.

NG

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE HISTORY OF THE BUCANIERS OF AMERICA.

by Alexander Oliver Exquemelin.

CONTAINING,

I. The Exploits and Adventures of LE GRAND, LOLONOIS, ROCHE BRASILIANO, BAT the Portugueſe, Sir H. MORGAN, &c.

II. The dangerous Voyage and bold Attempts of Capt. SHARP, WATLIN, SAWKINS, COXON, and others, in the South Sea.

III. A Journal of a Voyage into the South Sea by the Free-booters of America, from 1684 to 1689.

IV. A Relation of a Voyage of the Sieur DE MONTAUBAN, Captain of the Free-booters, in Guinea, in the Year 1695.

EXHIBITING

A particular Account and Deſcription of PORTO BELLO, CHAGRE, PANAMA, CUBA, HAVANNA, and moſt of the Spaniſh Poſſeſſions on the Coaſts of the Weſt Indies, and alſo all along the Coaſts of the South Sea; with the Manner in which they have been invaded, attempted, or taken by theſe Adventurers.

The Whole written in ſeveral Languages by Perſons preſent at the Tranſactions.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

THE FIFTH EDITION.

LONDON:

Printed for T. EVANS, in King-ſtreet, Covent Garden; and RICHARDSON and URQUHART, under the Royal Exchange. M.DCC.LXXI.

Digitized by Google

~~3386.12~~
SA1062.5.7
*

Digitized by Google

THE PREFACE.

IT would be superfluous to say much by way of Preface *to the following work, since it has some years ago been exposed to public view with a general applause, and cannot but be particularly acceptable at this time, because the scenes of all the daring adventures and wondrous actions performed against the* Spaniards, *and therein described, are the places where the* English *courage and bravery are now prepared to exert themselves against the enemy that has so long oppressed our nation: but as there is here drawn together all that ever has been writ in any language upon the subject of* Bucaniering, *and that in a successive order of time, it will be necessary to enumerate the particulars thereof, for the better information and satisfaction of the reader.*

In the First Part *then we have all the expeditions and exploits of the* Bucaniers *of* Jamaica *and* Tortuga, *both* English *and* French, *set forth at large; and more especially what was transacted under the conduct of Sir* Henry Morgan, *by sacking of* Porto-Bello, *burning of* Panama, *&c. in the* West-Indies, *written originally in the* Dutch *tongue,* by Joseph Esquemeling, *one of the* Bucaniers.

The Second Part *contains the no less bold attempts and performances of men of the same kidney under the command of Captains* Sharp, Sawkins, Coxon *and others, on the coasts of the* South Seas; *the whole being intermixed with vast variety of adventures and discoveries, and written by Mr.* Basil Ringrose, *who kept a journal of the said voyage, being personally present at the transactions.*

This

Digitized by Google

This is succeeded by the Journal of a voyage made into the South Sea *by the* American *Free-booters, commencing from the year* 1684 *(about which time the other terminated) and ending at* 1689, *which was written in* French *by the Sieur* Ravenau de Luſſan, *an Enſign amongſt them; and indeed the particulars are all as new as they are ſtupendous and amazing; and for my own part, I muſt ingenuouſly confeſs, that ſince my firſt peruſal, I could never yet think of them without the greateſt aſtoniſhment imaginable, eſpecially ſeeing the whole contexture and narrative is ſo plain and ſimple, that to me it ſeems to carry an evidence of truth in every part and tittle of it.*

I will not take upon me to apologize for many of the actions done, and here related, ſince even in the moſt regular troops and beſt diſciplined armies, daily enormities are committed, which the ſtricteſt vigilance cannot prevent; however, it is very remarkable, that in ſuch a lawleſs body as theſe Bucaniers *ſeemed to be in reſpect to all others, that yet there ſhould be ſuch an œconomy (if I may ſo ſay) kept, and regularity practiſed among themſelves, ſo that every one ſeemed to have his property as much ſecured as if he had been a member of the moſt civilized community in the world. But be thoſe things as they will, a bolder race of men, both as to perſonal valour and conduct, certainly never yet appeared on the liquid element, or dry land, and I hope it will be taken neither for an affront nor a compliment, to ſay the* Engliſh *were always the leading and prevailing party amongſt them.*

THE

Digitized by Google

THE HISTORY OF THE BUCANIERS, &c. IN AMERICA.

CHAP. I.

*The Introduction. The Author * sets forth for the Western Islands, in the service of the West-India Company of France. They meet with an English frigate, and arrive at the island of Tortuga.*

AS the Bucaniers in the West Indies have been so formidable and numerous, that they have interrupted the trade of Europe into those parts, and our English merchants, in particular, have suffered more by their depredations than by the united force of France and Spain in the late war, we do not doubt but the world will be curious to know the original and progress of these desperadoes, who were the terror of the trading part of the world.

* Joseph Esquemeling, in company with Le Grand, Lolonois, Roche Brasilano, Bat the Portuguese, &c.

Alexander Olivier Exquemelin

Digitized by Google

But before we enter upon their particular hiſtory, it will not be amiſs, by way of introduction, to ſhew, by ſome examples drawn from hiſtory, the great miſchief and danger which threaten kingdoms and commonwealths from the increaſe of theſe ſort of robbers, when either by the troubles of particular times, or the neglect of governments, they are not cruſhed before they gather ſtrength.

It has been the caſe heretofore, that when a ſingle pirate has been ſuffered to range the ſeas, as not being worth the notice of a government, he has by degrees grown ſo powerful, as to put them to the expence of a great deal of blood and treaſure, before he was ſuppreſſed. We ſhall not examine how it came to paſs that our bucaniers in the Weſt-Indies have continually increaſed till of late; this is an enquiry which belongs to the legiſlature.

I ſhall therefore ſpeak of the pirates infeſting the Weſt-Indies, where they are more numerous than in any other parts of the world, on ſeveral reaſons.

Firſt, Becauſe there are ſo many uninhabited little iſlands and keys, with harbours convenient and ſecure for cleaning their veſſels, and abounding with what they often want, proviſion; I mean water, ſea-fowl, turtle, ſhell and other fiſh; where, if they carry in but ſtrong liquor, they indulge a time, and become ready for new expeditions before any intelligence can reach to hurt them.

It may here perhaps be no unneceſſary digreſſion to explain what they call keys in the Weſt-Indies. Theſe are ſmall ſandy iſlands, appearing a little above the ſurface of the water, with only a few buſhes or weeds upon them, but abound (thoſe moſt at any diſtance from the main) with turtle, amphibious animals that always chooſe the quieteſt and moſt unfrequented place for laying their eggs, which are to a vaſt number in the ſeaſons, and would ſeldom be ſeen,

Digitized by Google

ſeen, but for this (except by pirates). There veſſels from Jamaica and the other governments make voyages, called turtling, for ſupplying the people, a common and approved food with them. I am apt to think theſe keys, eſpecially thoſe nigh iſlands, to have been once contiguous with them, and ſeparated by earthquakes (frequently there) or inundations, becauſe ſome of them that have been within continual view, as thoſe nigh Jamaica, are obſerved within our time to be entirely waſted away and loſt, and others daily waſting. They are not only of the uſe above taken notice of to pirates, but it is commonly believed were always, in bucaniering piratical times, the hiding-places for their riches, and oftentimes a ſhelter for themſelves, till their friends on the main had found means to obtain indemnity for their crimes: for you muſt underſtand, when acts of grace were more frequent, and the laws leſs ſevere, theſe men continually found favours and encouragers at Jamaica, and perhaps they are not all dead yet. I have been told many of them ſtill living have been of the ſame trade, and left it off only becauſe they can live as well honeſtly, and gain now at the hazard of others necks.

Secondly, Another reaſon why theſe ſeas are choſe by pirates, is the great commerce thither by French, Spaniards, Dutch, and eſpecially Engliſh ſhips: they are ſure in the latitude of theſe trading iſlands to meet with prizes, booties of proviſion, clothing, and naval ſtores, and ſometimes money; there being great ſums remitted this way to England (the returns of the aſſiento, and private ſlave-trade to the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, and, in ſhort, by ſome one or other, all the riches of Potoſi.

A third reaſon is, the inconveniency and difficulty of being purſued by the men of war; the

Digitized by Google

many ſmall inlets, lagoons, and harbours, on theſe ſolitary iſlands and keys, is a natural ſecurity.

It is generally here that the pirates begin their enterprizes, ſetting out at firſt with a very ſmall force; and by infeſting theſe ſeas, and thoſe of the continent of North-America, in a year's time, if they have good luck on their ſides, they accumulate ſuch ſtrength as enables them to make foreign expeditions. The firſt is uſually to Guinea, taking the Azores and Cape de Verd iſlands in their way, and then to Brazil and the Eaſt-Indies, where, if they meet with proſperous voyages, they ſet down at Madagaſcar, or the neighbouring iſlands, and enjoy their ill-gotten wealth, among their elder brethren, with impunity. But that I may not give too much encouragement to the profeſſion, I muſt inform my maritime readers, that the far greater part of theſe rovers are cut ſhort in the purſuit by a ſudden precipitation into the other world.

The riſe of theſe rovers, ſince the peace of Utrecht, or at leaſt the great increaſe of them, may juſtly be imputed to the Spaniſh ſettlements in the Weſt-Indies; the governors of which, being often ſome hungry courtiers ſent thither to repair or make a fortune, generally countenance all proceedings that bring in profit: they grant commiſſions to great numbers of veſſels of war, on pretence of preventing an interloping trade, with orders to ſeize all ſhips or veſſels whatſoever within five leagues of their coaſts, which our Engliſh ſhips cannot well avoid coming, in their voyage to Jamaica. But if the Spaniſh captains chance to exceed this commiſſion, and rob and plunder at diſcretion, the ſufferers are allowed to complain, and exhibit a proceſs in their court, and after great expence of ſuit, delay of time, and other inconveniencies, obtain a decree in their favour; but then, when the ſhip

Digitized by Google

ſhip and cargo comes to be claimed, with coſts of ſuit, they find, to their ſorrow, that it has been previouſly condemned, and the plunder divided among the crew; the commander that made the capture, who alone is reſponſible, is found to be a poor raſcally fellow, not worth a groat, and, no doubt, is placed in that ſtation for the like purpoſes.

The frequent loſſes ſuſtained by our merchants abroad by theſe pirates was provocation enough to attempt ſomething by way of repriſal; and a fair opportunity offering itſelf in the year 1716, the traders to the Weſt-Indies took care not to ſlip it over, but made the beſt uſe of it their circumſtances would permit.

It was about two years before, that the Spaniſh galleons, or plate fleet, had been caſt away in the gulf of Florida, and ſeveral veſſels from the Havanna were at work, with diving engines, to fiſh up the ſilver that was on board the galleons.

The Spaniards had recovered ſome millions of pieces of eight, and had carried it all to the Havanna; but they had at preſent about 350,000 pieces of eight in ſilver, then upon the ſpot, and were daily taking up more. In the mean time, two ſhips and three ſloops, fitted out from Jamaica, Barbadoes, &c. under Captain Henry Jennings, ſailed to the gulf, and found the Spaniards there upon the wreck; the money before ſpoken of was left on ſhore, depoſited in a ſtorehouſe, under the government of two commiſſaries, and a guard of about ſixty ſoldiers.

The rovers came directly upon the place, bringing their little fleet to an anchor, and, in a word, landing 300 men, they attacked the guard, who immediately ran away; and thus they ſeized the

treaſure, which they carried off, making the beſt of their way to Jamaica.

In their way they unhappily met with a Spaniſh ſhip, bound from Porto Bello to the Havanna, with a great many rich goods, viz. bales of cochineal, caſks of indico, and 60,000 pieces of eight more, which, their hands being in, they took, and having rifled the veſſel, let her go.

They went away to Jamaica with their booty, and were followed in view of the port by the Spaniards, who having ſeen them thither, went back to the governor of the Havanna, with the account of it, who immediately ſent a veſſel to the governor of Jamaica, to complain of this robbery, and to reclaim the goods.

As it was in full peace, and contrary to all juſtice and right, that this fact was committed, they were ſoon made ſenſible that the goverament at Jamaica would not ſuffer them to go unpuniſhed, much leſs protect them: therefore they ſaw a neceſſity of ſhifting for themſelves; ſo, to make bad worſe, they went to ſea again, though not without diſpoſing of their cargo to good advantage, and furniſhing themſelves with ammunition, proviſions, &c. and being thus made deſperate, they turned pirates, robbing not the Spaniards only, but their own countrymen, and any nation they could lay their hands on.

It happened about this time that the Spaniards, with three or four ſmall men of war, fell upon our logwood-cutters in the bay of Campeachy and Honduras, and after they had made them prizes, they gave the men belonging to them three ſloops to carry them home; but theſe men being made deſperate by their misfortunes, and meeting with the pirates, they took on with them, and ſo encreaſed their number.

Not

Digitized by Google

Not to detain the reader any longer with these particulars, I shall proceed to give an account of our voyage from Havre de Grace in France, from whence we set sail in a ship called St. John, May the 2d, 1666. Our vessel was equipped with twenty eight guns, twenty mariners, and 220 passengers, including those whom the company sent as free passengers. Soon after we came to an anchor under the cape of Barfleur, there to join seven other ships of the same West-India company, which were to come from Dieppe, under convoy of a man of war, mounted with thirty-seven guns, and 250 men. Of these ships two were bound for Senegal, five for the Caribbee islands, and ours for Tortuga. Here gathered to us about twenty sail of other ships, bound for Newfoundland, with some Dutch vessels going for Nantz, Rochel, and St. Martin's; so that in all we made thirty sail. Here we put ourselves in a posture of defence, having notice that four English frigates of sixty guns each waited for us near Alderney. Our admiral, the Chevalier Sourdis, having given necessary orders, we sailed thence with a favourable gale, and some mists arising, totally impeded the English frigates from discovering our fleet. We steered our course as near as we could to the coast of France, for fear of the enemy.

As we sailed along, we met a vessel of Ostend, who complained to our admiral, that a French privateer had robbed him that very morning; whereupon we endeavoured to pursue the said pirate; but our labour was in vain, not being able to overtake him.

Our fleet, as we sailed, caused no small fears and alarms to the inhabitants of the coast of France, these judging us to be English, and that we sought some convenient place for landing. To allay their fright, we hung out our colours, but they would not trust us.

Digitized by Google

After this we came to an anchor in the bay of Conquet in Britany, near Uſhant, there to take in water. Having ſtored ourſelves with freſh proviſions here, we proſecuted our voyage, deſigning to paſs by the Ras of Fontenau, and not expoſe ourſelves to the Sorlingues, fearing the Engliſh that were cruiſing thereabouts. This river Ras is of a current very ſtrong and rapid, which rolling over many rocks, diſgorges itſelf into the ſea on the coaſt of France, in 48 deg. 10 min. latitude; ſo that this paſſage is very dangerous, all the rocks, as yet, being not thoroughly known.

Here I ſhall mention the ceremony, which, at this paſſage, and ſome other places, is uſed by the mariners, and by them called baptiſm, though it may ſeem little to our purpoſe. The maſter's mate cloathed himſelf with a ridiculous ſort of garment that reached to his feet, and on his head he put a ſuitable cap, made very burleſque; in his right hand he had a naked wooden ſword, and in his left a pot full of ink; his face was horribly blacked with ſoot, and his neck adorned with a collar of many little pieces of wood: thus apparelled, he commanded every one to be called who had never paſſed through that dangerous place before; and then cauſing them to kneel down, he made the ſign of the croſs on their foreheads with ink, and gave every one a ſtroke on the ſhoulders with his wooden ſword: mean while the ſtanders-by caſt a bucket of water upon each man's head, and ſo ended the ceremony: but that done, each of the baptized muſt give a bottle of brandy, placing it nigh the mainmaſt, without ſpeaking a word, even thoſe who have no ſuch liquor not being excuſed. If the veſſel never paſſed that way before, the captain is obliged to diſtribute ſome wine among the mariners and paſſengers; but as for other gifts which the newly-

Digitized by Google

newly-baptized frequently offer, they are divided among the old ſeamen, and of them they make a banquet among themſelves.

The Hollanders, likewiſe, not only at this paſſage, but alſo at the rocks called Berlingues, nigh the coaſt of Portugal, in 39 deg. 40 min. (being a paſſage very dangerous, eſpecially by night, when, in the dark, the rocks are not diſtinguiſhable, the land being very high) they uſe ſome ſuch ceremony; but their manner of baptizing is very different from that of the French, for he that is to be baptized is faſtened, and hoiſted up thrice at the main-yard's end, as if he were a criminal. If he be hoiſted the fourth time, in the name of the Prince of Orange, or of the captain of the veſſel, his honour is more than ordinary. Thus every one is dipped ſeveral times in the main ocean, but he that is dipped firſt has the honour of being ſaluted with a gun. Such as are not willing to fall muſt pay twelve pence for ranſom; if he be an officer, two ſhillings; and if a paſſenger, at their own pleaſure. If the ſhip never paſſed that way before, the captain is to give a ſmall rundlet of wine, which if he denies, the mariners may cut off the ſtem of the veſſel. All the profit accruing by this ceremony is kept by the maſter's mate, who, after reaching their port, uſually lays it out in wine, which is drank amongſt the ancient ſeamen. Some ſay this ceremony was inſtituted by the Emperor Charles V. though it is not amongſt his laws. But here I leave theſe ſea-cuſtoms, and return to our voyage.

Having paſſed the Ras, we had very good weather till we came to Cape Finis Terræ; here a ſudden tempeſt ſurprized us, and ſeparated our ſhip from the reſt that were in our company. This ſtorm continued eight days, in which time it would move compaſſion to ſee how miſerably the paſſen-

gers were tumbled to and fro on all ſides of the ſhip, inſomuch that the mariners, in the performance of their duty, were compelled to tread upon them. This boiſterous weather being over, we had very favourable gales again, till we came to the tropic of Cancer. This tropic is an imaginary circle, which aſtronomers have invented in the heavens, limiting the progreſs of the ſun towards the north pole: it is placed in the latitude of 23 deg. 30 min. Here we were baptized a ſecond time, as before. The French always perform this ceremony at the tropic of Cancer, as alſo under the tropic of Capricorn. In this part of the world we had very favourable weather, at which we were very glad, becauſe of our great want of water; for that element was ſo ſcarce with us, that we were ſtinted to two half pints a man every day.

About the latitude of Barbadoes we met an Engliſh frigate, or privateer, who firſt began to give us chaſe, but finding herſelf not to exceed us in force, preſently got away: hereupon we purſued her, firing ſeveral guns, eight pounders at her; but at length ſhe eſcaped, and we returned to our courſe. Soon after we came within ſight of Martinico. We were bent to the coaſt of the iſle of St. Peter, but were fruſtrated by a ſtorm which took us hereabouts: hence we reſolved to ſteer to Guadalupe, yet we could not reach this iſland, by reaſon of the ſaid ſtorm; ſo that we directed our courſe to the iſle of Tortuga, being the very ſame land we were bound to. We paſſed along the coaſt of Punta Rica, which is extremely agreeable and delightful to the ſight, being adorned with beautiful woods, even to the tops of the mountains. Then we diſcovered Hiſpaniola (of which I ſhall give a deſcription) and we coaſted about it till we came to Tortuga, our deſired port. Here we anchored, July 7th, in

Digitized by Google

in the same year, not having lost one man in the voyage. We landed the goods that belonged to the West-India Company, and soon after the ship was sent to Calde Sac with some passengers.

CHAP. II.

A Description of Tortuga, and of the fruits and plants there. How the French first settled there, at two several times, and forced out the Spaniards. The author twice sold in the said island.

THE island of Tortuga is situate on the north side of Hispaniola, in 20 deg. 30 min. latitude; its just extent is threescore leagues about. The Spaniards, who gave name to this island, called it so from the shape of the land, in some manner resembling a great sea-tortoise, called by them Tortuga-de-mar. The country is very mountainous, and full of rocks, and yet thick of lofty trees, that grow upon the hardest of those rocks, without partaking of a softer soil: hence it comes that their roots, for the greatest part, are seen naked, entangled among the rocks like the branching of ivy against our walls. That part of this island which stretches to the north is totally uninhabited: the reason is, first, because it is incommodious and unhealthy; and secondly, for the ruggedness of the coast, that gives no access to the shore, unless among rocks, almost inaccessible. For this cause it is peopled only on the south part, which hath only one port, indifferently good: yet this harbour has two entries or channels, which afford passage to ships of 70 guns; the port itself being without danger, and capable of receiving a great number of vessels. The inhabited parts, of which the first is called the Low Lands, or Low Country; this is the chief among

Digitized by Google

the reſt, becauſe it contains the port aforeſaid: the town is called Cayona, and here live the chiefeſt and richeſt planters of the iſland. The ſecond part is called the Middle Plantation; its ſoil is yet almoſt new, being only known to be good for tobacco. The third is named Ringot, and is ſituate towards the weſt part of the iſland. The fourth, and laſt, is called the Mountain, in which place were made the firſt plantations upon this iſland.

As to the wood that grows here, we have already ſaid, that the trees are exceeding tall, and pleaſing to the ſight; whence no man will doubt but they may be applied to ſeveral uſes: ſuch is the Yellow Saunder, which by the inhabitants is called Bois de Chandel, or, in Engliſh, Candle-wood, becauſe it burns like a candle, and ſerves them with light while they fiſh by night. Here grows, alſo, Lignum Sanctum, or Guaiacum: its virtues are very well known, more eſpecially to thoſe who obſerve not the ſeventh commandment, and are given to impure copulations; phyſicians drawing hence, in ſeveral compoſitions, the greateſt antidote for venereal diſeaſes, as alſo for cold and viſcous humours. The trees, likewiſe, which afford Gummi Elemi, grow here in great abundance, as doth Radix Chinæ, or China-root; yet this is not ſo good as that of other parts of the weſtern world. It is very white and ſoft, and ſerves for pleaſant food to the wild boars, when they can find nothing elſe. This iſland, alſo, is not deficient in Aloes, nor an infinite number of the other medicinal herbs, which may pleaſe the curioſity of ſuch as are given to their contemplation: moreover, for building of ſhips, or any other ſort of architecture, here are found ſeveral ſorts of timber. The fruits, likewiſe, which grow here abundantly, are nothing inferior, in quantity or quality, to what other iſlands produce. I ſhall name

Digitized by Google

name only ſome of the moſt ordinary and common; ſuch are Magniot, Potatoes, Abajou apples, Yannas, Bacones, Paquays, Caroſoles, Mamayns, Annananes, and divers other ſorts, which I omit to ſpecify. Here grow, likewiſe, in great numbers, thoſe trees called Palmitoes, or Palmites, whence is drawn a certain juice, which ſerves the inhabitants inſtead of wine, and whoſe leaves cover their houſes inſtead of tiles.

In this iſland aboundeth, alſo, the wild boar: the governor hath prohibited the hunting of them with dogs, fearing leſt the iſland being but ſmall, the whole race of them, in a ſhort time, ſhould be deſtroyed. The reaſon why he thought convenient to preſerve theſe wild beaſts, was, that in caſe of any invaſion, the inhabitants might ſuſtain themſelves with their food, eſpecially were they once conſtrained to retire to the woods and mountains. Yet this ſort of game is almoſt impeded by itſelf, by reaſon of the many rocks and precipices, which, for the greateſt part, are covered with little ſhrubs, very green and thick; whence the huntſmen have oftentimes fallen, and left us the ſad remembrance of many a memorable diſaſter.

At a certain time of the year there reſort to Tortuga large flocks of wild pigeons, and then the inhabitants feed on them very plentifully, having more than they can conſume, and leaving totally to their repoſe all other ſorts of fowl, both wild and tame, that ſo, in the abſence of the pigeons, theſe may ſupply their place. But as nothing in the univerſe, though never ſo pleaſant, can be found, but what hath ſomething of bitterneſs with it, the very ſymbol of this truth we ſee in the aforeſaid pigeons; for theſe, the ſeaſon being paſt, can ſcarce be touched with the tongue, they become ſo extremely lean, and bitter even to admiration: the reaſon of

of this bitterneſs is attributed to a certain ſeed which they eat about that time, even as bitter as gall. About the ſea-ſhores, every where, are found great multitudes of crabs, both of land and ſea, and both ſorts very big. Theſe are good to feed ſervants and ſlaves, whoſe palates they pleaſe, but are very hurtful to the ſight: beſides, being eaten too often, they cauſe great giddineſs in the head, with much weakneſs of the brain; ſo that very frequently they are deprived of ſight for a quarter of an hour.

The French having ſettled in the iſle of St. Chriſtopher, planted there a ſort of trees, of which, at preſent, there poſſibly may be greater quantities; with the timber whereof they made long-boats and hoys, which they ſent thence weſtward, well manned and victualled, to diſcover other iſlands. Theſe ſetting ſail from St. Chriſtopher, came within ſight of Hiſpaniola, where they arrived with abundance of joy. Having landed, they marched into the country, where they found large quantities of cattle, ſuch as cows, bulls, horſes, and wild boars; but finding no great profit in theſe animals, unleſs they could incloſe them, and knowing, likewiſe, the iſland to be pretty well peopled by the Spaniards, they thought it convenient to enter upon and ſeize the iſland of Tortuga. This they performed without any difficulty, there being upon the iſland no more than ten or twelve Spaniards to guard it. Theſe few men let the French come in peaceably, and poſſeſs the iſland for ſix months, without any trouble. Mean while they paſſed and repaſſed with their canoes, to Hiſpaniola, from whence they tranſported many people, and at laſt began to plant the whole iſland of Tortuga. The few Spaniards remaining there, perceiving the French to increaſe their number daily, began at laſt to repine at their proſperity, and grudge them the poſſeſſion: hence they

Digitized by Google

they gave notice to others of their nation, their neighbours, who ſent ſeveral boats well armed and manned to diſpoſſeſs the French. This expedition ſucceeded according to their deſires; for the new poſſeſſors ſeeing the great number of Spaniards, fled with all they had to the woods, and hence, by night, they wafted over with canoes to the iſland of Hiſpaniola: this they the more eaſily performed, having no women or children with them, nor any great ſubſtance to carry away. Here they alſo retire into the woods, both to ſeek for food, and from thence with ſecreſy, to give intelligence to others of their own faction; judging for certain that within a little while they ſhould be in a capacity to hinder the Spaniards from fortifying in Tortuga.

Mean while the Spaniards of the great iſland ceaſed not to ſeek after their new gueſts, the French, with intent to root them out of the woods, if poſſible, or cauſe them to periſh with hunger; but this deſign ſoon failed, having found that the French were maſters both of good guns, powder, and bullets. Here, therefore, the fugitives waited for a certain opportunity, wherein they knew the Spaniards were to come from Tortuga with arms, and a great number of men, to join with thoſe of the greater iſland, for their deſtruction: when this occaſion offered, they, in the mean while, deſerting the woods where they were, returned to Tortuga, and diſpoſſeſſed the ſmall number of Spaniards that remained at home. Having ſo done, they fortified themſelves the beſt they could, thereby to prevent the return of the Spaniards, in caſe they ſhould attempt it. Moreover, they ſent immediately to the governor of St. Chriſtopher's, craving his aid and relief, and demanding of him a governor, the better to be united among themſelves, and ſtrengthened on all occaſions. The governor of St. Chriſtopher's received their petition with

Digitized by Google

with much ſatisfaction, and, without delay, ſent monſieur le Paſſeur to them in quality of a governor, together with a ſhip full of men, and all neceſſaries for their eſtabliſhment and defence. No ſooner had they received this recruit, but the governor commanded a fortreſs to be built upon the top of a high rock, from whence he could hinder the entrance of any ſhips, or other veſſels, to the port. To this fort no other acceſs could be had, than by almoſt climbing through a very narrow paſſage, that was capable only of receiving two perſons at once, and thoſe not without difficulty. In the middle of this rock was a great cavity, which now ſerves for a ſtore-houſe; beſides here was great convenience for raiſing a batterry. The fort being finiſhed, the governor commanded two guns to be mounted, which could not be done without great toil and labour; as alſo, a houſe to be built within the fort, and afterwards the narrow way, that led to the ſaid fort, to be broken and demoliſhed, leaving no other aſcent thereto than by a ladder. Within the fort guſhes out a plentiful fountain of pure freſh water, ſufficient to refreſh a garriſon of a thouſand men. Being poſſeſſed of theſe conveniences, and the ſecurity theſe things might promiſe, the French began to people the iſland, and each of them to ſeek their living, ſome by hunting, others by planting tobacco, and others by cruizing and robbing on the coaſts of the Spaniſh iſlands; which trade is continued by them to this day.

The Spaniards, notwithſtanding, could not behold, but with jealous eyes, the daily increaſe of the French in Tortuga, fearing leſt in time they might by them be diſpoſſeſſed alſo of Hiſpaniola. Thus taking an opportunity when many of the French were abroad at ſea, and others employed in hunting, with eight hundred men, in ſeveral canoes,

they

Digitized by Google

they landed again in Tortuga, almoſt without being perceived by the French; but finding that the governor had cut down many trees for the better diſcovery of any enemy, in caſe of an aſſault, as alſo that nothing of conſequence could be done without great guns, they conſulted about the fitteſt place for raiſing a battery: this place was ſoon concluded to be the top of a mountain which was in ſight, ſeeing that from thence alone they could level their guns at the fort, which now lay open to them, ſince the cutting down of the trees by the new poſſeſſors. Hence they reſolved to open a way for the carriage of ſome pieces of ordnance to the top. This mountain is ſomewhat high, and the upper part thereof plain, from whence the whole iſland may be viewed: the ſides thereof are very rugged, by reaſon a great number of innacceſſible rocks do ſurround it; ſo that the aſcent was very difficult, and would always have been the ſame, had not the Spaniards undergone the immenſe labour and toil of making the way before-mentioned, as I ſhall now relate.

The Spaniards had with them many ſlaves and Indians, labouring men, whom they call Matades, or, in Engliſh, Half yellow Men; theſe they ordered with iron tools to dig a way through the rocks. This they performed with the greateſt ſpeed imaginable, and through this way, by the help of many ropes and pullies, they at laſt made ſhift to get up two pieces of ordnance, wherewith they made a battery next day, to play on the fort. Mean while the French, knowing theſe deſigns, prepared for a defence (while the Spaniards were buſy about the battery) ſending notice every where to their companions for help. Thus the hunters of the iſland all joined together, and with them all the pirates who where not already too far from home: theſe landed by night at Tortuga, leſt they ſhould be ſeen by the Spaniards; and under the ſame obſcurity of the

Digitized by Google

the night, they all together, by a back way, climbed the mountain where the Spaniards were posted, which they did the more easily, being acquainted with these rocks. They came up at the very instant that the Spaniards, who were above, were preparing to shoot at the fort, not knowing in the least of their coming. Here they set upon them at their backs, with such fury, as forced the greatest part to precipitate themselves from the top to the bottom, and dash their bodies in pieces: few or none escaped; for if any remained alive they were put to the sword. Some Spaniards did still keep the bottom of the mountain; but these hearing the shrieks and cries of them that were killed, and believing some tragical revolution to be above, fled immediately towards the sea, despairing ever to regain the island of Tortuga.

The governors of this island behaved themselves as proprietors and absolute lords thereof, till 1664, when the West-India company of France took possession thereof, and sent thither for their governor, monsieur Ogeron. These planted the colony for themselves by their factors and servants, thinking to drive some considerable trade from thence with the Spaniards, even as the Hollanders do from Curaçao; but this design did not answer: for with other nations they could drive no trade, by reason they could not establish any secure commmerce from the beginning with their own; forasmuch as at the first institution of this company in France, they agreed with the pirates, hunters, and planters, first possessors of Tortuga, that these should buy all their necessaries from the said company upon trust. And though this agreement was put in execution, yet the factor of the company soon after found that they could not recover either monies or returns from those people, that they were constrained to bring

Digitized by Google

bring ſome armed men into the iſland, in behalf of the company, to get in ſome of their payments: but neither this endeavour, nor any other, could prevail towards the ſettling a ſecond trade with thoſe of the iſland. Hereupon the company recalled their factors, giving them orders to ſell all that was their own in the ſaid plantation, both the ſervants belonging to the company (which were ſold ſome for twenty, others for thirty pieces of eight) as alſo all other merchandizes and proprieties. And thus all their deſigns fell to the ground.

On this occaſion I was alſo ſold, being a ſervant under the ſaid company, in whoſe ſervice I left France: but my fortune was very bad, for I fell into the hands of the moſt cruel and perfidious man that ever was born, who was then governor, or rather lieutenant-general of that iſland. This man treated me with all the hard uſage imaginable, yea, with that of hunger, with which I thought I ſhould have periſhed inevitably: withal, he was willing to let me buy my freedom and liberty, but not under the rate of 300 pieces of eight; I not being maſter of one at a time in the world. At laſt, through the manifold miſeries I endured, as alſo affliction of mind, I was thrown into a dangerous ſickneſs. This misfortune, added to the reſt, was the cauſe of my happineſs; for my wicked maſter, ſeeing my condition, began to fear leſt he ſhould loſe his monies with my life; hereupon he ſold me a ſecond time to a ſurgeon for ſeventy pieces of eight. Being with this ſecond maſter, I began ſoon to recover my health, through the good uſage I received, he being much more humane and civil than my firſt patron. He gave me both clothes and very good food, and after I had ſerved him but one year, he offered me my liberty, with only this condition, that I ſhould pay him 100 pieces of eight, when I

was

was in a capacity so to do. Which kind proposal of his I could not but accept with infinite joy and gratitude.

Being now at liberty, though like Adam when he was first created, that is, naked and destitute of all human necessaries, not knowing how to get my living, I determined to enter into the order of the pirates or robbers at sea: into this society I was received with common consent, both of the superior and vulgar sort, where I continued till 1672. Having assisted them in all their designs and attempts, and served them in many notable exploits, of which hereafter I shall give the reader a true account, I returned to my own native country. But before I begin my relation, I shall say something of the island Hispaniola, which lies towards the western part of America, as also give my reader a brief description thereof, according to my slender ability and experience.

CHAP. III.

A description of Hispaniola.

THE large and rich island called Hispaniola is situate from 17 degrees to 19 degrees latitude; the circumference is 300 leagues; the extent from east to west 120; its breath almost 50, being broader or narrower at certain places. This island was first discovered by Christopher Columbus, anno 1492; he being sent for this purpose by Ferdinand king of Spain; from which time to this present, the Spaniards have been continually possessors thereof. There are upon this island very good and strong cities, towns, and hamlets, as well as a great number of pleasant country-houses and plantations, the effects of the care and industry of the Spaniards, its inhabitants.

The

Digitized by Google

The chief city and metropolis hereof is Santo Domingo; being dedicated to St. Dominick, from whom it derives its name: it is ſituate towards the ſouth, and affords a moſt excellent proſpect; the country round about being embelliſhed with innumerable rich plantations, as alſo verdant meadows and fruitful gardens; all which produce plenty and variety of excellent pleaſant fruits, according to the nature of thoſe countries. The governor of the iſland reſides in this city, which is, as it were, the ſtorehouſe of all the cities, towns, and villages, which hence export and provide themſelves with all neceſſaries for human life, and yet hath it this particularity above many other cities, that it entertains no commerce with any nation but its own, the Spaniards. The greateſt part of the inhabitants are rich and ſubſtantial merchants or ſhopkeepers.

Another city of this iſland is San Jago or St. James, being conſecrated to that apoſtle. This is an open place without walls or caſtle, ſituate in 19 degrees latitude. The inhabitants are generally hunters and planters, the adjacent territory and ſoil being very proper for the ſaid exerciſes; the city is ſurrounded with large and delicious fields, as much pleaſing to the view as thoſe of Santo Domingo; and theſe abound with beaſts both wild and tame, yielding vaſt numbers of ſkins and hides, very profitable to the owners.

In the ſouth part of this iſland is another city, called Nueſtra Sennora de Alta Gracia. This territory produces great quantities of Cacao, whereof the inhabitants make great ſtore of the richeſt chocolate: here grows alſo ginger and tobacco, and much tallow is made of the beaſts which are hereabouts hunted.

The inhabitants of this beautiful iſland of Hiſpaniola often reſort in their canoes to the iſle of Savona,

Digitized by Google

Savona, not far diſtant, where is their chief fiſhery, eſpecially of tortoiſes. Hither thoſe fiſh conſtantly reſort in great multitudes at certain ſeaſons, there to lay their eggs, burying them in the ſands of the ſhole, where by the heat of the ſun, which in thoſe parts is very ardent, they are hatched. This iſland of Savona has little or nothing that is worthy conſideration, being ſo very barren by reaſon of its ſandy ſoil. True it is, that here grows ſome ſmall quantity of Lignum ſanctum, or Guaiacum, of whoſe uſe we ſay ſomething in another place.

Weſtward of Santo Domingo is another great village called El Pueblo de Aſo, or the town of Aſo; the inhabitants thereof drive great traffick with thoſe of another village, in the very middle of the iſland, and is called San Juan de Goave, or St. John of Goave. This is invironed with a magnificent proſpect of gardens, woods, and meadows. Its territory extends above twenty leagues in length, and grazes a great number of wild bulls and cows: in this village ſcarce dwell any others than hunters and butchers, who flay the beaſts that are killed. Theſe are for the moſt part a mungrel ſort of people; ſome of which are born of white European people and negroes, and called Mulatos: others of Indians and white people, and termed Meſticos: but others come of negroes and Indians, and are called Alcatraces: beſides which ſorts of people there are ſeveral other ſpecies and races, both here and in other places of the Weſt-Indies, of whom this account may be given, that the Spaniards love better the negro women in thoſe weſtern parts, or the tawny Indian females, than their own white European race; when as, peradventure, the negroes and Indians have greater inclinations to the white women, or thoſe that come near them, the tawny, than their

Digitized by Google

their own. From the ſaid villages are exported yearly vaſt quantities of tallow and hides, they exerciſing no other traffick: for as to the lands in this place, they are not cultivated, by reaſon of the exceſſive drineſs of the ſoil. Theſe are the chiefeſt places that the Spaniards poſſeſs in this iſland, from the cape of Lobos towards St. John de Goave, unto the cape of Samana nigh the ſea, on the north ſide, and from the eaſtern part towards the ſea, called Punta de Eſpada. All the reſt of the iſland is poſſeſſed by the French, who are alſo planters and hunters.

This iſland hath very good ports for ſhips from the cape of Lobos to the cape of Tiburon, on the weſt ſide thereof. In this ſpace there are no leſs than four ports, exceeding in goodneſs, largeneſs, and ſecurity, even the very beſt of England. Beſides theſe, from the cape of Tiburon to the cape of Donna Maria, there are two very excellent ports, and from this cape to the cape of St. Nicholas, there are no leſs than twelve others. Every one of theſe ports hath alſo the confluence of two or three good rivers, in which are great plenty of ſeveral ſorts of fiſh very pleaſing to the palate. The country hereabouts is well watered with large and deep rivers and brooks, ſo that this part of the land may eaſily be cultivated without any great fear of droughts, becauſe of theſe excellent ſtreams. The ſea-coaſts and ſhores are alſo very pleaſant, to which the tortoiſes reſort in large numbers to lay their eggs. This iſland was formerly very well peopled on the north ſide, with many towns and villages; but theſe being ruined by the Hollanders were at laſt, for the greateſt part, deſerted by the Spaniards.

CHAP.

Digitized by Google

CHAP IV.

Of the fruits, trees, and animals of Hiſpaniola.

THE ſpacious fields of this iſland commonly are five or ſix leagues in length, the beauty whereof is ſo pleaſing to the eye, that, together with the great variety of their natural productions, they captivate the ſenſes of the beholder. For here at once, they not only with diverſity of objects recrate the ſight, but with many of the ſame do alſo pleaſe the ſmell, and with moſt contribute delights to the taſte; alſo they flatter and excite the appetite eſpecially with the multitudes of oranges and lemons here growing, both ſweet and ſour, and thoſe that participate of both taſtes, and are only pleaſantly tartiſh. Beſides, here abundantly grow ſeveral ſorts of fruit, ſuch are Citrons, Toronjas, and Limas; in Engliſh not improperly called crab-lemons. True it is that the lemons exceed not here the bigneſs of an hen's egg, which ſmallneſs diſtinguiſhes them from thoſe of Spain moſt frequently uſed in theſe our northern countries. The date-trees, which here cover very ſpacious plains, are exceeding tall; which notwithſtanding doth not offend but delight the view. Their height is from 150 to 200 feet, being deſtitute of branches to the very top: within it is a certain pleaſant white ſubſtance like that of white cabbage, whence the branches and leaves ſprout, in which the ſeeds or dates are contained. Every month one of thoſe branches falls, and at the ſame time another ſprouts out; but the ſeed ripens not but once a year. The dates are food extremely coveted by the hedge hogs; the white ſubſtance at the top of the tree is uſed by the Spaniards as cabbage in Europe, they cutting it in ſlices, and boiling it in their ollas with all ſorts of meat.

Digitized by Google

meat. The leaves of this date-tree are ſeven or eight feet long, and three or four broad, being very fit to cover houſes; for they defend from rain equally with the beſt tiles, though never ſo rudely huddled together: they uſe them alſo to wrap up ſmoked fleſh, and to make buckets to carry water in, though not durable for above ſix, ſeven, or eight days. Theſe cabbages, for ſo we ſhall call them, are greeniſh on the outſide, though inwardly very white, whence may be ſeparated a rind very like to parchment, being fit to write on as we do on paper. The bodies of theſe trees are of a huge thickneſs, which two men can hardly compaſs with their arms, and yet they cannot properly be termed woody, but only three or four inches deep in thickneſs, all the reſt of the internal part being very ſoft; ſo that paring off thoſe three or four inches of woody ſubſtance, the remaining part may be ſliced like new cheeſe: they wound them three or four feet above the root, and making an inciſion in the body, from thence gently diſtils a liquor, which in a ſhort time fermenting becomes as ſtrong as the richeſt wine, and which eaſily inebriates, if not uſed with moderation. The French call theſe palm-trees Frank-Palms, and they only grow here or elſewhere in ſaltiſh ground.

Beſides theſe palm-trees which we have mentioned, there are in Hiſpaniola four other ſpecies of palms, diſtinguiſhed by the names of Latanier, Palma Eſpinoſa, or prickle-palm, Palma a Chapelet, or Roſary Palm. The latanier palm is not ſo tall as the wine-palm, but almoſt of the ſame ſhape, only the leaves are like the fans our women uſe: they grow moſtly in gravelly and ſandy ground, their circumference being of ſeven feet more or leſs. The body hath many prickles or thorns, half a foot long, very ſharp and pungent. It produces its ſeed like as that above-

Digitized by Google

mentioned, which ſerves for food to the wild beaſts.

The prickle-palm, ſo called, becauſe it is infinitely full of prickles from the root to the very leaves, much more than the precedent. With theſe prickles the barbarous Indians uſe to torment the priſoners they take in battle: they tie them to a tree, then taking theſe thorns, they put them into little pellets of cotton dipt in oil, and ſtick them into the ſides of the miſerable priſoners as thick as the briſtles of a hedgehog, which cauſe an incredible torment to the patient; then they ſet them on fire, and if the tormented priſoner ſing in the midſt of of his torments he is eſteemed a courageous ſoldier, who neither fears his enemies nor their torments; but if, on the contrary, he cries out, they eſteem him a coward, and unworthy of any memory. This cuſtom was told me by an Indian, who ſaid he had uſed his enemies thus oftentimes. The like cruelties to theſe many Chriſtians have ſeen while they lived among thoſe barbarians. But returning to the prickle-palm, I ſhall only tell you, that this palm-tree in this only differs from the latanier, that the leaves are like thoſe of the frank palm; its ſeed is like that of the other palm-trees, being only much bigger and rounder, and full of little kernels, as pleaſing to the taſte as our walnuts in Europe. This tree grows for the moſt part in the marſhes and low grounds of the ſea-coaſt.

The wine-palm is ſo called from the abundance of wine gathered from it. This palm grows in high and rocky mountains, not exceeding the height of forty or fifty feet, but yet of an extraordinary ſhape or form: for, from the root up half-way, it is only three or four inches thick, but upwards ſomething above two-thirds of its height; it is as big and as thick as an ordinary bucket or milk-pail; within it is full of a certain matter, very

Digitized by Google

much like the tender ſtalk of a white cabbage, which is very juicy of a liquor very pleaſing to the palate. This liquor after fermentation, and ſettling of the grounds, becomes very good and clear wine, without any great pains; for having wounded the the tree with a hatchet, they make a ſquare inciſion or orifice in it, through which they bruiſe the ſaid matter, till it may be ſqueezed out, or expreſſed with the hands, they needing no other inſtrument. With the leaves they make veſſels, not only to ſettle and purify the ſaid liquor, but alſo to drink it. It bears its fruit like to other palms, but very ſmall, being like cherries: the taſte is very good, but dangerous to the throat, cauſing extreme pains, which produce malignant quinſies.

The Palm a Chapelet, or Roſary Palm, ſo called by the French and Spaniards, becauſe its ſeed is very fit to make roſaries or beads to ſay prayers upon, they being ſmall, hard, and eaſily bored. This fourth ſpecies grows on the tops of the higheſt mountains, and is of an exceſſive tallneſs, very ſtraight, and hath very few leaves.

Here grows alſo a certain ſort of Apricot-trees, whoſe fruit equals in bigneſs that of our ordinary melons: the colour is like aſhes, and the taſte the very ſame with that of ours in Europe; the ſtones of this fruit are as big as a hen's egg. On theſe the wild boars feed very deliciouſly, and fatten to admiration.

The trees called Caremites are very like to our pear-trees, whoſe fruits reſemble our damaſcene plums, or prunes of Europe, being of a very pleaſant and agreeable taſte: this fruit is black on the inſide, and the kernels thereof, ſometimes only two, ſometimes three or four, as big as a lupine. This plum affords no leſs pleaſant food to the wild

Digitized by Google

boars than the apricots above-mentioned, only it is not ſo commonly found, nor in ſuch quantities.

The Genipa-trees are all over this iſland, being like our cherry-trees, though the branches are more dilated: the fruit thereof is aſh-coloured, as big as two fiſts, which is full of many prickles or points, involved under a thin membrane or ſkin, which, if not taken away at the time of eating, cauſes great obſtructions and gripings of the belly. Before this fruit grows ripe, if preſſed, it affords a juice as black as ink, being fit to write withal; but the letters diſappear within nine days, the paper remaining as white as if it never had been written on. The wood of this tree is very ſtrong, ſolid, and hard, good to build ſhips, ſeeing it laſts many years in the water without putrefaction.

Beſides theſe, divers other ſorts of trees are natives of this iſland, producing very excellent and pleaſant fruits. Of theſe I ſhall omit to name ſeveral, knowing there are learned authors who have deſcribed and ſearched them with greater attention and curioſity; but I ſhall mention ſome few more in particular: ſuch are the Cedars, which this part of the world produces in prodigious quantities: the French call them Acajou, and they find them uſeful for building ſhips and canoes. Theſe canoes are like little wherry-boats, being made of only one tree, hollowed, and fitted for the ſea: they are ſo ſwift, that they may be well called Neptune's poſt-horſes. The Indians make theſe canoes without any iron inſtruments, by only burning the trees nigh the root, and then ſo governing the fire, as nothing is burnt more than what they would have. Some have hatchets of flint, with which they ſcrape or pare off whatſoever was burnt too far; and thus by fire only they give them that ſhape which renders

Digitized by Google

ders them capable of navigating 60 or 80 leagues with ordinary ſecurity.

As to medicinal productions, here is to be found the tree that affords the Gum Elemi uſed in our apothecaries ſhops; likewiſe Guaiacum, or Lignum Sanctum, Lignum Aloes, Aloe Wood, Caſſia Lignea, China Roots, with ſeveral others. The tree Mapou, beſides that it is medicinal, is alſo uſed for making canoes, being very thick; yet it is much inferior to the Acajou, or Cedar, being ſomewhat ſpongy, ſucking in much water, which renders it dangerous in navigation. The tree called Acoma hath its wood very hard and heavy, and of the colour of palm, which renders it very fit to make oars for the ſugar-mills. Here are alſo, in great quantities, Braſilete, or Braſil wood, and that which the Spaniards call Manchanilla.

Braſil wood is now very well known in Holland and the Low Countries; it is called alſo by the Spaniards, Lenna de Peje palo; it ſerves only, or chiefly, for the trade of dyers: it grows abundantly along the ſea-coaſts, eſpecially in two places, called Jacmel and Jaquina. Theſe are two commodious ports or bays, capable of receiving ſhips of the greateſt bulk.

The tree called Manchanilla, or Dwarf-apple-tree, grows near the ſea-ſhore, being naturally ſo low, that its branches, though never ſo ſhort, always touch the water: it bears a fruit ſomewhat like a ſweet-ſcented apple, which yet is of a very venomous quality; for theſe apples being eaten by any perſon, he inſtantly changes colour, and ſuch a thirſt ſeizes him, as all the water of the Thames cannot quench, he dying raving mad within a little while. But what is more ſtrange, the fiſh that eat, as it often happens, of this fruit, are alſo poiſonous. This tree affords a liquor thick and white,

Digitized by Google

like the fig tree, which, if touched by the hand, raiſes bliſters, and theſe are as red as if it had been ſcalded. One day, being hugely tormented with moſquitos or gnats, and being as yet unacquainted with the nature of this tree, I cut a branch to ſerve me for a fan, but all my face was ſwelled the next day, and filled with bliſters, as if it were burnt, to ſuch a degree, that I was blind for three days.

Yaco is another ſort of tree, ſo called by the Spaniards, growing by the river ſides. This bears a fruit like our bullace or damſon-plums, which, when ripe, is extremely coveted by the wild boars, with which they fatten as much as our hogs do with the ſweeteſt acorns of Spain. Theſe trees love a ſandy ground, yet are ſo low, that their branches being very large, they take up a great circumference, almoſt couching on the ground. The trees named Abelcoſes bear fruit of like colour with the Yacoes above-mentioned, of the bigneſs of melons, the ſeeds or kernels being as big as eggs. The ſubſtance of this fruit is yellow, and of a pleaſant taſte, which the pooreſt among the French eat inſtead of bread, the wild boars not caring at all for it. Theſe trees grow very tall and thick, being ſomewhat like our largeſt pear-trees.

As to the inſects of this iſland, I ſhall only remark three ſorts of flies, which exceſſively torment all human bodies, but eſpecially ſuch as were never or but little acquainted with theſe countries. The firſt ſort are as big as our common horſe-flies in Europe, and theſe darting themſelves upon mens bodies, there ſtick, and ſuck their blood, till they can fly no longer. Their importunity obliges to make almoſt continual uſe of branches of trees to fan them away. The Spaniards in thoſe parts call them Moſquitos or gnats; but the French call them

Digitized by Google

them Maranguines. The ſecond ſort is no bigger than a grain of ſand; theſe make no buzzing noiſe, as the preceding ſpecies do, ſo are leſs avoidable, being able alſo, through their ſmallneſs, to penetrate the fineſt linen or cloth. The hunters are forced to anoint their faces with hog's greaſe, to defend themſelves from their ſtings; by night, in their huts or cottages, they conſtantly burn the leaves of tobacco, without which ſmoke they could not reſt. True it is, in the day-time they are not very troubleſome, in caſe any wind be ſtirring, for this, though never ſo little, diſſipates them. The gnats of the third ſpecies exceed not the bigneſs of a grain of muſtard; their colour is red; theſe ſting not at all, but bite ſo ſharply, as to create little ulcers; whence it often happens that the face ſwells, and is rendered frightful to the view. Theſe are chiefly troubleſome by day, even from morning till ſun-ſet, after which they take their reſt, and permit human bodies to do ſo. The Spaniards call theſe Rojados, and the French Calarodes.

The inſects which the Spaniards call Cochinillas, and the Engliſh glow-worms, are alſo to be found here. Theſe are very much like thoſe of Europe, but ſomewhat bigger, and longer: they have two little ſpecks on their heads, which by night give ſo much light, that three or four of them together upon a tree ſeem at a diſtance like a bright ſhining fire. I had once three of theſe Cochinillas in my cottage, which continued there till paſt midnight, ſhining ſo brightly, that without any other light, I could eaſily read in any book, of never ſo ſmall a print. I attempted to bring ſome of them to Europe, but as ſoon as they came into a colder climate they died: they loſt alſo their ſhining, upon the change of air, before their deaths. This ſhining

Digitized by Google

is so great, that the Spaniards, with great reason, call them Moscas de fuego, that is, Fire-flies.

There are also in Hispaniola a great number of Grillones, or crickets: these are of an extraordinary magnitude, if compared to ours, and so noisy, that they are ready to burst themselves with singing, if any person comes near them. Here is not a less number of reptiles, as serpents, &c. but by a particular providence of the Creator, these have no poison, neither do they any other harm than catch fowls, but more especially pullets, pigeons, and the like. Oftentimes these serpents or snakes are useful in houses, to clear them of rats and mice; for with great cunning they counterfeit their shrieks, and hereby deceive and catch them at their pleasure: having taken them, they only suck their blood at first, then throwing away the guts, they swallow almost entire the rest of the body, which they readily digest into soft excrements. Another sort of reptiles of this island is called Cazadores de Moscas, or Fly-catchers. This name was given to this reptile by the Spaniards, by reason they never could experiment that it lived upon any other food than flies. Hence it cannot be said that this creature causes any harm to the inhabitants, but rather benefit, seeing it consumes the vexatious and troublesome flies.

Here are also many land-tortoises; these breed mostly in mud, and fields overflowed with water. The inhabitants eat them as very good food. But here are a sort of very hideous spiders; these are as big as an ordinary egg, and their feet as long as those of the biggest sea-crabs: they are very hairy withal, and have four black teeth, like a rabbit's both in bigness and shape; but their bitings are not venomous, though they can bite very sharp, and do very commonly. They breed mostly in the roofs of

Digitized by Google

of houſes. In this iſland alſo is the inſect called in Latin Millepes, and in Greek Scolopendria, Many-feet; and likewiſe Scorpions: yet by the providence of nature, neither the one nor the other are poiſonous; for though they often bite, yet the wounds require not any medicament for their cure; and though their bitings cauſe ſome inflammation and ſwelling at firſt, yet theſe ſymptoms diſappear of their own accord. Thus in Hiſpaniola no venomous animal is found.

After the inſects, I ſhall ſay ſomething of that terrible beaſt called Cayman: this is a ſpecies of the crocodile, wherewith this iſland abounds. Among theſe Caymans, ſome are found to be very large, and horrible to the ſight; ſome have been ſeen no leſs than ſeventy feet long, and twelve broad; yet more marvellous than their bulk is their cunning and ſubtlety: being hungry, they place themſelves nigh the ſides of rivers, eſpecially at the fords where cattle come to drink, or wade over; here they lie without any motion, reſembling an old tree fallen into the river, floating upon the waters; yet they go not far from the banks, but continually lurch in the ſame place, till ſome wild boar or cow come to drink, or refreſh themſelves; and then, with great activity, they ſeize on them with no leſs fierceneſs, and dragging the prey into the water, ſtifle it: but what is more admirable, is, that three or four days before the Caymans go upon this deſign, they eat nothing at all, but diving into the river, they ſwallow a hundred weight or two of ſtones; with theſe they render themſelves heavier than before, and add to their natural ſtrength (which is very great) thereby to make their aſſault the more terrible and ſecure. The prey thus ſtifled, they let it lie four or five days under water untouched, for they cannot eat the leaſt bit unleſs it is half

rotten; but when it is so much putrefied as is most pleasing to their palates, they devour it with great appetite and voracity. If they can light on any hides of beasts, placed by the inhabitants in the fields for drying, they drag them into the water, leaving them for some days, well loaded with stones, till the hair falls off; then they eat them with no less appetite than they would the animals themselves. I have seen myself, many times, like things to these I write: but beside my own experience, many writers of natural things have made entire treatises of these animals, describing their shape, magnitude, voracity, and other qualities. A certain person of good credit told me, that one day he was by a river side washing his baraca, or tent: as soon as he began his work, a Cayman fastened upon the tent, and dragged it under water: the man, desirous to save his tent, pulled, on the contrary, with all his strength, having in his mouth a butcher's knife (with which, as it happened, he was scraping the canvas) to defend himself, in case of necessity. The Cayman, angry at this, vaulted upon him out of the river, and drew him with great celerity into the water, endeavouring with his weight to stifle him. He finding himself in the greatest extremity, almost crushed to death by that huge animal, with his knife he gave the Cayman several wounds in the belly, with which he suddenly expired. Being thus delivered from danger, he drew the Cayman out of the water, and opened the body, to satisfy his curiosity: in his stomach he found near a hundred weight of stones, each stone being almost as big as his fist.

The Caymans are ordinarily busied in catching flies, which they eagerly devour: the occasion is, because close to their skin they have little scales, which have a sweet scent, somewhat like musk: this

this aromatic odour the flies love, and here they come to repoſe themſelves, and ſting; thus they both perſecute each other continually, with an incredible hatred and antipathy. Their manner of procreating and hatching their young is thus: they approach the ſandy banks of ſome river expoſed to the ſouth ſun; among theſe ſands they lay their eggs, which afterwards they cover with their feet; and here they find a young generation hatched only by the heat of the ſun. Theſe, as ſoon as they are out of the ſhell, by natural inſtinct run to the water. Many times theſe eggs are deſtroyed by birds, that find them as they ſcrape among the ſands: hereupon the female Caymans, when they fear the coming of any flocks of birds, oftentimes by night ſwallow theſe their eggs, and keep them in their ſtomachs till the danger is over, and then they bury them again, and, as I have told you, bring them forth again out of their bellies, till the ſeaſon is come of their being hatched; then, if the mother be nigh, they run to her, and play with her, as little whelps do with their dams. In this ſort of ſport they will often run in and out of their mother's belly, even as rabbits into their holes. I myſelf have often ſpied them thus at play with their dams, over the water, upon the contrary banks of ſome river, and have diſturbed their ſport, by throwing a ſtone that way, cauſing them on a ſudden to creep into the mother's bowels for fear. The manner of procreating of theſe animals is always ſuch as I have related, and at the ſame time of the year; for they meddle not with one another but in May. They call them in this country Crocodiles, though in other places of the Weſt-Indies they go under the name of Caymans.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. V.

Of all the ſorts of quadrupedes and birds of this iſland: as alſo a relation of the French bucaniers.

BEſide the fruits which this iſland produces, whoſe plenty, as is ſaid, ſurpaſſes all the iſlands of America; it abounds alſo with all ſorts of quadrupedes, as horſes, bulls, cows, wild boars, and others, very uſeful to mankind, not only for food, but for cultivating the ground, and the management of commerce.

Here are vaſt numbers of wild dogs; theſe deſtroy yearly many cattle: for no ſooner hath a cow calved, or a mare foaled, but theſe wild maſtiffs devour the young, if they find not reſiſtance from keepers, and domeſtic dogs. They run up and down the woods and fields, commonly fifty, threeſcore, or more together, being withal ſo fierce, that they will often aſſault an entire herd of wild boars, not ceaſing to worry them till they have fetched down two or three. One day a French bucanier ſhewed me a ſtrange action of this kind: being in the fields a hunting together, we heard a great noiſe of dogs, which had ſurrounded a wild boar: having tame dogs with us, we left them to the cuſtody of our ſervants, being deſirous to ſee the ſport. Hence my companion and I climbed up two ſeveral trees, both for ſecurity and proſpect. The wild boar, all alone, ſtood againſt a tree, defending himſelf with his tuſks from a great number of dogs that incloſed him, killed with his teeth, and wounded ſeveral of them. This bloody fight continued about an hour, the wild boar, mean while, attempting many times to eſcape; at laſt flying, one dog leaping upon his back, faſtened on his teſticles, which at

Digitized by Google

at one pull he tore in pieces. The reſt of the dogs, perceiving the courage of their companion, faſtened likewiſe on the boar, and preſently killed him. This done, all of them, the firſt only excepted, laid themſelves down upon the ground about the prey, and there peaceably continued, till he, the firſt and moſt courageous of the troop, had eat as much as he could: when this dog had left off, all the reſt fell in to take their ſhare, till nothing was left. What ought we to infer from this notable action, performed by wild animals, but this, that even beaſts themſelves are not deſtitute of knowledge, and that they give us documents how to honour ſuch as have deſerved well; even ſince theſe irrational animals did reverence and reſpect him that expoſed his life to the greateſt danger againſt the common enemy?

The governor of Tortuga, Monſieur Ogeron, finding that the wild dogs killed ſo many of the wild boars, that the hunters of that iſland had much ado to find any; fearing leſt that common ſuſtenance of the iſland ſhould fail, ſent for a great quantity of poiſon from France to deſtroy the wild maſtiffs: this was done anno 1668, by commanding horſes to be killed, and empoiſoned, and laid open at certain places where the wild dogs uſed to reſort. This being continued for ſix months, there were killed an incredible number; and yet all this could not exterminate and deſtroy the race, or ſcarce diminiſh them, their number appearing almoſt as large as before. Theſe wild dogs are eaſily tamed among men, even as tame as ordinary houſe-dogs. The hunters of thoſe parts, whenever they find a wild bitch with whelps, commonly take away the puppies, and bring them home; which being grown up, they hunt much better than other dogs.

But

But here the curious reader may perhaps enquire how ſo many wild dogs came here. The occaſion was, the Spaniards having poſſeſſed theſe iſles, found them peopled with Indians, a barbarous people, ſenſual and brutiſh, hating all labour, and only inclined to killing, and making war againſt their neighbours, not out of ambition, but only becauſe they agreed not with themſelves in ſome common terms of language, and perceiving the dominion of the Spaniards laid great reſtrictions upon their lazy and brutiſh cuſtoms, they conceived an irreconcileable hatred againſt them; but eſpecially becauſe they ſaw them take poſſeſſion of their kingdoms and dominions. Hereupon they made againſt them all the reſiſtance they could, oppoſing every where their deſigns to the utmoſt: and the Spaniards finding themſelves cruelly hated by the Indians, and no where ſecure from their treacheries, reſolved to extirpate and ruin them, ſince they could neither tame them by civility, nor conquer them with the ſword. But the Indians, it being their cuſtom to make the woods their chief places of defence, at preſent made theſe their refuge, whenever they fled from the Spaniards. Hereupon thoſe firſt conquerors of the new world made uſe of dogs to range and ſearch the intricateſt thickets of woods and foreſts for thoſe their implacable and unconquerable enemies; thus they forced them to leave their old refuge, and ſubmit to the ſword, ſeeing no milder uſage would do it; hereupon they killed ſome of them, and quartering their bodies, placed them in the highways, that others might take warning from ſuch puniſhment; but this ſeverity proved of ill conſequence, for inſtead of frighting them and reducing them to civility, they conceived ſuch horror of the Spaniards, that they reſolved to deteſt and fly their ſight for ever; hence the greateſt part died in caves and

Digitized by Google

and ſubterraneous places of the woods and mountains, in which places I myſelf have often ſeen great numbers of human bones. The Spaniards finding no more Indians to appear about the woods, turned away a great number of dogs they had in their houſes, and they finding no maſters to keep them, betook themſelves to the woods and fields to hunt for food to preſerve their lives; thus by degrees they became unacquainted with houſes, and grew wild. This is the trueſt account I can give of the multitudes of wild dogs in theſe parts.

But beſides theſe wild maſtiffs, here are alſo great numbers of wild horſes every where all over the iſland: they are but low of ſtature, ſhort bodied, with great heads, long necks, and big or thick legs; in a word, they have nothing handſome in their ſhape. They run up and down commonly in troops of two or three hundred together, one going always before to lead the multitude. When they meet any perſon travelling through the woods or fields, they ſtand ſtill, ſuffering him to approach till he can almoſt touch them, and then ſuddenly ſtarting, they betake themſelves to flight, running away as faſt as they can. The hunters catch them only for their ſkins, though ſometimes they preſerve their fleſh likewiſe, which they harden with ſmoke, uſing it for proviſions when they go to ſea.

Here would be alſo wild bulls and cows in great number, if by continual hunting they were not much diminiſhed; yet conſiderable profit is made to this day by ſuch as make it their buſineſs to kill them. The wild bulls are of a vaſt bigneſs of body, and yet they hurt not any one except they be exaſperated. Their hides are from eleven to thirteen feet long.

The diverſity of birds of this iſland is ſo great, that I ſhould be troubleſome if I ſhould attempt to muſter

muſter up their ſpecies; ſo that I ſhall content myſelf to mention ſome few of the chief. Here is a certain ſpecies of pullets in the woods which the Spaniards call Pintadas, which the inhabitants find to be as good as thoſe bred in houſes. Every body knows that the parrots we have in Europe are brought from theſe parts, whence may be inferred, that ſeeing ſuch a number of theſe talkative birds are preſerved among us, notwithſtanding the diverſity of climates, much greater multitudes are to be found where the air and temperament is natural to them. The parrots make their neſts in holes of palmito-trees, which holes are before made by other birds; for they are not capable of excavating any wood, though never ſo ſoft, having their own bills too crooked and blunt; hence provident nature hath ſupplied them with the labour of other birds, called carpenters: theſe are no bigger than ſparrows, yet have ſuch hard and piercing bills, that no iron inſtrument can be made fitter to excavate any tree, though never ſo ſolid and hard; and theſe holes the parrots getting poſſeſſion of, build in them their neſts. There are pigeons of all ſorts, which are very uſeful to the inhabitants: thoſe of this iſland obſerve the ſame ſeaſons we mentioned before, ſpeaking of Tortuga. Betwixt the pigeons of both iſlands is little or no difference, only that theſe of Hiſpaniola are ſomething fatter and bigger. Another ſort of ſmall birds here are called Cabreros, or goat-keepers; theſe are very like others called Heronſetas, and chiefly feed upon crabs of the ſea. In theſe birds are found ſeven diſtinct bladders of gall, and their fleſh is as bitter as aloes. Crows or ravens, more troubleſome than uſeful, do here make a hideous noiſe through the whole iſland: their ordinary food is the fleſh of wild dogs, or the carcaſes of thoſe beaſts the bucaniers kill and throw away.

Theſe

Theſe clamorous birds no ſooner hear the report of a fowling-piece or muſket, but they gather from all ſides in flocks, and fill the air and woods with their unpleaſant notes; they are nothing different from thoſe of Europe.

It is now time to ſpeak of the French who inhabit great part of this iſland. We have already told how they came firſt into theſe parts; we ſhall now only deſcribe their manner of living, cuſtoms, and ordinary employments. The callings or profeſſions they follow are generally but three, either to hunt or plant, or elſe to rove the ſeas as pirates. It is a conſtant cuſtom among them all, to ſeek out a comrade or companion, whom we may call partner in their fortunes, with whom they join the whole ſtock of what they poſſeſs, towards a common gain. This is done by articles agreed to, and reciprocally ſigned. Some conſtitute their ſurviving companion abſolute heir to what is left by the death of the firſt; others, if they be married, leave their eſtates to their wives and children; others, to other relations: this done, every one applies himſelf to his calling, which is always one of the three afore-mentioned.

The hunters are again ſubdivided into two ſorts; for ſome of theſe only hunt wild bulls and cows, others only wild boars. The firſt of theſe are called bucaniers, and not long ago were about 600 on this iſland, but now they are reckoned about 300. The cauſe has been the great decreaſe of wild cattle, which has been ſuch, that far from getting, they now are but poor in their trade. When the bucaniers go into the woods to hunt for wild bulls and cows, they commonly remain there a twelvemonth or two years, without returning home. After the hunt is over, and the ſpoil divided, they commonly ſail to Tortuga, to provide themſelves with guns, powder, and ſhot, and other neceſſaries,

Digitized by Google

ries for another expedition; the reſt of their gains they ſpend prodigally, giving themſelves to all manner of vices and debauchery, particularly to drunkenneſs, which they practiſe moſtly with brandy; this they drink as liberally as the Spaniards do water: ſometimes they buy together a pipe of wine, this they ſtave at one end, and never ceaſe drinking till it is out. Thus ſottiſhly they live till they have no money left, and as freely gratify their luſts; for which they find more women than they can uſe; for all the tavern-keepers and ſtrumpets wait for theſe lewd bucaniers, juſt as they do at Amſterdam for the arrival of the Eaſt-India fleet. The ſaid bucaniers are very cruel and tyrannical to their ſervants, ſo that commonly they had rather be galley-ſlaves, or ſaw Braſil wood in the raſp houſes of Holland, than ſerve ſuch barbarous maſters.

The ſecond ſort hunt nothing but wild boars; the fleſh of theſe they ſalt, and ſell it ſo to the planters. Theſe hunters have the ſame vicious cuſtoms, and are as much addicted to debauchery as the former; but their manner of hunting is different from that in Europe; for theſe bucaniers have certain places deſigned for hunting, where they live for three or four months, and ſometimes a whole year. Such places are called Deza Boulan; and in theſe, with only the company of five or ſix friends, they continue all the ſaid time in mutual friendſhip. The firſt bucaniers many times agree with planters to furniſh them with meat all the year at a certain price; the payment hereof is often made with two or three hundred weight of tobacco in the leaf; but the planters commonly into the bargain furniſh them with a ſervant, whom they ſend to help; to the ſervant they afford ſufficient neceſſaries for the purpoſe, eſpecially of powder and ſhot to hunt withal.

The

Digitized by Google

The planters began to cultivate and plant the iſle of Tortuga, anno 1598. The firſt plantation was of tobacco, which grew to admiration, being likewiſe very good; but by reaſon of the ſmallneſs of the iſland they could plant but little, there being many pieces of land there that were not fit to produce it. They attempted likewiſe to make ſugar, but by reaſon of the great expences they could not bring it to any effect; ſo that the greateſt part of the inhabitants, as we ſaid before, betook themſelves to hunting, and the remaining part to piracy. At laſt the hunters finding themſelves unable to ſubſiſt by that profeſſion, began to ſeek out lands fit for culture, and in theſe they alſo planted tobacco. The firſt land they choſe was Cal de Sac, towards the ſouth part of the iſland: this ground they divided into ſeveral quarters, which were called, the Great Amea, Niep, Rochelois, the Little Grave, the Great Grave, and the Augame. Here they encreaſed ſo, that now there are above 2000 planters. At firſt they endured much hardſhip, becauſe while they were buſied about their huſbandry, they could not go out of the iſland for proviſions: this hardſhip was increaſed by the neceſſity of grubbing, cutting down, burning and digging, to extirpate the innumerable roots of ſhrubs and trees; for when the French poſſeſſed themſelves thereof, it was overgrown with woods very thick, and theſe only inhabited by wild boars. The method they took was, to divide themſelves into ſmall companies of two or three perſons together, and theſe companies to ſeparate far enough from each other, provided with a few hatchets, and ſome coarſe proviſion: thus they uſed to go into the woods, and there to build huts only of a few rafters and boughs of trees. They firſt rooted up the ſhrubs and little trees, then cut down the great ones; theſe

Digitized by Google

theſe they heaped up, and then ſet on fire; but they were conſtrained to grub and dig up the roots as well as they could. The firſt ſeed they ſowed was beans; theſe in thoſe countries ripen and dry always in ſix weeks.

The ſecond fruit neceſſary to human life, which here they tried, was potatoes; theſe come not to perfection in leſs than four or five months. On theſe they moſt commonly make their breakfaſts; they dreſs them only by boiling them in a kettle with fair water, then they cover them with cloth for half an hour, whereby they become as ſoft as boiled cheſnuts. Of the ſaid potatoes alſo they make a drink called maiz; they cut them into ſmall ſlices, and cover them with hot water; when they are well imbibed, they preſs them through a coarſe cloth, and the liquor that comes, though ſomething thick, they keep in veſſels made for that purpoſe: here, after ſetting two or three days, it works, and having thrown off its lees, is fit for drink. They uſe it with great delight; and though the taſte is ſomewhat ſour, yet it is very pleaſant, ſubſtantial, and wholeſome. The invention of this is owing to the Indians, as well as of many other things, which thoſe barbarians found out for the preſervation and pleaſure of life.

The third fruit the newly cultivated land afforded was Mandioca, which the Indians call Cazave. This root comes not to perfection till after eight or nine months, or perhaps a year; being thoroughly ripe, it may be left in the ground for eleven or twelve months without fear of corruption; but this time paſt, they muſt be uſed one way or other, otherwiſe they rot. Of theſe roots is made a ſort of granulous flour or meal, dry and white, which ſupplies the want of common bread of wheat, whereof the fields are altogether barren: for this purpoſe

Digitized by Google

purpoſe they have certain graters made either of copper or tin, wherewith they grate theſe roots, juſt as they do Mirio in Holland. By the bye, let me tell you, Mirio is a root of a very biting taſte, like ſtrong muſtard, wherewith they make ſauces for ſome ſorts of fiſh. When they have grated as much Cazave root as will ſerve the turn, they put the gratings into bags or ſacks of coarſe linen, and preſs out all the moiſture; then they ſieve the gratings, leaving them very like ſaw-duſt: the meal thus prepared, they lay on planches of iron made very hot, on which it is converted into very thin cakes; theſe are placed in the ſun, on the tops of houſes, to be thoroughly dried; and leſt they ſhould loſe any part of their meal, what did not paſs the ſieve is made up in rolls five or ſix inches thick; theſe are placed one upon another, and left ſo till they begin to corrupt: of this they make a liquor called Veycou, which they find very excellent, and certainly is not inferior to our Engliſh beer.

Bananas are another fruit of which is made excellent liquor, which, in ſtrength and pleaſantneſs of taſte, may be compared to the beſt wines of Spain; but this liquor eaſily cauſes drunkenneſs, and frequently inflames the throat, and produces dangerous diſeaſes in that part. Guineas Agudos is alſo another fruit whereof they make drink, but not ſo ſtrong as the precedent: howbeit, one and the other are frequently mixed with water to quench thirſt.

After they had cultivated theſe plantations with all ſorts of roots and fruits neceſſary for human life, they began to plant tobacco for trade; the manner whereof is thus: they make beds of earth twelve feet ſquare, theſe they cover with palmite leaves, that the rays of the ſun may not reach the earth; they

Digitized by Google

they water them when it doth not rain, as we do our gardens in Europe: being grown about the bigneſs of young lettuce, they tranſplant it into ſtraight lines in ſpacious fields, ſetting every plant three feet diſtant from each other. The fitteſt ſeaſon of the year for theſe things is from January till the end of March, theſe being the months wherein moſt rains fall. Tobacco muſt be weeded very carefully, ſeeing the leaſt root of any other herb coming near it hinders its growth. When it is grown to the height of about one foot and a half, they cut off the tops to hinder the ſtalks and leaves from ſhooting up too high, that the whole plant may receive greater ſtrength from the earth. When it comes to full perfection, they prepare certain apartments of fifty or ſixty feet long, and thirty or forty broad; theſe they fill with poles and rafters, and on them lay the green tobacco to dry. When it is thoroughly dried, they ſtrip the leaf from the ſtalks, and cauſe it to be rolled up by certain people, who are employed in this work and no other; to theſe they afford for their labour the tenth part of what they make up. This property is peculiar to tobacco, which I ſhall not omit, that if, while it is in the ground, the leaf be pulled off from the ſtalk, it ſprouts again no leſs than four times a-year. Here I would alſo give an account of the manner of making ſugar, indico, and gimbes; but ſeeing theſe things are not planted in thoſe parts, I paſs them over.

The French planters of Hiſpaniola have always been ſubject to the governors of Tortuga, but not without much reluctancy and grudging. In 1644 the Weſt-India company of France laid the foundations of a colony in Tortuga; under which the planters of Hiſpaniola were comprehended as ſubjects: this decree diſguſted the ſaid planters, they taking

Digitized by Google

taking it very ill to be reputed ſubjects to a private company of men, who had no authority to make them ſo, eſpecially being in a country which belonged not to the king of France; hereupon they reſolved to work no longer for the ſaid company; and this reſolution was ſufficient to compel the company to a total diſſolution of the colony. But at laſt the governor of Tortuga, who was pretty well ſtocked with planters, conceiving he could more more eaſily force them than the Weſt-India company, found an invention to draw them to his obedience; he promiſed them he would put off their merchandize, and cauſe ſuch returns to be made from France as they ſhould like; withal, he dealt with the merchants underhand, that all ſhips ſhould come conſigned to him, and no perſons ſhould correſpond with thoſe planters of Hiſpaniola, thinking thereby to avoid many inconveniences, and compel them through want of all things to obey. Thus he not only obtained the obedience he deſigned, but ſome merchants, who had promiſed to deal with them and viſit them no longer, did it.

Notwithſtanding what hath been ſaid, anno 1669, two ſhips from Holland arrived at Hiſpaniola with all ſorts of merchandize; with theſe preſently the planters reſolved to deal, and with the Dutch nation for the future, thinking hereby to withdraw their obedience from the governor of Tortuga, and by fruſtrating his deſigns, revenge themſelves of what they had endured under his government. Not long after the arrival of the Hollanders, the governor of Tortuga came to viſit the plantation of Hiſpaniola, in a veſſel very well armed; but the planters not only forbid him to come aſhore, but with their guns forced him to retire faſter than he came. Thus the Hollanders began a trade with theſe people; but ſuch relations and friends as the governor

Digitized by Google

governor had in Hiſpaniola, uſed all the endeavours they were capable of to impede the commerce. This being underſtood by the planters, they ſent them word, 'That in caſe they laid not aſide 'their artifices for the hindrance of the commerce 'which was begun with the Hollanders, they 'ſhould every one aſſuredly be torn in pieces.' Moreover, to oblige farther the Hollanders, and contemn the governor and his party, they gave greater ladings unto the two ſhips than they could deſire, with many gifts and preſents unto the officers and mariners, whereby they ſent them very well contented to their own country. The Hollanders came again very punctually according to their promiſe, and found the planters under a greater indignation than before againſt the governor, either becauſe of the great ſatisfaction they had already conceived of this commerce with the Dutch, or that by their means they hoped to ſubſiſt by themſelves without any farther dependence from the French nation. However it was ſuddenly after they ſet up another reſolution more ſtrange than the precedent; the tenor whereof was, 'That they would 'go unto the iſland of Tortuga, and cut the governor 'in pieces.' Hereupon they gathered together as many canoes as they could, and ſet ſail from Hiſpaniola, with deſign not only to kill the governor, but alſo to poſſeſs themſelves of the whole iſland. This they thought they could not but eaſily perform, by reaſon of all neceſſary aſſiſtance, which they believed would at any time be ſent them from Holland; by which means they were ready determined in their minds to erect themſelves into a new commonwealth, independent of the crown of France. But no ſooner had they begun this great revolution of their little ſtate, when they received news of a war declared between the two nations

in

Digitized by Google

in Europe; this wrought such a consternation in their minds, as caused them to give over that enterprize, and retire without attempting any thing.

In the mean time the governor of Tortuga sent into France for aid towards his own security, and the reduction of those people unto their former obedience; this was granted him, and two men of war were sent unto Tortuga, with orders to be at his command. Having received such a considerable support, he sent them very well equipped to the island of Hispaniola; being arrived at that place, they landed part of the forces, with a design to force the people to the obedience of those whom they hated in their hearts. But the planters seeing the arrival of these two frigates, and not being ignorant of their design, fled into the woods, abandoning their houses, and many of their goods, which they left behind; these were immediately rifled, and burnt by the French without compassion, not sparing the least cottage. Afterwards the governor began to relent, and let them know, that if they would return to his obedience he would hearken to an accommodation: hereupon the planters, finding they could expect no relief, surrendered to the governor, upon articles made and signed on both sides; but these were not strictly observed, for he commanded two of the chief of them to be hanged; the residue were pardoned, and withal he gave them free leave to trade with any nation for whatsoever they found necessary. With this liberty they began to recultivate their plantations, which yielded a great quantity of very good tobacco; they selling yearly to the sum of 20 or 30,000 rolls.

The planters here have but very few slaves, for want of which themselves and their servants are constrained to do all the drudgery. These ser-

Digitized by Google

vants commonly bind themſelves to their maſters for three years; but their maſters having no conſciences often traffick with their bodies as with horſes at a fair, ſelling them to other maſters as they ſell negroes: yea, to advance this trade, ſome perſons go purpoſely into France (and likewiſe to England and other countries) to pick up young men or boys, whom they inveigle and tranſport; and having once got them into theſe iſlands, they work them like horſes, the toil impoſed on them being much harder than what they enjoin the negroes their ſlaves; for theſe they endeavour to preſerve, being their perpetual bondmen: but for their white ſervants they care not whether they live or die, ſeeing they are to ſerve them no longer than three years. Theſe miſerable kidnapped people are frequently ſubject to a diſeaſe, which in theſe parts is called Coma, being a total privation of their ſenſes. This diſtemper is judged to proceed from their hard uſage, and the change of their native climate; and there being often among theſe ſome of good quality, tender education, and ſoft conſtitutions, they are more eaſily ſeized with this diſeaſe, and others of thoſe countries, than thoſe of harder bodies and laborious lives. Beſide the hard uſage in their diet, apparel, and reſt, many times they beat them ſo cruelly, that they fall down dead under the hands of their cruel maſters: this I have often ſeen with great grief. Of the many inſtances, I ſhall only give you the following hiſtory, it being very remarkable in its circumſtances.

A certain planter of theſe countries exerciſed ſuch cruelty towards one of his ſervants as cauſed him to run away; having abſconded for ſome days in the woods, at laſt he was taken, and brought back to the wicked Pharaoh. No ſooner had he got him, but he commanded him to be tied to a tree;

Digitized by Google

tree; here he gave him ſo many laſhes on his naked back as made his body run with an entire ſtream of blood; then, to make the ſmart of his wounds the greater, he anointed him with lemon-juice, mixed with ſalt and pepper; in this miſerable poſture he left him tied to the tree for twenty-four hours, which being paſt, he began his puniſhment again, laſhing him as before, ſo cruelly that the miſerable wretch gave up the ghoſt, with theſe dying words: 'I beſeech the Almighty God, Creator of heaven 'and earth, that he permit the wicked ſpirit 'to make thee feel as many torments before thy 'death, as thou haſt cauſed me to feel before mine.' A ſtrange thing, and worthy of aſtoniſhment and admiration! Scarce three or four days were paſt, after this horrible fact, when the Almighty judge, who had heard the cries of that tormented wretch, ſuffered the evil one ſuddenly to poſſeſs this barbarous and inhuman homicide, ſo that thoſe cruel hands, which had puniſhed to death his innocent ſervant, were the tormentors of his own body: for he beat himſelf, and tore his fleſh, after a miſerable manner till he loſt the very ſhape of a man; not ceaſing to howl and cry, without any reſt by day or night. Thus he continued raving mad till he died. Many other examples of this kind I could rehearſe; but theſe not belonging to our preſent diſcourſe, I omit them.

The planters of the Caribee Iſlands are rather worſe and more cruel to their ſervants than the former. In the iſle of St. Chriſtopher dwells one named Betteſa, well known to the Dutch merchants, who has killed above a hundred of his ſervants with blows and ſtripes. The Engliſh do the ſame with their ſervants, and the mildeſt cruelty they exerciſe towards them is, that when they have ſerved ſix years of their time (they being bound

Digitized by Google

among the Engliſh for ſeven) they uſe them ſo cruelly as to force them to beg of their maſters to ſell them to others, though it be to begin another ſervitude of ſeven years, or at leaſt three or four; and I have known many, who have thus ſerved fifteen or twenty years before they could obtain their freedom. Another law, very rigorous in that nation, is if any man owes another above twenty-five ſhillings Engliſh, if he cannot pay it, he is liable to be ſold for ſix or eight months. Not to trouble the reader any longer with relations of this kind, I ſhall now deſcribe the famous actions and exploits of the greateſt pirates of my time, during my reſidence in thoſe parts; theſe I ſhall relate without the leaſt paſſion or partiality, and aſſure my reader, that I ſhall give him no ſtories upon truſt or hear-ſay, but only thoſe enterprizes to which I was myſelf an eye-witneſs.

CHAP. VI.

Of the original of the moſt famous pirates of the coaſts of America. A famous exploit of Pierre le Grand.

I HAVE told you, in the preceding chapters, how I was compelled to adventure my life among the pirates of America; which ſort of men I name ſo, becauſe they are not authorized by any ſovereign prince: for the kings of Spain having on ſeveral occaſions ſent their ambaſſadors to the kings of England and France, 'To complain of the moleſtations and 'troubles thoſe pirates often cauſed on the coaſts of 'America, even in the calm of peace;' it hath always been anſwered, 'That ſuch men did not com-'mit thoſe acts of hoſtility and piracy as ſubjects to 'their majeſties; and therefore his catholic majeſty 'might

'might proceed againſt them as he ſhould think fit.' The king of France added, 'That he had no fortreſs 'nor caſtle upon Hiſpaniola, neither did he receive a 'farthing of tribute from thence.' And the king of England adjoined, 'That he had never given any 'commiſſions to thoſe of Jamaica, to commit hoſti-'lities againſt the ſubjects of his catholic majeſty.' Nor did he only give this bare anſwere, but out of his royal deſire to pleaſure the court of Spain, recalled the governor of Jamaica, placing another in his room; all which could not prevent theſe pirates from acting as heretofore. But before I relate their bold actions, I ſhall ſay ſomething of their riſe and exerciſes; as alſo of the chiefeſt of them, and their manner of arming themſelves before they put to ſea.

The firſt pirate that was known upon Tortuga, was Pierre le Grand, or Peter the Great; he was born at Dieppe in Normandy. That action which rendered him famous was his taking the vice-admiral of the Spaniſh Flota, near the cape of Tiburon, on the weſt ſide of Hiſpaniola; this he performed with only one boat, and twenty-eight men. Now till that time the Spaniards had paſſed and repaſſed with all ſecurity through the channel of Bahama; ſo that Pierre le Grand ſetting out to ſea by the Caycos, he took this great ſhip with all the eaſe imaginable. The Spaniards they found aboard they ſet aſhore, and ſent the veſſel to France. The manner how this undaunted ſpirit attempted and took this large ſhip, I ſhall give you out of the journal of the author in his own words: 'The boat,' ſays he, 'wherein 'Pierre le Grand was with his companions, had 'been at ſea a long time without finding any prize 'worth his taking; and their proviſions beginning 'to fail, they were in danger of ſtarving. Being 'almoſt reduced to deſpair they ſpied a great ſhip

Digitized by Google

'of the Spaniſh Flota, ſeparated from the reſt; 'this veſſel they reſolved to take or die in the at-'tempt: hereupon they ſailed towards her, to view 'her ſtrength; and though they judged the veſſel 'to be ſuperior to theirs, yet their covetouſneſs, and 'the extremity they were reduced to, made them 'venture. Being come ſo near that they could not 'poſſibly eſcape, they made an oath to their captain 'Pierre le Grand to ſtand by him to the laſt. It is 'true, the pirates did believe they ſhould find the 'ſhip unprovided to fight, and thereby the ſooner 'maſter her. It was in the duſk of the evening they 'began to attack; but before they engaged, they 'ordered the ſurgeon of the boat to bore a hole in 'the ſides of it, that their own veſſel ſinking under 'them, they might be more compelled to attack 'more vigorouſly, and endeavour more haſtily to 'board the ſhip. This was done accordingly; and 'without any other arms than piſtol in one hand 'and a ſword in the other, they immediately climbed 'up the ſides of the ſhip, and ran altogether into 'the great cabin, where they found the captain, 'with ſeveral of his companions, playing at cards: 'here they ſet a piſtol to his breaſt, commanding 'him to deliver up the ſhip. The Spaniards, ſur-'prized to ſee the pirates aboard their ſhip, cried, "Jeſus bleſs us! are theſe devils, or what are "they?" 'Mean while ſome of them took poſſeſſion 'of the gun-room, and ſeized the arms, killing as 'many as made any oppoſition; whereupon the 'Spaniards preſently ſurrendered. That very day 'the captain of the ſhip had been told by ſome of 'the ſeamen, that the boat which was in view cruiz-'ing, was a boat of pirates; whom the captain 'ſlightly anſwered,' "What then muſt I be afraid "of ſuch a pitiful thing as that is? No, though "ſhe were a ſhip as big and as ſtrong as mine is."

'As

Digitized by Google

'As ſoon as Pierre le Grand had taken this rich 'prize, he detained in his ſervice as many common 'ſeamen as he had need of, ſetting the reſt aſhore, and 'then ſet ſail for France, where he continued, with-'out ever returning to America again.'

The planters and hunters of Tortuga had no ſooner heard of the rich prize thoſe pirates had taken, but they reſolved to follow their example: hereupon many of them left their employments, and endeavoured to get ſome ſmall boats, wherein to exerciſe piracy; but not being able to purchaſe, or build them at Tortuga, they reſolved to ſet forth in their canoes, and ſeek them elſewhere. With theſe they cruized at firſt upon cape de Alvarez, where the Spaniards uſed to trade from one city to another in ſmall veſſels, in which they carry hides, tobacco, and other commodities to the Havanna, and to which the Spaniards from Europe do frequently reſort.

Here it was that thoſe pirates at firſt took a great many boats laden with the aforeſaid commodities; theſe they uſed to carry to Tortuga, and ſell the whole purchaſe to the ſhips that wait for their return or accidentally happened to be there. With the gains of theſe prizes they provided themſelves with neceſſaries, wherewith to undertake other voyages, ſome of which were made to Campeachy, and others towards New Spain; in both which the Spaniards then drove a great trade. Upon thoſe coaſts they found great numbers of trading veſſels, and often ſhips of great burden. Two of the biggeſt of theſe veſſels, and two great ſhips which the Spaniards had laden with plate in the port of Campeachy, to go to the Caraccas, they took in leſs than a month's time, and carried to Tortuga; where the people of the whole iſland, encouraged by their ſucceſs, eſpecially ſeeing in two years the riches of the country ſo much

Digitized by Google

increaſed, they augmented the number of pirates ſo faſt, that in a little time there were in that ſmall iſland and port, above twenty ſhips of this ſort of people. Hereupon the Spaniards, not able to bear their robberies any longer, equipped two large men of war, both for the defence of their own coaſts, and to cruize upon the enemies.

CHAP. VII.

How the pirates arm their veſſels, and regulate their voyages.

BEFORE the pirates go to ſea, they give notice to all concerned of the day on which they are to embark; obliging each man to bring ſo many pounds of powder and ball as they think neceſſary. Being all come aboard, they conſider where to get proviſions, eſpecially fleſh, ſeeing they ſcarce eat any thing elſe; and of this the moſt common ſort is pork; the next food is tortoiſes, which they ſalt a little: ſometimes they rob ſuch or ſuch hog-yards, where the Spaniards oft have a thouſand heads of ſwine together. They come to theſe places in the night, and having beſet the keeper's lodge, they force him to riſe, and give them as many heads as they deſire, threatening to kill him if he refuſes, or make any noiſe: and theſe menaces are oftentimes executed on the miſerable ſwine-keepers, or any other perſon that endeavours to hinder their robberies.

Having got fleſh ſufficient for their voyage, they return to their ſhip: here they allow, twice a day, every one as much as he can eat, without weight or meaſure; nor does the ſteward of the veſſel give any more fleſh, or any thing elſe, to the captain than to the meaneſt mariner. The ſhip being well victualled, they deliberate whither they ſhall go to ſeek their deſperate

Digitized by Google

desperate fortunes, and likewise agree upon certain articles, which are put in writting, which every one is bound to observe; and all of them, or the chiefest part, do set their hands to it. Here they set down distinctly, what sums of money each particular person ought to have for that voyage, the fund of all the payments being what is gotten by the whole expedition; for otherwise it is the same law among these people, as with other pirates, 'No prey no pay.' First, therefore, they mention how much the captain is to have for his ship; next the salary of the carpenter or shipwright who careened, mended, and rigged the vessel: this commonly amounts to 100 or 150 pieces of eight, according to the agreement. Afterwards, for provisions and victualling, they draw out of the same common stock about 200 pieces of eight; also a salary for the surgeon, and his chest of medicaments, which usually is rated at 200 or 250 pieces of eight. Lastly, they agree what rate each one ought to have that is either wounded or maimed in his body, suffering the loss of any limb; as, for the loss of a right arm, 600 peices of eight, or six slaves; for the left arm 500 pieces of eight, or five slaves; for a right leg, 500 pieces of eight, or five slaves; for the left leg, 400 pieces of eight, or four slaves; for an eye, 100 pieces of eight, or one slave; for a finger the same as for an eye: all which sums are taken out of the common stock of what is gotten by their piracy, and a very exact and equal dividend is made of the remainder. They have also regard to qualities and places: thus the captain or chief is allotted five or six portions, to what the ordinary seamen have; the master's mate only two, and other officers proportionably to their employ: after which they draw equal parts from the highest to the lowest mariner, the boys not being omitted, who draw half a share; because when they

take a better veſſel than their own, it is the boys duty to fire their former veſſel, and then retire to the prize.

They obſerve among themſelves very good orders; for in the prizes which they take, it is ſeverely prohibited, to every one, to take any thing to themſelves: hence all they take is equally divided, as hath been ſaid before; yea, they take a ſolemn oath to each other, not to conceal the leaſt thing they find among the prizes; and if any one is found falſe to the ſaid oath, he is immediately turned out of the ſociety. They are very civil and charitable to each other; ſo that if any one wants what another has, with great willingneſs they give it one to another. As ſoon as theſe pirates have taken a prize, they immediately ſet aſhore the priſoners, detaining only ſome few, for their own help and ſervice; whom alſo they releaſe after two or three years. They refreſh themſelves at one iſland or another, but eſpecially at thoſe on the ſouth of Cuba: here they careen their veſſels, while ſome hunt, and others cruize in Canoes for prize. Many times they take the poor tortoiſe fiſhermen, and make them work during their pleaſure.

In the ſeveral parts of America are found four diſtinct ſpecies of tortoiſes: the firſt are ſo great, that they weigh two or three thouſand pounds; the ſcales are ſo ſoft that they may be cut with a knife; but theſe are not good to eat. The ſecond ſort is of an indifferent bigneſs, and of a green colour; their ſcales are harder than the firſt, and of a very pleaſant taſte. The third is little different in ſize from the ſecond, only the head ſomething bigger; it is called by the French Cavana, and is not good meat. The fourth is named Caret, being very like thoſe of Europe: this ſort keeps commonly among the rocks, whence they crawl out for their food, which is generally ſea-apples;

Digitized by Google

apples: thoſe other above mentioned feed on graſs, which grows in the water on the ſandy banks: theſe banks or ſhelves, for their pleaſant green, reſemble the delightful meadows of the United Provinces. Their eggs are almoſt like thoſe of the crocodile, but without any ſhell, being only covered with a thin film; they are found in ſuch prodigious quantities along the ſhores, that were they not frequently deſtroyed by birds, the ſea would abound with tortoiſes.

Theſe creatures have certain places where they lay their eggs every year; the chief are the three iſlands called Caymanes, in 20 deg. 15 min. lat. being 45 leagues north of Cuba.

It is worth conſidering how the tortoiſes find theſe iſlands; for the greateſt part come from the gulf of Honduras, 150 leagues off, and many times the ſhips having loſt their latitude, through the darkneſs of the weather, ſteer only by the noiſe the tortoiſes make in ſwimming, and reach thoſe iſles. When the ſeaſon of hatching is paſt, they retire to Cuba, which affords them good food; but while they are at the Caymanes they eat little or nothing. When they have been a month in the ſeas of Cuba, and are grown fat, the Spaniards fiſh for them, being then to be taken in ſuch abundance, that they furniſh their cities, towns, and villages with them. The way they take them is, by making with a great nail a kind of dart; this they fix at the end of a long pole, with which they kill the tortoiſes whenever they appear above the water.

The inhabitants of New Spain and Campeachy lade their beſt merchandiſe in ſhips of great bulk: the veſſels from Campeachy ſail in the winter to Caraccas, Trinity-Iſles, and that of Margarita, and return back again in the ſummer. The pirates knowing theſe ſeaſons (being very diligent in their

enquiries) always cruize between the places abovementioned; but in case they light of no considerable booty, they commonly undertake some more hazardous enterprizes; one remarkable instance of which I shall here give you: a certain pirate called Pierre François, or Peter Francis, waiting a long time at sea with his boat and twenty-six men, for the ships that were to return from Maracaibo to Campeachy, and not being able to find any prey, at last he resolved to direct his course to Rancheiras, near the river de la Plata, in 12 deg. and a half north latitude. Here lies a rich bank of pearl, to the fishery whereof they yearly sent from Carthagena twelve vessels, with a man of war for their defence. Every vessel has at least two negroes in it, who are very dextrous in diving to the depth of six fathoms, where they find good store of pearls. On this fleet, called the pearl-fleet, Pierre François resolved to venture, rather than go home empty; they then rid at anchor at the mouth of the river de la Hacha, the man of war scarce half a league distant from the small ships, and the wind very calm. Having spied them in this posture, he presently pulled down his sails, and rowed along the coast, feigning to be a Spanish vessel come from Maracaibo; but no sooner was he come to the pearl-bank, when suddenly he assaulted the vice-admiral of eight guns and sixty men, commanding them to surrender. The Spaniards made a good defence for some time, but at last were forced to submit. Having thus taken the vice-admiral, he resolved to attempt the man of war, with which addition he hoped to master the rest of the fleet: to this end he presently sunk his own boat, putting forth the Spanish colours, and weighed anchor with a little wind which then began to stir, having with threats and promises compelled most of the Spaniards to assist him.

Digitized by Google

him. But ſo ſoon as the man of war perceived one of his fleet to ſail, he did ſo too, fearing leſt the mariners deſigned to run away with the riches they had on board. The pirate on this immediately gave over the enterprize, thinking themſelves unable to encounter force to force; hereupon they endeavoured to get out of the river and gain the open ſeas, by making as much ſail as they could; which the man of war perceiving, he preſently gave them chaſe, but the pirates having laid on too much ſail, and a guſt of wind ſuddenly riſing, their main-maſt was brought by the board, which diſabled them from eſcaping.

This unhappy event much encouraged thoſe in the man of war, they gaining upon the pirates every moment, and at laſt overtook them; but they finding they had twenty-two ſound men, the reſt being either killed or wounded, reſolved to defend themſelves as long as poſſible; this they performed very courageouſly for ſome time, till they were forced by the man of war, on condition that they ſhould not be uſed as ſlaves to carry ſtones, or be employed in other labours for three or four years, as they ſerved their negroes, but that they ſhould be ſet ſafe aſhore on free land. On theſe articles they yielded with all they had taken, which was worth, in pearls alone, above 100,000 pieces of eight, beſides the veſſel, proviſions, goods, &c. All which would have made this a greater prize than he could deſire, which he had certainly carried off, if his main-maſt had not been loſt, as we ſaid before.

Another bold attempt like this, nor leſs remarkable, I ſhall alſo give you. A certain pirate of Portugal, thence called Bartholomew Portugues, was cruiſing in a boat of thirty men and four ſmall guns, from Jamaica, upon the cape de Corriente in Cuba, where he met a great ſhip from Maracaibo and Carthagena,

Digitized by Google

Carthagena, bound for the Havanna, well provided with twenty great guns and ſeventy men, paſſengers and mariners; this ſhip he preſently aſſaulted, which they on board as reſolutely defended. The pirate eſcaping the firſt encounter, reſolved to attack her more vigorouſly than before, ſeeing he had yet ſuffered no great damage: this he performed with ſo much reſolution, that at laſt, after a long and dangerous fight, he became maſter of it. The Portugueſe loſt only ten men, and had four wounded, ſo that he had ſtill remaining twenty fighting men, whereas the Spaniards had double the number. Having poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſhip, the wind being contrary to return to Jamaica, they reſolved to ſteer to Cape St. Anthony (which lies weſt of Cuba) there to repair and take in freſh water, of which they were then in great want.

Being very near the cape aboveſaid, they unexpectedly met with three great ſhips coming from New Spain, and bound for the Havanna: by theſe, not being able to eſcape, they were eaſily retaken, both ſhip and pirates, and all made priſoners, and ſtripped of all the riches they had taken but juſt before. The cargo conſiſted in 120,000 weight of cocoa nuts, the chief ingredients of chocolate, and 70,000 pieces of eight. Two days after this misfortune there aroſe a great ſtorm, which ſeparated the ſhips from one another. The great veſſel, where the pirates were, arrived at Campeachy, where many conſiderable merchants came and ſaluted the captain; theſe preſently knew the Portugueſe pirate, being infamous for the many inſolencies, robberies, and murders he had committed on their coaſts, which they kept freſh in their memory.

The next day after their arrival, the magiſtrates of the city ſent to demand the priſoners from on board the ſhip, in order to puniſh them according to

Digitized by Google

to their deſerts; but fearing the captain of the pirates ſhould make his eſcape (as he had formerly done, being their priſoner once before) they judged it ſafer to leave him guarded on ſhip-board for the preſent, while they erected a gibbet to hang him on the next day, without any other proceſs than to lead him from the ſhip to his puniſhment; the rumour of which was preſently brought to Bartholomew Portugues, whereby he ſought all poſſible means to eſcape that night. With this deſign he took two earthen jars, wherein the Spaniards carry wine from Spain to the Weſt-Indies, and ſtopped them very well, intending to uſe them for ſwimming, as thoſe unſkilled in that art do corks or empty bladders. Having made this neceſſary preparation, he waited when all ſhould be aſleep; but not being able to eſcape his centinel's vigilance, he ſtabbed him with a knife he had ſecretly purchaſed, and then threw himſelf into the ſea with the earthen jars before-mentioned, by the help of which, though he never learned to ſwim, he reached the ſhore, and immediately took to the woods, where he hid himſelf for three days, not daring to appear, eating no other food than wild herbs.

Thoſe of the city next day made diligent ſearch for him in the woods, where they concluded him to be: this ſtrict enquiry Portugues ſaw from the hollow of a tree, wherein he lay hid; and upon their return he made the beſt of his way to del Golpho Triſte, forty leagues from Campeachy, where he arrived within a fortnight after his eſcape; during which time, as alſo afterwards, he endured extreme hunger and thirſt, having no other proviſion with him than a ſmall calabaca with a little water, beſides the fears of falling again into the hands of the Spaniards. He eat nothing but a few ſhell-fiſh,

Digitized by Google

fiſh, which he found among the rocks near the ſea-ſhore; and being obliged to paſs ſome rivers, not knowing well how to ſwim, he found at laſt an old board which the waves had driven aſhore, wherein were a few great nails; theſe he took, and with no ſmall labour whetted on a ſtone, till he had made them like knives, though not ſo well; with theſe, and nothing elſe, he cut down ſome branches of trees, which with twigs and oſiers he joined together, and made as well as he could a boat to waft him over the rivers. Thus arriving at the cape of Golpho Triſte, as was ſaid, he found a veſſel of pirates, comrades of his own, lately come from Jamaica.

To theſe he related all his adverſities and misfortunes, and withal deſired they would fit him with a boat and twenty men, with which company alone he promiſed to return to Campeachy, and aſſault the ſhip that was in the river, by which he had been taken fourteen days before. They preſently granted his requeſt, and equipped him a boat accordingly. With this ſmall company he ſet out to execute his deſign, which he bravely performed eight days after he left Golpho Triſte; for being arrived at Campeachy, with an undaunted courage, and without any noiſe, he aſſaulted the ſaid ſhip; thoſe on board thought it was a boat from land that came to bring contraband goods, and ſo were in no poſture of defence; which opportunity the pirates laying hold of, aſſaulted them ſo reſolutely, that in a little time they compelled the Spaniards to ſurrender.

Being maſters of the ſhip, they immediately weighed anchor and ſet ſail from the port, leſt they ſhould be purſued by other veſſels: this they did with the utmoſt joy, ſeeing themſelves poſſeſſors of ſo brave a ſhip, eſpecially Portugues, who by a ſecond

Digitized by Google

cond turn of fortune was become rich and powerful again, who was ſo lately in that ſame veſſel a priſoner, condemned to be hanged. With this purchaſe he deſigned greater things, which he might have done, ſince there remained in the veſſel ſo great a quantity of rich merchandiſe, though the plate had been ſent to the city: but while he was making his voyage to Jamaica, near the iſle of Pinos, on the ſouth of Cuba, a terrible ſtorm aroſe, which drove againſt the Jardines rocks, where ſhe was loſt; but Portugues with his companions eſcaped in a canoe, in which he arrived at Jamaica, where it was not long ere he went on new adventures, but was never fortunate after.

Nor leſs conſiderable are the actions of another pirate who now lives at Jamaica, who on ſeveral occaſions has performed very ſurprizing things. He was born at Groninghen in the United Provinces: his own name not being known, his companions gave him that of Roche Braſiliano, by reaſon of his long reſidence in Braſil: hence he was forced to fly, when the Portugueſe retook thoſe countries from the Dutch, ſeveral nations then inhabiting at Braſil (as Engliſh, French, Dutch, and others) being conſtrained to ſeek new fortunes.

This perſon fled to Jamaica, where being at a ſtand how to get his living, he entered himſelf into the ſociety of pirates, where he ſerved as a private mariner for ſome time, and behaved himſelf ſo well, that he was beloved and reſpected by all. One day ſome of the mariners quarrelled with their captain to that degree, that they left the boat; Braſiliano following them, was choſe their leader, who having fitted out a ſmall veſſel, they made him captain.

Within a few days after he took a great ſhip coming from New Spain, which had a great quantity

Digitized by Google

tity of plate on board, and carried it to Jamaica. This action got him a great reputation at home; and though in his private affairs he governed himself very well, he would oftentimes appear brutish and foolish when in drink, running up and down the streets, beating or wounding those he met, no person daring to make any resistance.

To the Spaniards he was always very barbarous and cruel, out of an inveterate hatred against that nation; of these he commanded several to be roasted alive on wooden spits, for not shewing him hog-yards where he might steal swine. After many of these cruelties, as he was cruising on the coasts of Campeachy, a dismal tempest surprized him so violently, that his ship was wrecked upon the coasts, the mariners only escaping with their muskets, and some few bullets and powder, which were the only things they could save. The ship was lost between Campeachy and the Golpho Triste; here they got ashore in a canoe, and marching along the coast with all the speed they could, they directed their course towards Golpho Triste, the common refuge of the pirates. Being upon his journey, and all very hungry and thirsty, as is usual in desart places, they were pursued by a troop of 100 Spaniards. Brasiliano perceiving their imminent danger, encouraged his companions, telling them, 'They were 'better soldiers, and ought rather to die under 'their arms fighting, as it became men of courage, 'than surrender to the Spaniards, who would take 'away their lives with the utmost torments.' The pirates were but thirty, yet seeing their brave commander oppose the enemy with such courage, resolved to do the like: hereupon they faced the troop of Spaniards, and discharged their muskets on them so dextrously, that they killed one horseman almost with every shot. The fight continued for an

Digitized by Google

an hour, till at laſt the Spaniards were put to flight. They ſtripped the dead, and took from them what was moſt for their uſe; ſuch as were not quite dead they diſpatched with the ends of their muſkets.

Having vanquiſhed the enemy, they mounted on horſes they found in the field, and continued their journey: Braſiliano having loſt but two of his companions in this bloody fight, and had two wounded. Proſecuting their way, before they came to the port, they ſpied a boat at anchor from Campeachy, well manned, protecting a few canoes that were lading wood; hereupon they ſent ſix of their men to watch them, who next morning by a wile poſſeſſed themſelves of the canoes. Having given notice to their companions, they boarded them, and alſo took the little man of war, their convoy. Being thus maſters of this fleet, they wanted only proviſions, of which they found little aboard thoſe veſſels; but this defect was ſupplied by the horſes which they killed and ſalted with ſalt, which by good fortune the wood-cutters had brought with them, with which they ſupported themſelves till they could get better.

They took alſo another ſhip going from New Spain to Maracaibo, laden with divers ſorts of merchandiſe and pieces of eight, deſigned to buy cocoa-nuts for their lading home: all theſe they carried to Jamaica, where they ſafely arrived, and, according to cuſtom, waſted all in a few days in taverns and ſtews, giving themſelves to all manner of debauchery. Such of theſe pirates will ſpend two or three thouſand pieces of eight in a night, not leaving themſelves a good ſhirt to wear in the morning. I ſaw one of them give a common ſtrumpet 500 pieces of eight to ſee her naked. My own maſter would buy ſometimes a pipe of wine, and placing

Digitized by Google

placing it in the ſtreet, would force thoſe that paſſed by to drink with him, threatening alſo to piſtol them if they would not. He would do the like with barrels of beer or ale, and very often he would throw theſe liquors about the ſtreets, and wet people's cloaths, without regarding whether he ſpoiled their apparel.

Among themſelves theſe pirates are very liberal; if any one has loſt all, which often happens in their manner of life, they freely give him of what they have. In taverns and alehouſes they have great credit; but at Jamaica they ought not to run very deep in debt, ſeeing the inhabitants there eaſily ſell one another for debt. This happened to my patron, to be ſold for a debt of a tavern, wherein he had ſpent the greateſt part of his money. This man had within three months before 3000 pieces of eight in ready caſh, all which he waſted in that little time, and became as poor as I have told you.

But to return: Braſiliano, after having ſpent all, was forced to go to ſea again to ſeek his fortune; he ſet forth towards the coaſt of Campeachy, his common rendezvous; fifteen days after his arrival, he put himſelf into a canoe to eſpy the port of that city, and ſee if he could rob any Spaniſh veſſel; but his fortune was ſo bad, that both he and all his men were taken and carried before the governor, who immediately caſt them into a dungeon, intending to hang them every one; and doubtleſs he had done ſo, but for a ſtratagem of Braſiliano which ſaved their lives. He wrote a letter to the governor, in the names of other pirates that were abroad at ſea, telling him, 'He ſhould have a care how 'he uſed thoſe perſons he had in cuſtody, for if he 'hurt them in the leaſt, they ſwore they would 'never give quarter to any Spaniard that ſhould fall 'into their hands.'

Theſe

Digitized by Google

These pirates having been often at Campeachy, and other places of the West-Indies in the Spanish dominions, the governor feared what mischief their companions abroad might do, if he should punish them; hereupon he released them, exacting only an oath on them, that they would leave their exercise of piracy for ever; and withal he sent them as common mariners in the galleons to Spain. They got in this voyage, all together, 500 pieces of eight; so that they tarried not long there after their arrival; providing themselves with necessaries, they returned to Jamaica, from whence they set forth again to sea, committing greater robberies and cruelties than before, but especially abusing the poor Spaniards who fell into their hands with all sorts of cruelty.

The Spaniards, finding they could gain nothing on these people, nor diminish their number, daily resolved to lessen the number of their trading ships: but neither was this of any service; for the pirates finding few ships at sea, began to gather into companies, and to land on their dominions, ruining cities, towns, and villages, pillaging, burning, and carrying away as much as they could.

The first pirate who began these invasions by land was Lewis Scot, who sacked the city of Campeachy, which he almost ruined, robbing and destroying all he could, and after he had put it to an excessive ransom, he left it. After Scot came another named Mansvelt, who invaded Granada, and penetrated even to the South-Sea, till at last, for want of provision, he was forced to go back. He assaulted the isle of St. Catharine, which he took, with a few prisoners: these directed him to Carthagena, a principal city in Nueva Granada. But the bold attempts and actions of John Davis, born at Jamaica, ought not to be forgotten, being some of the

Digitized by Google

the moſt remarkable, eſpecially his rare prudence and valour ſhewed in the fore-mentioned kingdom of Granada. This pirate having long cruiſed in the gulf of Pocatauro, on the ſhips expected to Carthagena, bound for Nicaragua, and not meeting any of them, reſolved at laſt to land in Nicaragua, leaving his ſhip hid on the coaſt.

This deſign he ſoon executed; for taking 80 men out of 90, which he had in all, and the reſt he left to keep the ſhip, he divided them equally into three canoes: his intent was to rob the churches, and riſle the houſes of the chief citizens of Nicaragua. Thus, in the dark night they entered the river leading to that city, rowing in their canoes; by day they hid themſelves and boats under the branches of trees, on the banks, which grow very thick along the river ſides in thoſe countries, and along the ſea-coaſt. Being arrived at the city the third night, the centinel who kept the poſt of the river thought them to be fiſhermen that had been fiſhing in the lake; and moſt of the pirates underſtanding Spaniſh, he doubted not, as ſoon as he heard them ſpeak. They had in their company an Indian who had run away from his maſter, who would have enſlaved him unjuſtly: he went firſt aſhore, and inſtantly killed the centinel; this done, they entered the city, and went directly to three or four houſes of the chief citizens, where they knocked ſoftly; theſe believing them to be friends, opened the doors, and the pirates ſuddenly poſſeſſing themſelves of the houſes, ſtole all the money and plate they could find. Nor did they ſpare the churches and moſt ſacred things, all which were pillaged and profaned without any reſpect or veneration.

Mean while, great cries and lamentations were heard of ſome who had eſcaped them; ſo that the whole city was in an uproar, and all the citizens

Digitized by Google

rallied in order to a defence; which the pirates perceiving, they inſtantly fled, carrying away their booty, and ſome priſoners: theſe they led away, that if any of them ſhould be taken by the Spaniards, they might uſe them for ranſom. Thus they got to their ſhip, and with all ſpeed put to ſea, forcing the priſoners, before they let them go, to procure them as much fleſh as was neceſſary for their voyage to Jamaica. But no ſooner had they weighed anchor, when they ſaw a troop of about 500 Spaniards, all well armed, at the ſea-ſide; againſt theſe they let fly ſeveral guns, wherewith they forced them to quit the ſands, and retire with no ſmall regret, to ſee theſe pirates carry away ſo much plate of their churches and houſes, though diſtant at leaſt forty leagues from the ſea.

Theſe pirates got, on this occaſion, above 4000 pieces of eight in money, beſides much plate and many jewels, in all to the value of 50,000 pieces of eight, or more. With all this they arrived at Jamaica ſoon after. But this ſort of people being never long maſters of their money, they were ſoon conſtrained to ſeek more by the ſame means; and Captain John Davis, preſently after his return, was choſen admiral of ſeven or eight veſſels, he being now eſteemed an able conductor for ſuch enterprizes. He began his new command by directing his fleet to the north of Cuba, there to wait for the fleet from New Spain; but miſſing his deſign, they determined for Florida: being arrived there, they landed their men, and ſacked a ſmall city named St. Auguſtine of Florida. The caſtle had a gariſon of 200 men, but could not prevent the pillage of the city, they effecting it without the leaſt damage from the ſoldiers or townſmen.

Thus we have ſpoken, in the firſt part of this book, of the conſtitution of Hiſpaniola and Tortuga,

Digitized by Google

tuga, their properties and inhabitants, as alſo of the fruits: in the ſecond part we ſhall deſcribe the actions of the two moſt famous pirates, who committed many horrible crimes and inhumanities upon the Spaniards.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the origin of Francis Lolonois, and the beginning of his robberies.

FRancis Lolonois was a native of that territory in France which is called Les Sables d'Olone, or the Sands of Olone: in his youth he was tranſported to the Caribbee iſlands, in quality of ſervant or ſlave, according to cuſtom, of which we have already ſpoken. Being out of his time, he came to Hiſpaniola; here he joined for ſome time with the hunters, before he began his robberies upon the Spaniards, which I ſhall now relate, till his unfortunate death.

At firſt he made two or three voyages as a common mariner, wherein he behaved himſelf ſo courageouſly, as to gain the favour of the governor of Tortuga, Monſieur de la Place, inſomuch that he gave him a ſhip, in which he might ſeek his fortune, which was very favourable to him at firſt, for in a ſhort time he got great riches: but his cruelties againſt the Spaniards were ſuch, that the fame of them made him ſo well known through the Indies, that the Spaniards, in his time, would chooſe rather to die, or ſink fighting, than ſurrender, knowing they ſhould have no mercy at his hands. But Fortune, being ſeldom conſtant, after ſome time turned her back; for in a huge ſtorm he loſt his ſhip on the coaſt of Campeachy. The men were all ſaved, but coming upon dry land, the Spaniards

Digitized by Google

Spaniards purſued them, and killed the greateſt part, wounding alſo Lolonois. Not knowing how to eſcape, he ſaved his life by a ſtratagem: mingling ſand with the blood of his wounds, with which beſmearing his face and other parts of his body, and hiding himſelf dextrouſly among the dead, he continued there till the Spaniards quitted the field.

They being gone, he retired to the woods, and bound up his wounds as well as he could: theſe being pretty well healed, he took his way to Campeachy, having diſguiſed himſelf in a Spaniſh habit. Here he enticed certain ſlaves, to whom he promiſed liberty, if they would obey him, and truſt to his conduct. They accepted his promiſes, and ſtealing a canoe, they went to ſea with him. Now the Spaniards having made ſeveral of his companions priſoners, kept them cloſe in a dungeon, while Lolonois went about the town, and ſaw what paſſed. Theſe were often aſked, 'What is be-'come of your captain?' To whom they conſtantly anſwered, 'He is dead.' Which rejoiced the Spaniards, who made bonfires, and, knowing nothing to the contrary, gave thanks to God for their deliverance from ſuch a cruel pirate. Lolonois having ſeen theſe rejoicings for his death, made haſte to eſcape, with the ſlaves above-mentioned, and came ſafe to Tortuga, the common refuge of all ſorts of wickedneſs, and the ſeminary, as it were, of pirates and thieves. Though now his fortune was low, yet he got another ſhip with craft and ſubtlety, and in it 21 men. Being well provided with arms and neceſſaries, he ſet forth for Cuba, on the ſouth whereof is a ſmall village called de los Cayos. The inhabitants drive a great trade in tobacco, ſugar, and hides, and all in boats, not being able to uſe ſhips, by reaſon of the little depth of that ſea.

Digitized by Google

Lolonois was perſuaded he ſhould get here ſome conſiderable prey; but by the good fortune of ſome fiſhermen who ſaw him, and the mercy of God, they eſcaped him: for the inhabitants of the town diſpatched immediately a meſſenger over land to the Havanna, complaining that Lolonois was come to deſtroy them with two canoes. The governor could very hardly believe this, having received letters from Campeachy that he was dead: but at their importunity he ſent a ſhip to their relief, with ten guns, and ninety men, well armed; giving them this expreſs command, 'That they ſhould not 'return into his preſence without having totally 'deſtroyed thoſe pirates.' To this effect, he gave them a negro to ſerve for a hangman, and orders, 'That they ſhould immediately hang every one of 'the pirates, excepting Lolonois, their captain, 'whom they ſhould bring alive to the Havanna.' This ſhip arrived at Cayos, of whoſe coming the pirates were advertized beforehand, and inſtead of flying, went to ſeek it in the river Eſtera, where ſhe rode at anchor. The pirates ſeized ſome fiſhermen, and forced them by night to ſhew them the entry of the port, hoping ſoon to obtain a greater veſſel than their two canoes, and thereby to mend their fortune. They arrived, after two in the morning, very nigh the ſhip, and the watch on board the ſhip aſking them, 'Whence they came, 'and if they had ſeen any pirates abroad?' they cauſed one of the priſoners to anſwer, 'They had 'ſeen no pirates, nor any thing elſe.' Which anſwer made them believe that they were fled upon hearing of their coming.

But they ſoon found the contrary; for about break of day the pirates aſſaulted the veſſel on both ſides with their two canoes, with ſuch vigour, that though the Spaniards behaved themſelves as they ought,

Digitized by Google

ought, and made as good defence as they could, making ſome uſe of their great guns, yet they were forced to ſurrender, being beaten by the pirates, with ſword in hand, down under the hatches. From hence Lolonois commanded them to be brought up, one by one, and in this order cauſed their heads to be ſtruck off. Among the reſt came up the negro, deſigned to be the pirates executioner; this fellow implored mercy at his hands very dolefully, telling Lolonois he was conſtituted hangman of that ſhip, and if he would ſpare him, he would tell him faithfully all that he ſhould deſire. Lolonois making him confeſs what he thought fit, commanded him to be murdered with the reſt. Thus he cruelly and barbarouſly put them all to death, reſerving only one alive, whom he ſent back to the governor of the Havanna, with this meſſage in writing: 'I ſhall never henceforward give quarter to any Spaniard whatſoever; and I have great hopes I ſhall execute on your own perſon the very ſame puniſhment I have done upon them you ſent againſt me. Thus I have retaliated the kindneſs you deſigned to me and my companions.' The governor, much troubled at this ſad news, ſwore in the preſence of many, that he would never grant quarter to any pirate that ſhould fall into his hands. But the citizens of the Havanna deſired him not to perſiſt in the execution of that raſh and rigorous oath, ſeeing the pirates would certainly take occaſion from thence to do the ſame, and they had an hundred times more opportunity of revenge than he: that being neceſſitated to get their livelihood by fiſhery, they ſhould hereafter always be in danger of their lives. By theſe reaſons he was perſuaded to bridle his anger, and remit the ſeverity of his oath.

Digitized by Google

Now Lolonois had got a good ſhip, but very few proviſions and people in it; to purchaſe both which, he reſolved to cruize from one port to another. Doing thus for ſome time, without ſucceſs, he determined to go to the port of Maracaibo: here he ſurprized a ſhip laden with plate and other merchandizes, outward bound to buy cocoa-nuts. With this prize he returned to Tortuga, where he was received with joy by the inhabitants, they congratulating his happy ſucceſs and their own private intereſt. He ſtaid not long there, but deſigned to equip a fleet ſufficient to tranſport 500 men and neceſſaries. Thus provided, he reſolved to pillage both cities, towns, and villages, and, finally, to take Maracaibo itſelf. For this purpoſe, he knew the iſland of Tortuga would afford him many reſolute and courageous men, fit for ſuch enterprizes; beſides, he had in his ſervice ſeveral priſoners well acquainted with the ways and places deſigned upon.

CHAP. IX.

Lolonois equips a fleet to land upon the Spaniſh iſlands of America, with intent to rob, ſack, and burn whatſoever he met with.

OF this deſign Lolonois giving notice to all the pirates, whether at home or abroad, he got together, in a little while, above 400 men; beſide which, there was then in Tortuga another pirate, named Michael de Baſco, who, by his piracy, had got riches ſufficient to live at eaſe, and go no more abroad; having, withal, the office of major of the iſland. But ſeeing the great preparations that Lolonois made for this expedition, he joined him, and offered him, that if he would make him his chief captain

Digitized by Google

tain by land (ſeeing he knew the country very well, and all its avenues) he would ſhare in his fortunes, and go with him. They agreed upon articles, to the great joy of Lolonois, knowing that Baſco had done great actions in Europe, and had the repute of a good ſoldier. Thus they all embarked in eight veſſels, that of Lolonois being the greateſt, having ten guns of indifferent carriage.

All things being ready, and the whole company on board, they ſet ſail together about the end of April, being in all 660 perſons. They ſteered for that part called Bayala, north of Hiſpaniola; here they took into their company ſome French hunters, who voluntarily offered themſelves, and here they provided themſelves with victuals and neceſſaries for their voyage.

From hence they ſailed again the laſt of July, and ſteered directly to the eaſtern cape of the iſle called Punta d'Eſpada. Hereabouts eſpying a ſhip from Puerto Rico, bound for New Spain, laden with cocoa-nuts, Lolonois commanded the reſt of the fleet to wait for him near Savona, on the eaſt of Cape Punta d'Eſpada, he alone intending to take the ſaid veſſel. The Spaniards, though they had been in ſight full two hours, and knew them to be pirates, yet would not flee, but prepared to fight, being well armed and provided. The combat laſted three hours, and then they ſurrendered. This ſhip had 16 guns and 50 fighting men aboard: they found in her 120,000 weight of cocoa, 40,000 pieces of eight, and the value of 10,000 more in jewels. Lolonois ſent the veſſel preſently to Tortuga to be unladen, with orders to return as ſoon as poſſible to Savona, where he would wait for them. Mean while the reſt of the fleet being arrived at Savona, met another Spaniſh veſſel coming from Coman, with military proviſions to Hiſpaniola, and money

Digitized by Google

to pay the garisons there. This vessel they also took without any resistance, though mounted with eight guns. In it were 7000 weight of powder, a great number of muskets, and like things, with 12,000 pieces of eight.

These successes encouraged the pirates, they seeming very lucky beginnings, especially finding their fleet pretty well recruited in a little time: for the first ship arriving at Tortuga, the governor ordered it to be instantly unladen, and soon after sent back, with fresh provisions and other necessaries, to Lolonois. This ship he chose for himself, and gave that which he commanded to his comrade, Anthony du Puis. Being thus recruited with men, in lieu of them he had lost in taking the prizes, and by sickness, he found himself in a good condition to set sail for Maracaibo, in the province of Neuva Venezuela, in the latitude of 12 deg. 10 min. north. This island is 20 leagues long, and 12 broad. To this port also belong the islands of Onega and Monges. The east side thereof is called Cape St. Roman, and the western side Cape of Caquibacoa. The gulph is called by some the Gulph of Venezuela, but the pirates usually call it the Bay of Maracaibo.

At the entrance of this gulph are two islands, extending from east to west; that towards the east is called Isla de las Vigilias, or the Watch Isle, because in the middle is an high hill, on which stands a watch-house; the other is called Isla de la Palomas, or the Isle of Pigeons. Between these two islands runs a little sea, or rather lake of fresh water, 60 leagues long, and 30 broad, which disgorging itself into the ocean, dilates itself about the said two islands. Between them is the best passage for ships, the channel being no broader than the flight of a great gun of about eight pounds. On the

Digitized by Google

the Iſle of Pigeons ſtandeth a caſtle, to impede the entry of veſſels, all being neceſſitated to come very nigh the caſtle, by reaſon of two banks of ſand on the other ſide, with only fourteen feet water. Many other banks of ſand there are in this lake, as that called El Tablazo, or the Great Table, no deeper than ten feet, forty leagues within the lake. Others there are, that have no more than ſix, ſeven, or eight feet in depth: all are very dangerous, eſpecially to mariners unacquainted with them. Weſt hereof is the city of Maracaibo, very pleaſant to the view, its houſes being built along the ſhore, having delightful proſpects all round: the city may contain three or four thouſand perſons, ſlaves included, all which make a town of a reaſonable bigneſs. There are judged to be about eight hundred perſons able to bear arms, all Spaniards. Here are one pariſh church, well built and adorned, four monaſteries, and one hoſpital. The city is governed by a deputy-governor, ſubſtituted by the governor of the Caraccas. The trade here exerciſed is moſtly in hides and tobacco. The inhabitants poſſeſs great numbers of cattle, and many plantations, which extend thirty leagues in the country, eſpecially towards the great town of Gibraltar, where are gathered great quantities of cocoa-nuts, and all other garden-fruits, which ſerve for the regale and ſuſtenance of the inhabitants of Maracaibo, whoſe territories are much drier than thoſe of Gibraltar. Hither thoſe of Maracaibo ſend great quantities of fleſh, they making returns in oranges, lemons, and other fruits; for the inhabitants of Gibraltar want fleſh, their fields not being capable of feeding cows or ſheep.

Before Maracaibo is a very ſpacious and ſecure port, wherein may be built all ſorts of veſſels, having great convenience of timber, which may be-

Digitized by Google

tranſported thither at little charge. Nigh the town lies alſo a ſmall iſland called Borrica, where they feed great numbers of goats, which cattle the inhabitants uſe more for their ſkins, than their fleſh or milk, they ſlighting theſe two, unleſs while they are tender, and young kids. In the fields are fed ſome ſheep, but of a very ſmall ſize. In ſome iſlands of the lake, and in other places hereabouts, are many ſavage Indians, called by the Spaniards Bravoes, or wild. Theſe could never be reduced by the Spaniards, being brutiſh and untameable. They dwell moſtly towards the weſt ſide of the lake, in little huts built on trees growing in the water, ſo to keep themſelves from the innumerable moſquitoes or gnats, which infeſt and torment them night and day. To the eaſt of the ſaid lake are whole towns of fiſhermen, who likewiſe live in huts built on trees, as the former. Another reaſon of this dwelling is the frequent inundations; for after great rains the land is often overflown for two or three leagues, there being no leſs than twenty-five great rivers that feed this lake. The town of Gibraltar is alſo frequently drowned by theſe, ſo that the inhabitants are conſtrained to retire to their plantations.

Gibraltar, ſituate at the ſide of the lake, about forty leagues within it, receives its proviſions of fleſh, as has been ſaid, from Maracaibo. The town is inhabited by about 1500 perſons, whereof 400 may bear arms; the greateſt part of them keep ſhops, wherein they exerciſe one trade or other. In the adjacent fields are numerous plantations of ſugar and cocoa, in which are many tall and beautiful trees, of whoſe timber houſes may be built, and ſhips. Among theſe are many handſome and proportionable cedars, ſeven or eight feet about, of which they build boats and ſhips, ſo as to bear one only

Digitized by Google

only great ſail; ſuch veſſels being called Piraguas. The whole country is well furniſhed with rivers and brooks, very uſeful in droughts, being then cut into many little channels to water their fields and plantations. They plant alſo much tobacco, well eſteemed in Europe, and for its goodneſs is called there Tobacco de ſacerdotes, or prieſts tobacco. They enjoy nigh twenty leagues of juriſdiction, which is bounded by very high mountains perpetually covered with ſnow. On the other ſide of theſe mountains is ſituate a great city called Merida, to which the town of Gibraltar is ſubject. All merchandize is carried hence to the aforeſaid city on mules, and that but at one ſeaſon of the year, by reaſon of the exceſſive cold in thoſe high mountains. On the ſaid mules returns are made in flour of meal, which comes from towards Peru, by the way of Eſtaffe.

Thus far I thought good to make a ſhort deſcription of the lake of Maracaibo, that my reader might the better comprehend what I ſhall ſay concerning the actions of pirates in this place, as follows.

Lolonois arriving at the gulph of Venezuela caſt anchor with his whole fleet out of ſight of the Vigilia, or Watch-iſle: next day very early he ſet ſail thence with all his ſhips for the lake of Maracaibo, where they caſt anchor again; then they landed their men, with deſign to attack firſt the fortreſs that commanded the bar, therefore called de la Barra. This fort conſiſts only of ſeveral great baſkets of earth placed on a riſing ground, planted with 16 great guns, with ſeveral other heaps of earth round about for covering their men. The pirates having landed a league off this fort, advanced by degrees towards it; but the governor having eſpied their landing, had placed an ambuſcade

to cut them off behind, while he ſhould attack them in front. This the pirates diſcovered, and getting before, they defeated it ſo entirely, that not a man could retreat to the caſtle: this done, Lolonois, with his companions, advanced immediately to the fort, and after a fight of almoſt three hours, with the uſual deſperation of this ſort of people, they became maſters thereof, without any other arms than ſwords and piſtols. While they were fighting, thoſe who were the routed ambuſcade, not being able to get into the caſtle, retired into Maracaibo in great confuſion and diſorder, crying, 'The pirates will preſently be here with two thou-'ſand men and more.' The city having formerly been taken by this kind of people, and ſacked to to the uttermoſt, had ſtill an idea of that miſery: ſo that upon theſe diſmal news they endeavoured to eſcape towards Gibraltar in their boats and canoes, carrying with them all the goods and money they could. Being come to Gibraltar, they told how the fortreſs was taken, and nothing had been ſaved, nor any perſons eſcaped.

The caſtle thus taken by the pirates, they preſently ſignified to the ſhips their victory, that they ſhould come farther in without fear of danger. The reſt of that day was ſpent in ruining and demoliſhing the ſaid caſtle. They nailed the guns, and burnt as much as they could not carry away, burying the dead, and ſending on board the fleet the wounded. Next day, very early, they weighed anchor, and ſteered all together towards Maracaibo, about ſix leagues diſtant from the fort; but the wind failing that day, they could advance little, being forced to expect the tide. Next morning they came in ſight of the town, and prepared for landing under the protection of their own guns, fearing the Spaniards might have laid an ambuſcade in the

Digitized by Google

the woods: they put their men into canoes, brought for that purpoſe, and landed where they thought moſt convenient, ſhooting ſtill furiouſly with their great guns. Of thoſe in the canoes, half only went aſhore, the other half remained aboard: they fired from the ſhips as faſt as poſſible, towards the woody part of the ſhore, but could diſcover no body; then they entered the town, whoſe inhabitants, as I told you, were retired to the wood, and Gibraltar, with their wives, children, and families: their houſes they left well provided with victuals, as flour, bread, pork, brandy, wines, and poultry: with theſe the pirates fell to making good cheer, for in four weeks before they had no opportunity of filling their ſtomachs with ſuch plenty.

They inſtantly poſſeſſed themſelves of the beſt houſes in the town, and placed centinels wherever they thought convenient; the great church ſerved them for their main guard. Next day they ſent out 160 men to find out ſome of the inhabitants in the woods thereabouts; theſe returned the ſame night, bringing with them 20,000 pieces of eight, ſeveral mules laden with houſhold goods and merchandize, and twenty priſoners, men, women, and children. Some of theſe were put to the rack to make them confeſs where they had hid the reſt of their goods; but they could extort very little from them. Lolonois, who valued not murdering, though in cold blood, ten or twelve Spaniards, drew his cutlaſs, and hacked one to pieces before the reſt, ſaying, 'If you do not confeſs and declare where you have hid the reſt of your goods, 'I will do the like to all your companions.' At laſt, amongſt theſe horrible cruelties and inhuman threats, one promiſed to ſhew the place where the reſt of the Spaniards were hid; but thoſe that were fled having intelligence of it, changed place, and

Digitized by Google

buried the remnant of their riches under ground, ſo that the pirates could not find them out, unleſs ſome of their own party ſhould reveal them; beſides, the Spaniards flying from one place to another every day, and often changing woods, were jealous even of each other, ſo as the father durſt ſcarce truſt his own ſon.

After the pirates had been fifteen days in Maracaibo, they reſolved for Gibraltar; but the inhabitants having received intelligence thereof, and that they intended afterwards to go to Merida, gave notice of it to the governor there, who was a valiant ſoldier, and had been an officer in Flanders. His anſwer was, 'He would have them take no care, 'for he hoped in a little while to exterminate the 'ſaid pirates.' Whereupon he came to Gibraltar with 400 men well armed, ordering at the ſame time the inhabitants to put themſelves in arms; ſo that in all he made 800 fighting men. With the ſame ſpeed he raiſed a battery towards the ſea, mounted with twenty guns, covered with great baſkets of earth; another battery he placed in another place, mounted with eight guns. This done, he barricadoed a narrow paſſage to the town, through which the pirates muſt paſs, opening at the ſame time another through much dirt and mud into the wood, totally unknown to the pirates.

The pirates, ignorant of theſe preparations, having embarked all their priſoners and booty, took their way towards Gibraltar. Being come in ſight of the place, they ſaw the royal ſtandard hanging forth, and that thoſe of the town deſigned to defend their houſes. Lolonois ſeeing this, called a council of war what they ought to do, telling his officers and mariners, 'That the difficulty of the 'enterprize was very great, ſeeing the Spaniards had 'had ſo much time to put themſelves in a poſture

'of

Digitized by Google

'of defence, and had got a good body of men to-
'gether, with much ammunition; but notwith-
'ſtanding,' ſaid he, 'have a good courage, we
'muſt either defend ourſelves like good ſoldiers, or
'loſe our lives with all the riches we have got. Do
'as I ſhall do who am your captain: at other times
'we have fought with fewer men than we have in
'our company at preſent, and yet we have over-
'come greater numbers than there poſſibly can be
'in this town: the more they are, the more glory
'and the greater riches we ſhall gain.' The pirates ſuppoſed that all the riches of the inhabitants of Maracaibo were tranſported to Gibraltar, or at leaſt the greateſt part. After this ſpeech, they all promiſed to follow and obey him. Lolonois made anſwer, 'It is well, but know ye, withal, that the
'firſt man who ſhall ſhew any fear, or the leaſt ap-
'prehenſion thereof, I will piſtol him with my own
'hands.'

With this reſolution they caſt anchor nigh the ſhore, near three quarters of a league from the town: next day, before ſun-riſing, they landed 380 men well provided, and armed every one with a cutlaſs and one or two piſtols, and ſufficient powder and bullet for thirty charges. Here they all ſhook hands in teſtimony of good courage, and began their march, Lolonois ſpeaking thus, 'Come, my
'brethren, follow me, and have good courage.'
They followed their guide, who believing he led them well, brought them to the way which the governor had barricadoed: not being able to paſs that way, they went to the other newly made in the wood among the mire, which the Spaniards could ſhoot into at pleaſure; but the pirates, full of courage, cut down the branches of trees and threw them on the way, that they might not ſtick in the dirt; mean while thoſe of Gibraltar fired with

with their great guns so furiously, that they could scarce hear nor see for the noise and smoke. Being past the wood, they came on firm ground, where they met with a battery of six guns, which immediately the Spaniards discharged upon them, all loaded with small bullets and pieces of iron; and the Spaniards sallying forth, set upon them with such fury, as caused the pirates to give way, few of them caring to advance towards the fort, many of them being already killed and wounded. This made them go back to seek another way; but the Spaniards having cut down many trees to hinder the passage, they could find none, but were forced to return to that they had left. Here the Spaniards continued to fire as before, nor would they sally out of their batteries to fight them any more. Lolonois and his companions not being able to grimp up the baskets of earth, were compelled to use an old stratagem, wherewith at last they deceived and overcame the Spaniards.

Lolonois retired suddenly with all his men, making shew as if he fled; hereupon the Spaniards crying out, 'They flee, they flee, let us follow 'them,' sallied forth with great disorder to the pursuit. Being drawn to some distance from the batteries, which was the pirates only design, they turned upon them unexpectedly with sword in hand, and killed above 200 men; and thus fighting their way through those who remained, they possessed themselves of the batteries. The Spaniards that remained abroad, giving themselves over for lost, fled to the woods; those in the battery of eight guns surrendered themselves, obtaining quarter for their lives. The pirates being now become masters of the town, pulled down the Spanish colours and set up their own, taking prisoners as many as they could find: these they carried to the great church,

where

Digitized by Google

where they raiſed a battery of ſeveral great guns, fearing leſt the Spaniards that were fled ſhould rally, and come upon them again; but next day being all fortified, their fears were over. They gathered the dead to bury them, being above 500 Spaniards, beſides the wounded in the town, and thoſe that died of their wounds in the woods. The pirates had alſo above 150 priſoners, and nigh 500 ſlaves, many women and children.

Of their own companions only forty were killed, and almoſt eighty wounded, whereof the greateſt part died through the bad air, which brought fevers and other illneſs. They put the ſlain Spaniards into two great boats, and carrying them a quarter of a league to ſea, they ſunk the boats; this done, they gathered all the plate, houſhold-ſtuff, and merchandize they could, or thought convenient to carry away. The Spaniards who had any thing left had hid it carefully; but the unſatisfied pirates, not contented with the riches they had got, ſought for more goods and merchandize, not ſparing thoſe who lived in the fields, ſuch as hunters and planters. They had ſcarce been eighteen days on the place, when the greateſt part of the priſoners died for hunger; for in the town were few proviſions, eſpecially of fleſh, though they had ſome, but no ſufficient quantity of flour of meal, and this the pirates had taken for themſelves, as they alſo took the ſwine, cows, ſheep, and poultry, without allowing any ſhare to the poor priſoners; for theſe they only provided ſome ſmall quantity of mules and aſſes fleſh; and many who could not eat of that loathſome proviſion, died for hunger, their ſtomachs not being accuſtomed to ſuch ſuſtenance; only ſome women were allowed better cheer, becauſe they ſerved their ſenſual delights, to which thoſe robbers are much given: among theſe ſome had

Digitized by Google

had been forced, others were volunteers, though almoſt all rather ſubmitted through poverty and hunger than any other cauſe. Of the priſoners many alſo died under the torment they ſuſtained to make them diſcover their money or jewels; and of theſe, ſome had none, nor knew of none, and others denying what they knew, endured ſuch horrible deaths.

Finally, after having been in poſſeſſion of the town four entire weeks, they ſent four of the priſoners to the Spaniards that were fled to the woods, demanding of them a ranſom for not burning the town: the ſum demanded was 10,000 pieces of eight, which if not ſent, they threatened to reduce it to aſhes. For bringing in this money, they allowed them only two days; but the Spaniards not having been able to gather ſo punctually ſuch a ſum, the pirates fired many places of the town; whereupon the inhabitants begged them to help quench the fire, and the ranſom ſhould be readily paid. The pirates condeſcended, helping as much as they could to ſtop the fire; but, notwithſtanding all their beſt endeavours, one part of the town was ruined, eſpecially the church belonging to the monaſtery was burnt down. After they had received the ſaid ſum, they carried aboard all the riches they had got, with a great number of ſlaves which had not paid the ranſom; for all the priſoners had ſums of money ſet upon them, and the ſlaves were alſo commanded to be redeemed. Hence they returned to Maracaibo, where being arrived, they found a general conſternation in the whole city, to which they ſent three or four priſoners to tell the governor and inhabitants, 'They ſhould bring them 30,000 'pieces of eight aboard their ſhips for a ranſom of 'their houſes, otherwiſe they ſhould be ſacked 'anew, and burnt.'

Among

Digitized by Google

Among theſe debates a party of pirates came on ſhore, and carried away the images, pictures, and bells of the great church, aboard the fleet. The Spaniards who were ſent to demand the ſum aforeſaid returned, with orders to make ſome agreement; who concluded with the pirates to give for their ranſom and liberty 20,000 pieces of eight, and 500 cows, provided that they ſhould commit no farther hoſtilities, but depart thence preſently, after payment of money and cattle. The one and the other being delivered, the whole fleet ſet ſail, cauſing great joy to the inhabitants of Maracaibo, to ſee themſelves quit of them: but three days after they renewed their fears with admiration, ſeeing the pirates appear again, and re-enter the port with all their ſhips; but theſe apprehenſions vaniſhed, upon hearing one of the pirates errand, who came aſhore from Lolonois, 'to demand a ſkilful pilot to 'conduct one of the greateſt ſhips over the dan-'gerous bank that lieth at the very entry of the 'lake.' Which petition, or rather command, was inſtantly granted.

They had now been full two months in thoſe towns, wherein they committed thoſe cruel and inſolent actions we have related. Departing thence, they took their courſe to Hiſpaniola, and arrived there in eight days, caſting anchor in a port called Iſla de la Vacca, or Cow Iſland. This iſland is inhabited by French bucaniers, who moſtly ſell the fleſh they hunt to pirates, and others, who now and then put in there to victual or trade. Here they unladed their whole cargazone of riches, the uſual ſtorehouſe of the pirates being commonly under the ſhelter of the bucaniers. Here they made a dividend of all their prizes and gains, according to the order and degree of every one, as has been mentioned before. Having made an exact calculation of

Digitized by Google

of all their plunder, they found in ready money 260,000 pieces of eight: this being divided, every one received for his ſhare in money, as alſo in ſilk, linen, and other commodities, to the value of above 100 pieces of eight. Thoſe who had been wounded received their firſt part, after the rate mentioned before, for the loſs of their limbs. Then they weighed all the plate uncoined, reckoning ten pieces of eight to a pound; the jewels were prized differently, either too high or too low, by reaſon of their ignorance. This done, every one was put to his oath again, that he had not ſmuggled any thing from the common ſtock. Hence they proceeded to the dividend of the ſhares of ſuch as were dead in battle, or otherwiſe: theſe ſhares were given to their friends, to be kept entire for them, and to be delivered in due time to their neareſt relations, or their apparent lawful heirs.

The whole dividend being finiſhed, they ſet ſail for Tortuga: here they arrived a month after, to the great joy of moſt of the iſland; for as to the common pirates, in three weeks they had ſcarce any money left, having ſpent it all in things of little value, or loſt it at play. Here had arrived, not long before them, two French ſhips, with wine and brandy, and ſuch like commodities, whereby theſe liquors, at the arrival of the pirates, were indifferent cheap; but this laſted not long, for ſoon after they were enhanced extremely, a gallon of brandy being ſold for four pieces of eight. The governor of the iſland bought of the pirates the whole cargo of the ſhip laden with cocoa, giving for that rich commodity ſcarce the twentieth part of its worth. Thus they made ſhift to loſe and ſpend the riches they had got, in much leſs time than they were purchaſed: the taverns and ſtews, according to the cuſtom of pirates, got the greateſt part; ſo that ſoon.

Digitized by Google

ſoon after they were forced to ſeek more by the ſame unlawful means they had got the former.

CHAP. X.

Lolonois makes new preparations to take the city of St. James de Leon; as alſo that of Nicaragua, where he miſerably periſhes.

LOLONOIS had got great repute at Tortuga by this laſt voyage, becauſe he brought home ſuch conſiderable profit; and now he need take no great care to gather men to ſerve under him, more coming in voluntarily than he could employ, every one repoſing ſuch confidence in his conduct, that they judged it very ſafe to expoſe themſelves, in his company, to the greateſt dangers. He reſolved therefore a ſecond voyage to the parts of Nicaragua, to pillage there as many towns as he could.

Having publiſhed his new preparations, he had all his men together at the time, being about 700. Of theſe he put 300 aboard the ſhip he took at Maracaibo, and the reſt in five other veſſels of leſſer burden; ſo that they were in all ſix ſhips. The firſt port they went to was Bayaha in Hiſpaniola, to victual the fleet, and take in proviſions; which done, they ſteered their courſe to a port called Matamana, on the ſouth ſide of Cuba, intending to take here all the canoes they could, theſe coaſts being frequented by the fiſhers of tortoiſes, who carry them hence to the Havanna. They took as many of them, to the great grief of thoſe miſerable people, as they thought neceſſary; for they had great uſe for theſe ſmall bottoms, by reaſon the port they deſigned for had not depth enough for ſhips of any burden. Hence they took their courſe towards the cape Gracias à Dios, on the continent, in latitude 15 deg.

Digitized by Google

15 deg. north, 100 leagues from the iſland de los Pinos. Being at ſea, they were taken with a ſad and tedious calm, and, by the agitation of the waves alone, were thrown into the gulph of Honduras: here they laboured hard in vain to regain what they had loſt, both the waters and the winds being contrary; beſides, the ſhip wherein Lolonois was embarked could not follow the reſt; and, what was worſe, they wanted proviſions. Hereupon they were forced to put into the firſt port they could reach, to re-victual: ſo they entered with their canoes into the river Xagua, inhabited by Indians, whom they totally deſtroyed, finding great quantities of millet, and many hogs and hens: not contented with which, they determined to remain there till the bad weather was over, and to pillage all the towns and villages along the coaſt of the gulph. Thus they paſſed from one place to another, ſeeking ſtill more proviſions, with which they were not ſufficiently ſupplied. Having ſearched and rifled many villages, where they found no great matter, they came at laſt to Puerto Cavallo. Here the Spaniards have two ſtorehouſes to keep the merchandizes that are brought from the inner parts of the country, till the arrival of the ſhips. There was then in the port a Spaniſh ſhip of 24 guns and 16 pedreroes, or mortar-pieces: this ſhip was immediately ſeized by the pirates, and then drawing nigh the ſhore, they landed, and burnt the two ſtorehouſes, with all the reſt of the houſes there. Many inhabitants, likewiſe, they took priſoners, and committed upon them the moſt inhuman cruelties that ever heathens invented; putting them to the cruelleſt tortures they could deviſe. It was the cuſtom of Lolonois, that having tormented perſons not confeſſing, he would inſtantly cut them in pieces with his hanger, and pull out their tongues, deſiring

Digitized by Google

firing to do ſo, if poſſible, to every Spaniard in the world. It often happened, that ſome of theſe miſerable priſoners, being forced by the rack, would promiſe to diſcover the places where the fugitive Spaniards lay hid; which being not able afterwards to perform, they were put to more cruel deaths than they who were dead before.

The priſoners being all dead but two (whom they reſerved to ſhew them what they deſired) they marched hence to the town of San Pedro, or St. Peter, ten or twelve leagues from Puerto Cavallo, being 300 men, whom Lolonois led, leaving behind him Moſes van Vin, his lieutenant, to govern the reſt in his abſence. Being come three leagues on their way, they met with a troop of Spaniards, who lay in ambuſcade for their coming: theſe they ſet upon with all the courage imaginable, and at laſt totally defeated. Howbeit, they behaved themſelves very manfully at firſt; but not being able to reſiſt the fury of the pirates, they were forced to give way and ſave themſelves by flight, leaving many pirates dead in the place, ſome wounded, and ſome of their own party maimed, by the way. Theſe Lolonois put to death without mercy, having aſked them what queſtions he thought fit for his purpoſe.

There were were ſtill remaining ſome few priſoners not wounded; theſe were aſked by Lolonois, if any more Spaniards did lie farther on in ambuſcade? they anſwered, there were. Then being brought before him, one by one, he aſked if there was no other way to the town but that? This he did to avoid, if poſſible, thoſe ambuſcades. But they all conſtantly anſwered him, they knew none. Having aſked them all, and finding they could ſhew him no other way, Lolonois grew outragiouſly paſſionate, ſo that he drew his cutlaſs, and with it cut open the breaſt of one of thoſe poor Spaniards,

Digitized by Google

and pulling out his heart, began to bite and gnaw it with his teeth, like a ravenous wolf, saying to the reſt, 'I will ſerve you all alike, if you ſhew me 'not another way.'

Hereupon thoſe miſerable wretches promiſed to ſhew him another way; but withal, they told him it was extremely difficult and laborious. Thus, to ſatisfy that cruel tyrant, they began to lead him and his army; but finding it was not for his purpoſe, as they had told him, he was forced to return to the former way; ſwearing with great choler and indignation, 'Mort Dieu, les Eſpagnols me la pay-'eront.' 'By God's death, the Spaniards ſhall 'pay me for this.'

Next day he fell into another ambuſcade, which he aſſaulted with ſuch horrible fury, that in leſs than an hour's time he routed the Spaniards, and killed the greateſt part of them. The Spaniards thought by theſe ambuſcades better to deſtroy the pirates, aſſaulting them by degrees; and for this reaſon had poſted themſelves in ſeveral places. At laſt he met with a third ambuſcade, where was placed a party ſtronger, and more advantageouſly than the former; yet notwithſtanding, the pirates, by continually throwing little fire-balls in great numbers, for ſome time, forced this party, as well as the former, to flee, and this with ſo great loſs of men, that before they could reach the town the greateſt part of the Spaniards were either killed or wounded. There was but one path which led to the town, very well barricadoed with good defences, and the reſt of the town round was planted with ſhrubs, called Raqueltes, full of thorns very ſharp pointed. This ſort of fortification ſeemed ſtronger than the triangles uſed in Europe, when an army is of neceſſity to paſs by the place of an enemy; it being almoſt impoſſible for the pirates to traverſe

Digitized by Google

traverſe thoſe ſhrubs. The Spaniards poſted behind the ſaid defences, ſeeing the pirates come, began to ply them with their great guns; but theſe perceiving them ready to fire, uſed to ſtoop down, and when the ſhot was made, to fall upon the defendants with fire-balls and naked ſwords, killing many of the town: yet notwithſtanding, not being able to advance any farther, they retired for the preſent. Then they renewed the attack with fewer men than before, and obſerving not to ſhoot till they were very nigh, they gave the Spaniards a charge ſo dextrouſly, that with every ſhot they killed an enemy.

The attack continuing thus eager on both ſides till night, the Spaniards were compelled to hang forth a white flag, and deſired to come to a parley: the only conditions they required were, 'That the 'pirates ſhould give the inhabitants quarter for two 'hours.' This little time they demanded, with intent to carry away and hide as much of their goods and riches as they could, and to fly to ſome other neighbouring town. Granting this article, they entered the town, and continued there the two hours, without committing the leaſt hoſtility on the inhabitants; but no ſooner was that time paſt, than Lolonois ordered that the inhabitants ſhould be followed, and robbed of all they had carried away; and not only their goods, but their perſons likewiſe to be made priſoners; though the greateſt part of their merchandize and goods were ſo hid, as the pirates could not find them, except a few leathern ſacks, filled with anil, or indigo.

Having ſtaid here a few days, and, according to their cuſtom, committed moſt horrid inſolencies, they at laſt quitted the place, carrying away all they poſſibly could, and reducing the town to aſhes. Being come to the ſea-ſide, where they had left

left a party of their own, they found theſe had been cruiſing upon the fiſhermen thereabouts, or who came that way from the river of Guatemala: in this river was alſo expected a ſhip from Spain. Finally, they reſolved to go toward the iſlands on the other ſide of the gulph, there to cleanſe and careen their veſſels; but they left two canoes before the coaſt, or rather the mouth of the river of Guatemala, in order to take the ſhip, which, as I ſaid, was expected from Spain.

But their chief intent in going hither was to ſeek proviſions, knowing the tortoiſes of thoſe places are excellent food. Being arrived, they divided themſelves, each party chooſing a fit poſt for that fiſhery. They undertook to knit nets with the rinds of certain trees called Macoa, whereof they make alſo ropes and cables; ſo that no veſſel can be in need of ſuch things, if they can but find the ſaid trees. There are alſo many places where they find pitch in ſo great abundance, that running down the ſea-coaſts, being melted by the ſun, it congeals in the water in great heaps, like ſmall iſlands. This pitch is not like that of Europe, but reſembles, both in colour and ſhape, that froth of the ſea called bitumen; but in my judgment, this matter is nothing but wax mixed with ſand, which ſtormy weather, and the rolling waves of great rivers, hath caſt into the ſea: for in thoſe parts are great quantities of bees, who make their honey in trees, to the bodies of which the honey-comb being fixed, when tempeſts ariſe they are torn away, and by the fury of the winds carried into the ſea, as is ſaid. Some naturaliſts ſay, that the honey and the wax are ſeparated by the ſalt water, whence proceeds the good amber. This opinion ſeems the more probable, becauſe the ſaid amber taſtes as wax doth.

But

Digitized by Google

But to return to my diſcourſe: The pirates made in thoſe iſlands all the haſte they poſſibly could to equip their veſſels, hearing that the Spaniſh ſhip was come which they expected. They ſpent ſome time cruizing on the coaſts of Jucatan, where inhabit many Indians, who ſeek for the ſaid amber in thoſe ſeas. And I ſhall here, by the bye, make ſome ſhort remarks on the manner of living of the Indians, and their religion.

They have now been above 100 years under the Spaniards, to whom they performed all manner of ſervices; for whenſoever any of them needed a ſlave, or ſervant, they ſent for theſe to ſerve them as long as they pleaſed. By the Spaniards they were initiated in the principles of the Chriſtian faith and religion, and they ſent them every Sunday and holiday a prieſt to perform divine ſervice among them: afterwards, for reaſons not known, but certainly through temptations of the father of idolatry, the devil, they ſuddenly caſt off the Chriſtian religion, abuſing the prieſt that was ſent them; this provoked the Spaniards to puniſh them, by caſting many of the chief into priſon. Every one of thoſe barbarians had, and hath ſtill, a god to himſelf, whom he ſerves and worſhips. It is a matter of admiration how they uſe a child newly born: as ſoon as it comes into the world, they carry it to the temple; here they make a hole, which they fill with aſhes only, on which they place the child naked, leaving it there a whole night alone, not without great danger, no body daring to come near it. Mean while the temple is open on all ſides, that all ſorts of beaſts may freely come in and out. Next day, the father and relations of the infant return to ſee if the track or ſtep of any animal appears in the aſhes; not finding any, they leave the child there till ſome beaſt has approached the infant, and left

Digitized by Google

behind him the marks of his feet: to this animal, whatſoever it be, they conſecrate the creature newly born, as to its god, which he is bound to worſhip all his life, eſteeming the ſaid beaſt his patron and protector. They offer to their gods ſacrifices of fire, wherein they burn a certain gum, called by them Copal, whoſe ſmoke ſmells very deliciouſly. When the infant is grown up, the parents thereof thereof tell him who he ought to worſhip, ſerve, and honour as his own proper god; then he goes to the temple, where he makes offerings to the ſaid beaſt. Afterwards, if in the courſe of his life, any one injure him, or any evil happen to him, he complains to that beaſt, and ſacrifices to it for revenge. Hence it often comes, that thoſe who have done the injury of which he complains, are bitten, killed, or otherwiſe hurt by ſuch animals.

After this ſuperſtitious and idolatrous manner live thoſe miſerable and ignorant Indians that inhabit the iſlands of the gulph of Honduras; as alſo many of them on the continent of Jucatan, in the territories whereof are moſt excellent ports, where thoſe Indians moſt commonly build their houſes. Theſe people are not very faithful to one another, and uſe ſtrange ceremonies at their marriages. Whenſoever any one pretends to marry a young damſel, he firſt applies himſelf to her father or neareſt relation: he examines him nicely about the manner of cultivating their plantations, and other things, at his pleaſure. Having ſatisfied the queſtions of his father-in-law, he gives the young man a bow and arrow, with which he repairs to the young maid, and preſents her with a garland of green leaves and ſweet-ſmelling flowers; this ſhe is obliged to put on her head, and lay aſide that which ſhe wore before, it being the cuſtom for virgins to go perpetually crowned with flowers. The garlan

Digitized by Google

garland being received and put on her head, every one of the relations and friends go to advise with others, whether that marriage will be like to be happy or not; then they meet at the house of the damsel's father, where they drink of a liquor made of maize, or Indian wheat; and here, before the whole company, the father gives his daughter in marriage to the bridegroom. Next day the bride comes to her mother, and in her presence pulls off the garland, and tears it in pieces, with great cries and lamentations. Many other things I could relate of the manner of living and customs of those Indians, but I shall follow my discourse.

Our pirates therefore had many canoes of the Indians in the isle of Sambale, five leagues from the coasts of Jucatan. Here is a great quantity of amber, but especially when any storm arises from towards the east; whence the waves bring many things, and very different. Through this sea no vessels can pass, unless very small, it being too shallow. In the lands that are surrounded by this sea is found much Campeachy wood, and other things that serve for dying, much esteemed in Europe, and would be more, if we had the skill of the Indians, who make a dye or tincture that never fades.

The pirates having been in that gulph three months, and receiving advice that the Spanish ship was come, hastened to the port where the Spanish ship lay at anchor unlading his merchandize, with design to assault her as soon as possible; but first, they thought convenient to send away some of their boats to seek for a small vessel also expected, very richly laden with plate, indigo, and cochineal. Mean while, the ship's crew having notice that the pirates designed upon them, prepared all things for a good defence, being mounted with 42 guns, well furnished with arms and other

neceſſaries, and 130 fighting men. To Lolonois all this ſeemed but little, for he aſſaulted her with great courage, his own ſhip carrying but 22 guns, and having no more than a ſmall ſaety or fly-boat for help: but the Spaniards defended themſelves ſo well, as they forced the pirates to retire; but the ſmoke of the powder continuing thick, as a dark fog or miſt, with four canoes well manned they boarded the ſhip with great agility, and forced the Spaniards to ſurrender.

The ſhip being taken, they found not in her what they thought, being already almoſt unladen. All they got was only fifty bars of iron, a ſmall parcel of paper, ſome earthen jars of wine, and other things of ſmall importance.

Then Lolonois called a council of war, and told them he intended for Guatamala: hereupon they divided into ſeveral ſentiments, ſome liking the propoſal, and others diſliking it, eſpecially a party of them who were but raw in thoſe exerciſes, and who imagined, at their ſetting forth from Tortuga, that pieces of eight were gathered as eaſily as pears from a tree; but finding moſt things contrary to their expectation, they quitted the fleet, and returned; others affirmed they had rather ſtarve than return home without a great deal of money.

But the major part judging the propounded voyage little to their purpoſe, ſeparated from Lolonois and the reſt: of theſe one Moſes Vanclein was ringleader, captain of the ſhip taken at Puerto Cavallo: this fellow ſteered for Tortuga, to ſteer to and fro in theſe ſeas: with him joined another comrade of his, by name Pierre le Picard, who ſeeing the reſt leave Lolonois, thought fit to do the ſame. Theſe run-aways having thus parted company, ſteered homewards, coaſting along the continent till they came to Coſta Rica; here they landed a ſtrong party

Digitized by Google

party nigh the river Veraguas, and marched in good order to the town of the ſame name; this they took and totally pillaged, though the Spaniards made a ſtrong reſiſtance. They brought away ſome of the inhabitants as priſoners, with all that they had, which was of no great importance, by reaſon of the poverty of the place, which exerciſeth no other trade than working in the mines, where ſome of the inhabitants conſtantly attend, while none ſeek for gold, but only ſlaves: theſe they compel to dig and waſh the earth in the neighbouring rivers, where often they find pieces of gold as big as peas. The pirates gaining in this adventure but ſeven or eight pound weight of gold, they returned, giving over the deſign to go to the town of Nata, ſituate on the coaſts of the South-Sea, whoſe inhabitants are rich merchants, and their ſlaves work in the mines of Veraguas; being deterred by the multitude of Spaniards gathered on all ſides to fall upon them, whereof they had timely advice.

Lolonois thus left by his companions, remained alone in the gulph of Honduras. His ſhip being too great to get out at the reflux of thoſe ſeas, there he ſuſtained great want of proviſions, ſo as they were conſtrained to go aſhore every day to ſeek ſuſtenance, and not finding any thing elſe, they were forced to kill and eat monkies and other animals, ſuch as they could find.

At laſt, in the altitude of the cape of Gracias a Dios, near a certain little iſland called de las Pertas, his ſhip ſtruck on a bank of ſand, where it ſtuck ſo faſt, as no art could get her off again, though they unladed all the guns, iron, and other weighty things, as much as they could. Hereupon they were forced to break the ſhip in pieces, and with planks and nails build themſelves a boat to get away;

Digitized by Google

and while they are busy about it, I shall describe the said isles and their inhabitants.

The islands de las Pertas are inhabited by savage Indians, not having known or conversed with civil people: they are tall and very nimble, running almost as fast as horses; at diving also they are very dextrous and hardy. From the bottom of the sea I saw them take up an anchor of 600 weight, tying a cable to it with great dexterity, and pulling it from a rock. Their arms are made of wood, without any iron point; but some instead thereof use a crocodile's tooth. They have no bows nor arrows, as the other Indians have, but their common weapon is a sort of lance a fathom and a half long. Here are many plantations surrounded with woods, whence they gather abundance of fruits, as potatoes, bananas, racoven, ananas, and many others. They have no houses to dwell in, as at other places in the Indies. Some say they eat human flesh, which is confirmed by what happened when Lolonois was there. Two of his companions, one a Frenchman and the other a Spaniard, went into the woods, where having straggled a while, a troop of Indians pursued them. They defended themselves as well as they could with their swords, but at last were forced to flee. The nimble Frenchman escaped, but the Spaniard, being not so swift, was taken and heard of no more. Some days after, twelve pirates set forth very well armed, to seek their companion, among whom was the Frenchman, who conducted them, and shewed them the place where he left him; here they found that the Indians had kindled a fire, and at a small distance they found a man's bones well roasted, with some pieces of flesh ill scraped off the bones, and one hand, which had only two fingers remaining; whence

Digitized by Google

whence they concluded they had roaſted the poor Spaniard.

They marched on, ſeeking for Indians, and found a great number together, who endeavoured to eſcape, but they overtook ſome of them, and brought aboard their ſhips five men and four women; with theſe they took much pains to make themſelves be underſtood, and to gain their affections, giving them trifles, as knives, beads, and the like; they gave them alſo victuals and drink, but nothing would they taſte. It was alſo obſervable, that while they were priſoners they ſpoke not one word to each other; ſo that ſeeing theſe poor Indians were much afraid, they preſented them again with ſome ſmall things, and let them go. When they parted, they made ſigns that they would come again; but they ſoon forgot their benefactors, and were never heard of more; neither could any notice afterwards be had of theſe Indians, nor any others in the whole iſland; which made the pirates ſuſpect that both thoſe that were taken, and all the reſt of the iſlanders ſwam away by night to ſome little neighbouring iſlands, eſpecially conſidering they could never ſet eyes on any Indian more, nor any boat or other veſſel. Mean while the pirates were very deſirous to ſee their long-boat finiſhed out of the timber that ſtruck on the ſands; yet conſidering their work would be long, they began to cultivate ſome pieces of ground: here they ſowed French beans, which ripened in ſix weeks, and many other fruits. They had good proviſion of Spaniſh wheat, bananas, racoven, and other things; with the wheat they made bread, and baked it in portable ovens brought with them. Thus they feared not hunger in thoſe deſart places, employing themſelves thus for five or ſix months; which paſt, and the long-boat finiſhed, they reſolved for the

Digitized by Google

river of Nicaragua, to ſee if they could take ſome canoes, and return to the ſaid iſlands for their companions that remained behind, by reaſon the boat could not hold ſo many men together: hereupon, to avoid diſputes, they caſt lots, determining who ſhould go or ſtay.

The lot fell on one half of the people of the loſt veſſel, who embarked in the long-boat, and on the ſkiff which they had before, the other half remaining aſhore. Lolonois having ſet ſail, arrived in few days at the river of Nicaragua: here that ill fortune aſſailed him which of long time had been reſerved for him, as a puniſhment due to the multitude of horrible crimes committed in his licentious and wicked life. Here he met with both Spaniards and Indians, who jointly ſetting upon him and his companions, the greateſt part of the pirates were killed on the place. Lolonois, with thoſe that remained alive, had much ado to eſcape aboard their boats: yet notwithſtanding this great loſs, he reſolved not to return to thoſe he had left at the iſle of Pertas, without taking ſome boats, ſuch as he looked for. To this effect he determined to go on to the coaſts of Carthagena; but God Almighty, the time of his divine juſtice being now come, had appointed the Indians of Darien to be the inſtruments and executioners thereof. Theſe Indians of Darien are eſteemed as bravoes, or wild ſavage Indians, by the neighbouring Spaniards, who never could civilize them. Hither Lolonois came (brought by his evil conſcience that cried for puniſhment) thinking to act his cruelties; but the Indians, within a few days after his arrival, took him priſoner, and tore him in pieces alive, throwing his body limb by limb into the fire, and his aſhes into the air, that no trace or memory might remain of ſuch an infamous inhuman creature. One of his companions

Digitized by Google

companions gave me an exact account of this tragedy, affirming that himself had escaped the same punishment with the greatest difficulty: he believed also that many of his comrades, who were taken in that rencounter by those Indians, were, as their cruel captain, torn in pieces and burnt alive. Thus ends the history, the life, and miserable death of that infernal wretch Lolonois, who, full of horrid, execrable, and enormous deeds, and debtor to so much innocent blood, died by cruel and butcherly hands, such as his own were in the course of his life.

Those that remained in the island de las Pertas, waiting for the return of them who got away only to their great misfortune, hearing no news of their captain nor companions, at last embarked on the ship of a certain pirate, who happened to pass that way. This fellow came from Jamaica, with intent to land at Gracias a Dios, and from thence to enter the river with his canoes, and take the city of Carthagena. These two crews of pirates being now joined, were infinitely glad at the presence and society of one another; those, because they found themselves delivered from the miseries, poverty, and necessities, wherein they had lived ten entire months; these, because they were now considerably strengthened, to effect with greater satisfaction their designs. Hereupon, as soon as they were arrived at Gracios a Dios, they all put themselves into canoes, and entered the river, being 500 men, leaving only five or six persons in each ship to keep them. They took no provisions, being persuaded they should find every where sufficient: but these their hopes were found totally vain, not being grounded on Almighty God; for he ordained it so, that the Indians, aware of their coming, all fled, not leaving in their houses or plantations, which for

Digitized by Google

the moſt part border on the ſides of rivers, any neceſſary proviſions or victuals: hereby, in a few days after they had quitted their ſhips, they were reduced to moſt extreme neceſſity and hunger; but their hopes of making their fortunes very ſoon, animating them for the preſent, they contented themſelves with a few green herbs, ſuch as they could gather on the banks of the river.

Yet all this courage and vigour laſted but a fortnight, when their hearts as well as bodies began to fail for hunger; inſomuch as they were forced to quit the river, and betake themſelves to the woods, ſeeking out ſome villages where they might find relief; but all in vain; for having ranged up and down the woods for ſome days, without finding the leaſt comfort, they were forced to return to the river, where being come, they thought convenient to deſcend to the ſea-coaſt where they had left their ſhips, not having been able to find what they ſought for. In this laborious journey they were reduced to ſuch extremity, that many of them devoured their own ſhoes, the ſheaths of their ſwords, knives, and other ſuch things, being almoſt ravenous, and eager to meet ſome Indians, intending to ſacrifice them to their teeth. At laſt they arrived at the ſea-coaſt, where they found ſome comfort and relief to their former miſeries, and alſo means to ſeek more; yet the greateſt part periſhed through faintneſs, and other diſeaſes contracted by hunger, which alſo cauſed the remaining part to diſperſe, till at laſt, by degrees, many or moſt of them fell into the ſame pit that Lolonois did; of whom, and of whoſe companions, having given a compendious narrative, I ſhall continue with the actions and exploits of Captain Henry Morgan, who may deſervedly be called the ſecond Lolonois, not being unlike or inferior to him, either in atchievements

Digitized by Google

ments againſt the Spaniards, or in robberies of many innocent people.

CHAP. XI.

The origin and deſcent of Captain Henry Morgan; his exploits, and the moſt remarkable actions of his life.

CAPTAIN Henry Morgan was born in Great Britain, in the principality of Wales; his father was a rich yeoman, or farmer, of good quality, even as moſt who bear that name in Wales are known to be. Morgan, when young, had no inclination to the calling of his father, and therefore left his country, and came towards the ſea-coaſts to ſeek ſome other employment more ſuitable to his aſpiring humour; where he found ſeveral ſhips at anchor, bound for Barbadoes: with theſe he reſolved to go in the ſervice of one, who, according to the practice of thoſe parts, ſold him as ſoon as he came aſhore. He ſerved his time at Barbadoes, and obtaining his liberty, betook himſelf to Jamaica, there to ſeek new fortunes: here he found two veſſels of pirates ready to go to ſea; and being deſtitute of employment, he went with them, with intent to follow the exerciſes of that ſort of people: he ſoon learned their manner of living ſo exactly, that having performed three or four voyages with profit and ſucceſs, he agreed with ſome of his comrades, who had got by the ſame voyages a little money, to join ſtocks, and buy a ſhip. The veſſel being bought, they unanimouſly choſe him captain and commander.

With this ſhip he ſet forth from Jamaica to cruize on the coaſts of Campeachy, in which voyage he took ſeveral ſhips, with which he returned triumphant. Here he found an old pirate, named

Digitized by Google

Manſvelt (whom we have already mentioned) buſied in equipping a conſiderable fleet, with deſign to land on the continent, and pillage whatever he could. Manſvelt ſeeing Captain Morgan return with ſo many prizes, judged him to be a man of courage, and choſe him for his vice-admiral in that expedition: thus having fitted out fifteen ſhips, great and ſmall, they ſailed from Jamaica with 500 men, Walloons and French. This fleet arrived, not long after, at the iſle of St. Catherine, near the continent of Coſta Rica, latitude 12 deg. 30 min. and diſtant 35 leagues from the river Chagre. Here they made their firſt deſcent, landing moſt of their men, who ſoon forced the gariſon that kept the iſland to ſurrender all the forts and caſtles thereof, which they inſtantly demoliſhed, except one, wherein they placed 100 men of their own party, and all the ſlaves they had taken from the Spaniards: with the reſt of their men they marched to another ſmall iſland, ſo near St. Catherine's, that with a bridge they made in a few days, they paſſed thither, taking with them all the ordnance they had taken on the great iſland. Having ruined with fire and ſword both the iſlands, leaving neceſſary orders at the ſaid caſtle, they put to ſea again with their Spaniſh priſoners; yet theſe they ſet aſhore not long after, on the firm land, near Puerto Velo: then they cruized on Coſta Rica, till they came to the river Colla, deſigning to pillage all the towns in thoſe parts, thence to paſs to the village of Nata, to do the ſame.

The governor of Panama, on advice of their arrival, and of the hoſtilities they committed, thought it his duty to meet them with a body of men. His coming cauſed the pirates to retire ſuddenly, ſeeing the whole country was alarmed, and that their deſigns were known, and conſequently defeated at that time. Hereupon they returned to St. Catharine's,

to

Digitized by Google

to visit the hundred men they had left in garrison there. The governor of these men was a Frenchman, named Le Sieur Simon, who behaved himself very well in that charge, while Manſvelt was absent, having put the great island in a very good posture of defence, and the little one he had caused to be cultivated with many fertile plantations, sufficient to revictual the whole fleet, not only for the present, but also for a new voyage. Manſvelt was very much bent to keep these two islands in perpetual possession, being very commodiously situated for the pirates; being so near the Spaniſh dominions, and easily defended, as I shall represent in the third part of this history.

Hereupon Manſvelt determined to return to Jamaica, to send recruits to St. Catharine's, that in case of an invasion the pirates might be provided for a defence. As soon as he arrived, he propounded his intentions to the governor there, who rejected his propositions, fearing to displease his master, the king of England; besides, that giving him the men he desired, and necessaries, he must of necessity diminish the forces of that island, whereof he was governor. Hereupon Manſvelt, knowing that of himself he could not compass his designs, he went to Tortuga; but there, before he could put in execution what was intended, death surprized him, and put a period to his wicked life, leaving all things in suspense, till the occasion I shall hereafter relate.

Le Sieur Simon, governor of St. Catherine's, receiving no news from Manſvelt, his admiral, was impatiently desirous to know the cause thereof; mean while, Don John Perez de Guzman, being newly come to the government of Costa Rica, thought it not convenient for the interest of Spain for that island to be in the hands of the pirates: hereupon

hereupon he equipped a conſiderable fleet, which he ſent to retake it; but before he uſed violence, he writ a letter to Le Sieur Simon, telling him, that if he would ſurrender the iſland to his Catholick Majeſty, he ſhould be very well rewarded; but, in caſe of refuſal, ſeverely puniſhed, when he had forced him to do it. Le Sieur Simon, ſeeing no probability of being able to defend it alone, nor any emolument that by ſo doing could accrue either to him, or his people, after ſome ſmall reſiſtance delivered it up to its true lord and maſter, under the ſame articles they had obtained it from the Spaniards; a few days after which ſurrender, there arrived from Jamaica an Engliſh ſhip, which the governor there had ſent under-hand, with a good ſupply of people, both men and women: the Spaniards from the caſtle having eſpied the ſhip, put forth Engliſh colours, and perſuaded Le Sieur Simon to go aboard, and conduct the ſhip into a port they aſſigned him. This he performed, and they were all made priſoners. A certain Spaniſh engineer has publiſhed in print an exact relation of the retaking of this iſle by the Spaniards, which I have thought fit to inſert here.

A true relation, and particular account of the victory obtained by the arms of his Catholick Majeſty againſt the Engliſh pirates, by the direction and valour of Don John Perez de Guzman, knight of the order of St. James, governor and captain-general of Terra Firma, and the province of Veraguas.

THE kingdom of Terra Firma, which of itſelf is ſufficiently ſtrong to repel and deſtroy great fleets, eſpecially the pirates of Jamaica, had ſeveral ways notice imparted to the governor thereof, that fourteen Engliſh veſſels cruized on the coaſts belonging

Digitized by Google

ing to his Catholick Majeſty. July 14, 1665, news came to Panama, that they were arrived at Puerto de Naos, and had forced the Spaniſh garriſon of the iſle of St. Catharine, whoſe governor was Don Eſtevan del Campo, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſaid iſland, taking priſoners the inhabitants, and deſtroying all that they met. About the ſame time, Don John Perez de Guzman received particular information of theſe robberies from ſome Spaniards who eſcaped out of the iſland (and whom he ordered to be conveyed to Puerto Velo) that the ſaid pirates came into the iſland May 2, by night, without being perceived; and that the next day, after ſome ſkirmiſhes, they took the fortreſſes, and made priſoners all the inhabitants and ſoldiers that could not eſcape. Upon this, Don John called a council of war, wherein he declared the great progreſs the ſaid pirates had made in the dominions of his Catholick Majeſty; and propounded, 'that it was abſolutely 'neceſſary to ſend ſome forces to the iſle of St. Ca-'tharine, ſufficient to retake it from the pirates, 'the honour and intereſt of his majeſty of Spain 'being very narrowly concerned herein; otherwiſe 'the pirates by ſuch conqueſts might eaſily, in courſe 'of time, poſſeſs themſelves of all the countries there-'abouts.' To this ſome made anſwer, 'that the 'pirates, not being able to ſubſiſt in the ſaid iſland, 'would of neceſſity conſume and waſte themſelves, 'and be forced to quit it, without any neceſſity of 'retaking it: that conſequently it was not worth 'the while to engage in ſo many expences and 'troubles as this would coſt.' Notwithſtanding which, Don John being an expert and valiant ſoldier, ordered that proviſions ſhould be conveyed to Puerto Velo for the uſe of the militia, and tranſported himſelf thither, with no ſmall danger of his life. Here he arrived July 2, with moſt things neceſſary

Digitized by Google

ceſſary to the expedition in hand, where he found in the port a good ſhip, and well mounted, called the St. Vincent, that belonged to the company of the negroes, which he manned and victualled very well, and ſent to the iſle of St. Catharine, conſtituting Captain Joſeph Sanchez Ximenez, major of Puerto Velo, commander thereof. He carried with him 270 ſoldiers, and 37 priſoners of the ſame iſland, beſide 34 Spaniards of the garriſon of Puerto Velo, 29 mulattoes of Panama, 12 Indians, very dextrous at ſhooting with bows and arrows, ſeven expert and able gunners, two lieutenants, two pilots, one ſurgeon, and one religious, of the order of St. Francis, for their chaplain.

Don John ſoon after gave orders to all the officers how to behave themſelves, telling them that the governor of Carthagena would ſupply them with more men, boats, and all things elſe neceſſary for that enterprize; to which effect he had already written to the ſaid governor. July 24, Don John ſetting ſail with a fair wind, he called before him all his people, and made them a ſpeech, encouraging them to fight againſt the enemies of their country and religion, and eſpecially againſt thoſe inhuman pirates, who had committed ſo many horrid cruelties upon the ſubjects of his Catholick Majeſty; withal, promiſing every one moſt liberal rewards, eſpecially to ſuch as ſhould behave themſelves well in the ſervice of their king and country. Thus Don John bid them farewel, and the ſhip ſet ſail under a favourable gale. The 22d they arrived at Carthagena, and preſented a letter to the governor thereof from the noble and valiant Don John, who received it with teſtimonies of great affection to the perſon of Don John, and his majeſty's ſervice: and ſeeing the reſolution to be conformable to his deſires, he promiſed them his aſſiſtance, with one frigate, one galleon, one boat, and 126 men; one half out of his

Digitized by Google

his own garriſon, and the other half mulattoes. Thus being well provided with neceſſaries, they left the port of Carthagena Auguſt 2, and the 10th they arrived in ſight of St. Catharine's, towards the weſtern point thereof; and though the wind was contrary, yet they reached the port, and anchored within it, having loſt one of their boats by foul weather, at the rock called Quita Signos.

The pirates, ſeeing our ſhips come to an anchor, gave them preſently three guns with bullets, which were ſoon anſwered in the ſame coin. Hereupon, Major Joſeph Sanchez Ximenez ſent aſhore to the pirates one of his officers to require them, in the name of the Catholick king his maſter, to ſurrender the iſland, ſeeing they had taken it in the midſt of peace between the two crowns of Spain and England; and that if they would be obſtinate, he would certainly put them all to the ſword. The pirates made anſwer, that the iſland had once before belonged unto the government and dominions of the king of England, and that inſtead of ſurrendering it they preferred to loſe their lives.

On Friday the 13th, three negroes from the enemy came, ſwimming, aboard our admiral; theſe brought intelligence, that all the pirates upon the iſland were only 72 in number, and that they were under a great conſternation, ſeeing ſuch conſiderable forces come againſt them. With this intelligence, the Spaniards reſolved to land, and advance towards the fortreſſes, which ceaſed not to fire as many great guns againſt them as they poſſibly could; which were anſwered in the ſame manner on our ſide, till dark night. On Sunday the 15th, the day of the aſſumption of our Lady, the weather being very calm and clear, the Spaniards began to advance thus: the ſhip St. Vincent, riding admiral, diſcharged two whole broadſides on the battery called

Digitized by Google

led the Conception; the ſhip St. Peter, that was vice-admiral, diſcharged likewiſe her guns againſt the other battery, named St. James: mean while, our people landed in ſmall boats, directing their courſe towards the point of the battery laſt mentioned, and thence they marched towards the gate called Cortadura. Lieutenant Francis de Cazeres, being deſirous to view the ſtrength of the enemy, with only 15 men, was compelled to retreat in haſte, by reaſon of the great guns, which played ſo furiouſly on the place where he ſtood; they ſhooting, not only pieces of iron, and ſmall bullets, but alſo the organs of the church, diſcharging in every ſhot threeſcore pipes at a time.

Notwithſtanding this heat of the enemy, captain Don Joſeph Ramirez de Leyva, with 60 Men, made a ſtrong attack, wherein they fought on both ſides very deſperately, till at laſt he overcame, and forced the pirates to ſurrender the fort.

On the other ſide, Captain John Galeno, with 90 men, paſſed over the hills, to advance that way towards the caſtle of St. Tereſa; mean while, Major Don Joſeph Sanchez Ximenez, as commander in chief, with the reſt of his men, ſet forth from the battery of St. James, paſſing the port with four boats, and landing in deſpite of the enemy. About this ſame time Captain John Galeno began to advance with the men he led to the fore-mentioned fortreſs; ſo that our men made three attacks on three ſeveral ſides, at one and the ſame time, with great courage; till the pirates ſeeing many of their men already killed, and that they could in no manner ſubſiſt any longer, retreated towards Cortadura, where they ſurrendered themſelves, and the whole iſland, into our hands. Our people poſſeſſed themſelves of all, and ſet up the Spaniſh colours, as ſoon as they had rendered thanks to God Almighty for the victory obtained.

Digitized by Google

obtained on ſuch a ſignalized day. The number of dead were ſix men of the enemies, with many wounded, and ſeventy priſoners: on our ſide was only one man killed, and four wounded.

There were found on the iſland 800 pounds of powder, 250 pounds of ſmall bullets, with many other military proviſions. Among the priſoners were taken alſo two Spaniards, who had bore arms under the Engliſh againſt his Catholick Majeſty: theſe were ſhot to death the next day by order of the major. The 10th day of September arrived at the iſle an Engliſh veſſel, which being ſeen at a great diſtance by the major, he ordered Le Sieur Simon, who was a Frenchman, to go and viſit the ſaid ſhip, and tell them that were on board, that the iſland ſtill belonged to the Engliſh. He performed the command, and found in the ſaid ſhip only 14 men, one woman and her daughter, who were all inſtantly made priſoners.

The Engliſh pirates were all tranſported to Puerto Velo, excepting three, who by order of the governor were carried to Panama, there to work in the caſtle of St. Jerom. This fortification is an excellent piece of workmanſhip, and very ſtrong, being raiſed in the middle of the port of a quadrangular form, and of very hard ſtone: its height is 88 geometrical feet, the wall being 14, and the curtains 75 feet diameter. It was built at the expence of ſeveral private perſons, the governor of the city furniſhing the greateſt part of the money; ſo that it coſt his majeſty nothing.

CHAP.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XII.

Of the iſland of Cuba. Captain Morgan attempts to preſerve the iſle of St. Catharine as a refuge to the neſt of pirates; but fails of his deſign. He arrives at, and takes the village of el Puerto del Principe.

CAPTAIN Morgan ſeeing his predeceſſor and admiral Manſvelt were dead, uſed all the means that were poſſible, to keep in poſſeſſion the iſle of St. Catharine, ſeated near Cuba. His chief intent was to make it a refuge and ſanctuary to the pirates of thoſe parts, putting it in a condition of being a convenient receptacle of their preys and robberies. To this effect he left no ſtone unmoved, writing to ſeveral merchants in Virginia and New-England, perſuading them to ſend him proviſions and neceſſaries, towards putting the ſaid iſland in ſuch a poſture of defence, as to fear no danger of invaſion from any ſide. But all this proved ineffectual, by the Spaniards retaking the ſaid iſland: yet Captain Morgan retained his courage, which put him on new deſigns. Firſt, he equipped a ſhip, in order to gather a fleet as great, and as ſtrong as he could. By degrees he effected it, and gave orders to every member of his fleet to meet at a certain port of Cuba, there determining to call a council, and deliberate what was beſt to be done, and what place firſt to fall upon. Leaving theſe preparations in this condition, I ſhall give my reader ſome ſmall account of the ſaid iſle of Cuba, in whoſe port this expedition was hatched, ſeeing I omitted to do it in its proper place.

Cuba lies from eaſt to weſt, in north latitude, 20 to 23 deg. in length 150 German leagues, and about

Digitized by Google

about 40 in breadth. Its fertility is equal to that of Hiſpaniola; beſides which, it affords many things proper for trading and commerce; ſuch as hides of ſeveral beaſts, particularly thoſe that in Europe are called hides of Havanna. On all ſides it is ſurrounded with many ſmall iſlands, called the Cayos: theſe little iſlands the pirates uſe as ports of refuge. Here they have their meetings, and hold their councils, how beſt to aſſault the Spaniards. It is watered on all ſides with plentiful and pleaſant rivers, whoſe entries form both ſecure and ſpacious ports, beſides many other harbours for ſhips, which along the calm ſhores and coaſts adorn this rich and beautiful iſland; all which contribute much to its happineſs, by facilitating trade, whereto they invited both natives and aliens. The chief of theſe ports are San Jago, Byame, Santa Maria, Eſpiritu Santo, Trinidad, Zagoa, Cabo de Corientes, and others, on the ſouth ſide of the iſland; on the north ſide are, La Havanna, Puerto Mariano, Santa Cruz, Mata Ricos, and Barracoa.

This iſland hath two chief cities, to which all the towns and villages thereof give obedience. The firſt is Santa Jago, or St. James, ſeated on the ſouth-ſide, and having under its juriſdiction one half of the iſland. The chief magiſtrates hereof are a biſhop and a governor, who command the villages and towns of the ſaid half. The chief of theſe are, on the ſouth-ſide, Eſpiritu Santo, Puerto del Principe, and Bayame. On the north it has Barracoa, and De los Cayos. The greateſt part of the commerce driven here comes from the Canaries, whither they tranſport much tobacco, ſugar, and hides, which ſort of merchandize are drawn to the head city from the ſubordinate towns and villages. Formerly this city of Santo Jago was miſerably ſacked by the pirates of Jamaica and Tortuga, though it is defended by a conſiderable caſtle.

Digitized by Google

The city and port de la Havanna lie between the north and weſt ſide of the iſland: this is one of the ſtrongeſt places of the Weſt-Indies; its juriſdiction extends over the other half of the iſland; the chief places under it being Santa Cruz on the north ſide, and la Trinidad on the ſouth. Hence is tranſported huge quantities of tobacco, which is ſent to New-Spain and Coſta Rica, even as far as the South-Sea, beſides many ſhips laden with this commodity, that are conſigned to Spain and other parts of Europe, not only in the leaf but in rolls. This city is defended by three caſtles, very great and ſtrong, two of which lie towards the port, and the other is ſeated on a hill that commands the town. It is eſteemed to contain about 10,000 families. The merchants of this place trade in New-Spain, Campeachy, Honduras, and Florida. All ſhips that come from the parts before-mentioned, as alſo from the Caraccas, Carthagena, and Coſta Rica, are neceſſitated to take their proviſions in at Havanna to make their voyage for Spain; this being the neceſſary and ſtrait courſe they muſt ſteer for the ſouth of Europe, and other parts. The plate-fleet of Spain, which the Spaniards call Flota, being homeward bound, touches here yearly to complete their cargo with hides, tobacco, and Campeachy wood.

Captain Morgan had been but two months in theſe ports of the ſouth of Cuba, when he had got together a fleet of twelve ſail, between ſhips and great boats, with 700 fighting men, part Engliſh and part French. They called a council, and ſome adviſed to aſſault the city of Havanna in the night, which they ſaid might eaſily be done, if they could but take any few of the eccleſiaſticks; yea, that the city might be ſacked before the caſtles could put themſelves in a poſture of defence. Others propounded, according to their ſeveral opinions, other attempts;

Digitized by Google

attempts; but the former propoſal was rejected, becauſe many of the pirates, who had been priſoners at other times in the ſaid city, affirmed nothing of conſequence could be done with leſs than 1500 men. Moreover, that with all theſe people, they ought to go firſt to the iſland de los Pinos, and land them in ſmall boats about Matanca, fourteen leagues from the ſaid city, whereby to accompliſh their deſigns.

Finally, they ſaw no poſſibility of gathering ſo great a fleet, and hereupon, with what they had, they concluded to attempt ſome other place. Among the reſt, one propounded that ſhould aſſault the town of el Puerto del Principe. This propoſition he perſuaded to, by ſaying he knew that place very well, and that being at a diſtance from ſea, it never was ſacked by any pirates, whereby the inhabitants were rich, exerciſing their trade by ready money, with thoſe of Havanna, who kept here an eſtabliſhed commerce, chiefly in hides. This propoſal was preſently admitted by Captain Morgan, and the chief of his companions. Hereupon they ordered every captain to weigh anchor and ſet ſail, ſteering towards that coaſt neareſt to el Puerto del Principe. Here is a bay named by the Spaniards el Puerto de Santa Maria: being arrived at this bay, a Spaniard, who was priſoner aboard the fleet, ſwam aſhore by night to the town of el Puerto del Principe, giving an account to the inhabitants of the deſign of the pirates, which he overheard in their diſcourſe, while they thought he did not underſtand Engliſh. The Spaniards upon this advice began to hide their riches, and carry away the moveables; the governor immediately raiſed all the people of the town, freemen and ſlaves, and with part of them took a poſt by which of neceſſity the pirates muſt paſs, and commanded many trees to be cut down and

Digitized by Google

and laid acroſs the ways to hinder their paſſage, placing ſeveral ambuſcades, ſtrengthened with ſome pieces of cannon to play upon them on their march. He gathered in all about 800 men, of which detaching part into the ſaid ambuſcades, with the reſt he begirt the town, drawing them up in a ſpacious field, whence they could ſee the coming of the pirates at length.

Captain Morgan with his men, now on the march, found the avenues of the town unpaſſable; hereupon they took their way through the wood, traverſing it with great difficulty, whereby they eſcaped divers ambuſcades; at laſt they came to the plain, from its figure called by the Spaniards la Savanna, or the Sheet. The governor ſeeing them come, detached a troop of horſe to charge them in the front, thinking to diſperſe them, and to purſue them with his main body; but this deſign ſucceeded not, for the pirates marched in very good order, at the ſound of their drums, and with flying colours; coming near the horſe they drew into a ſemi-circle, and ſo advanced towards the Spaniards, who charged them violently for a while; but the pirates being very dextrous at their arms, and their governor, with many of their companions, being killed, they retreated towards the wood, to ſave themſelves with more advantage; but before they could reach it, moſt of them were unfortunately killed by the pirates. Thus they left the victory to theſe newcome enemies, who had no conſiderable loſs of men in the battle, and but very few wounded. The ſkirmiſh laſted four hours. They entered the town not without great reſiſtance of ſuch as were within, who defended themſelves as long as poſſible, and many ſeeing the enemy in the town, ſhut themſelves up in their own houſes, and thence made ſeveral ſhot upon the pirates; who thereupon threatened them,

Digitized by Google

them, saying, 'If you surrender not voluntarily, 'you shall soon see the town in a flame, and your 'wives and children torn in pieces before your 'faces.' Upon these menaces the Spaniards submitted to the discretion of the pirates, believing they could not continue there long.

As soon as the pirates had possessed themselves of the town, they enclosed all the Spaniards, men, women, children, and slaves, in several churches, and pillaged all the goods they could find; then they searched the country round about, bringing in daily many goods and prisoners, with much provision. With this they fell to making great cheer, after their old custom, without remembering the poor prisoners, whom they let starve in the churches, though they tormented them daily and inhumanly to make them confess where they had hid their goods, money, &c. though little or nothing was left them, not sparing the women and little children, giving them nothing to eat, whereby the greatest part perished.

Pillage and provisions growing scarce, they thought convenient to depart and seek new fortunes in other places: they told the prisoners, 'they should find 'money to ransom themselves, else they should be 'all transported to Jamaica; and beside, if they 'did not pay a second ransom for the town, they 'would turn every house in ashes.' The Spaniards hereupon nominated among themselves four fellow prisoners to go and seek for the above-mentioned contributions; but the pirates, to the intent they should return speedily with those ransoms, tormented several cruelly in their presence, before they departed. After a few days the Spaniards returned, telling captain Morgan, 'We have ran up and down, 'and searched all the neighbouring woods and places 'we most suspected, and yet have not been able

Digitized by Google

'to find any of our own party, nor conſequently 'any fruit of our embaſſy; but if you are pleaſed 'to have a little longer patience with us, we ſhall 'certainly cauſe all that you demand to be paid 'within 15 days;' which captain Morgan granted. But not long after, there came into the town ſeven or eight pirates who had been ranging in the woods and fields, and got conſiderable booty. Theſe brought amongſt other priſoners a negro, whom they had taken with letters. Captain Morgan having peruſed them, found they were from the governor of Santa Jago, being written to ſome of the priſoners, wherein he told them, 'they ſhould not make too 'much haſte to pay any ranſom for their town or 'perſons, or any other pretext; but on the con- 'trary, they ſhould put off the pirates as well as 'they could with excuſes and delays, expecting to 'be relieved by him in a ſhort time, when he would 'certainly come to their aid.' Upon this intelligence captain Morgan immediately ordered all their plunder to be carried aboard; and withal, he told the Spaniards, that the very next day they ſhould pay their ranſoms, for he would not wait a moment longer, but reduce the whole town to aſhes, if they failed of the ſum he demanded.

With this intimation, captain Morgan made no mention to the Spaniards of the letters he had intercepted. They anſwered, 'that it was impoſſible 'for them to give ſuch a ſum of money in ſo ſhort 'a ſpace of time, ſeeing their fellow townſmen were 'not to be found in all the country thereabouts.' Captain Morgan knew full well their intentions, but thought it not convenient to ſtay there any longer, demanding of them only 500 oxen or cows, with ſufficient ſalt to powder them, with this condition, that they ſhould carry them on board his ſhips. Thus he departed with all his men, taking with him

Digitized by Google

him only ſix of the principal priſoners as pledges. Next day the Spaniards brought the cattle and ſalt to the ſhips, and required the priſoners; but captain Morgan refuſed to deliver them, till they had helped his men to kill and ſalt the beeves: this was performed in great haſte, he not caring to ſtay there any longer, leſt he ſhould be ſurprized by the forces that were gathering againſt him; and having received all on board his veſſels, he ſet at liberty the hoſtages. Mean while there happened ſome diſſenſions between the Engliſh and the French: the occaſion was as follows; a Frenchman being employed in killing and ſalting the beeves, an Engliſh pirate took away the marrow-bones he had taken out of the ox, which theſe people eſteem much; hereupon they challenged one another: being come to the place of duel, the Engliſhman ſtabbed the Frenchman in the back, whereby he fell down dead. The other Frenchman, deſirous of revenge, made an inſurrection againſt the Engliſh; but captain Morgan ſoon appeaſed them, by putting the criminal in chains to be carried to Jamaica, promiſing he would ſee juſtice done upon him; for though he might challenge his adverſary, yet it was not lawful to kill him treacherouſly as he did.

All things being ready, and on board, and the priſoners ſet at liberty, they ſailed thence to a certain iſland, where captain Morgan intended to make a dividend of what they had purchaſed in that voyage; where being arrived, they found nigh the value of 50,000 pieces of eight in money and goods; the ſum being known, it cauſed a general grief to ſee ſuch a ſmall purchaſe, not ſufficient to pay their debts at Jamaica. Hereupon captain Morgan propoſed they ſhould think on ſome other enterprize and pillage before they returned. But the French not being able to agree with the Engliſh, left captain

Digitized by Google

Morgan with thoſe of his own nation, notwithſtanding all the perſuaſions he uſed to reduce them to continue in his company. Thus they parted with all external ſigns of friendſhip, captain Morgan reiterating his promiſes to them, that he would ſee juſtice done on that criminal. This he performed, for being arrived at Jamaica, he cauſed him to be hanged, which was all the ſatisfaction the French pirates could expect.

CHAP. XIII.

Captain Morgan reſolving to attack and plunder the city of Puerto Bello, equips a fleet, and with little expence and ſmall forces takes it.

SOME may think that the French having deſerted captain Morgan, the Engliſh alone could not have ſufficient courage to attempt ſuch great actions as before. But captain Morgan, who always communicated vigour with his words, infuſed ſuch ſpirit into his men, as put them inſtantly upon new deſigns; they being all perſuaded that the ſole execution of his orders would be a certain means of obtaining great riches, which ſo influenced their minds, that with inimitable courage they all reſolved to follow him, as did alſo a certain pirate of Campeachy, who on this occaſion joined with captain Morgan, to ſeek new fortunes under his conduct. Thus captain Morgan in a few days gathered a fleet of nine ſail, either ſhips or great boats, wherein he had 460 military men.

All things being ready, they put forth to ſea, captain Morgan imparting his deſign to no body at preſent; he only told them on ſeveral occaſions, that he doubted not to make a good fortune by that voyage, if ſtrange occurrences happened not. They ſteered

Digitized by Google

fteered towards the continent, where they arrived in a few days near Coſta Rica, all their fleet ſafe. No ooner had they diſcovered land, but captain Morgan declared his intentions to the captains, and preſently after to the company. He told them he intended to plunder Puerto Bello by night, being reſolved to put the whole city to the ſack: and to encourage them he added, this enterprize could not fail, ſeeing he had kept it ſecret, without revealing it to any body, whereby they could not have notice of his coming. To this propoſition ſome anſwered, they had not a ſufficient number of men to aſſault ſo ſtrong and great a city. But captain Morgan replied, 'If our number is ſmall, our hearts are 'great; and the fewer perſons we are, the more 'union and better ſhares we ſhall have in the ſpoil' Hereupon, being ſtimulated with the hope of thoſe vaſt riches they promiſed themſelves from their ſucceſs, they unanimouſly agreed to that deſign. Now, that my reader may better comprehend the boldneſs of this exploit, it may be neceſſary to ſay ſomething before-hand of the city of Puerto Bello.

This city is in the province of Coſta Rica, 10 deg. north latitude, 14 leagues from the gulf of Darien, and eight weſtwards from the port called Nombre de Dios. It is judged the ſtrongeſt place the king of Spain poſſeſſes in all the Weſt-Indies, except Havanna and Carthagena. Here are two caſtles almoſt impregnable, that defend the city, ſituate at the entry of the port, ſo that no ſhip or boat can paſs without permiſſion. The garriſon conſiſts of 300 ſoldiers, and the town is inhabited by about 400 families. The merchants dwell not here, but only reſide awhile, when the galleons come from or go for Spain, by reaſon of the unhealthineſs of the air, occaſioned by vapours from the mountains; ſo that though their chief warehouſes are at Puerto Bello,

Digitized by Google

their habitations are at Panama, whence they bring the plate upon mules, when the fair begins, and when the ships belonging to the company of Negroes arrive to sell slaves.

Captain Morgan, who knew very well all the avenues of this city and the neighbouring coasts, arrived in the dusk of the evening at Puerto de Naos, 10 leagues to the west of Puerto Bello: being come hither, they sailed up the river to another harbour, called Puerto Pontin, where they anchored: herethey put themselves in boats and canoes, leaving in the ships only a few men to bring them next day to the port. About midnight they came to a place called Estera longa Lemos, where they all went on shore, and marched by land to the first posts of the city: they had in their company an Englishman, formerly a prisoner in those parts, who now served them for a guide; to him and three or four more they gave commission to take the centinel, if possible, or kill him on the place; but they seized him so cunningly, as he had no time to give warning with his musket, or make any noise, and brought him, with his hands bound, to captain Morgan, who asked him how things went in the city, and what forces they had; with other circumstances he desired to know. After every question, they made him a thousand menaces to kill him, if he declared not the truth. Then they advanced to the city, carrying the said centinel bound before them: having marched about a quarter of a league, they came to the castle near the city, which presently they closely surrounded, so that no person could get either in or out.

Being posted under the walls of the castle, captain Morgan commanded the centinel, whom they had taken prisoner, to speak to those within, charging them to surrender to his discretion; otherwise they should be all cut in pieces, without quarter. But they regarding none of these threats, began instantly to

Digitized by Google

to fire, which alarmed the city; yet notwithſtanding, though the governor and ſoldiers of the ſaid caſtle made as great reſiſtance as could be, they were forced to ſurrender. Having taken the caſtle, they reſolved to be as good as their words, putting the Spaniards to the ſword, thereby to ſtrike a terror into the reſt of the city. Whereupon, having ſhut up all the ſoldiers and officers as priſoners into one room, they ſet fire to the powder (whereof they found great quantity) and blew up the caſtle into the air, with all the Spaniards that were within. This done, they purſued the courſe of their victory, falling upon the city, which, as yet, was not ready to receive them. Many of the inhabitants caſt their precious jewels and money into wells and ciſterns, or hid them in places under ground, to avoid, as much as poſſible, being totally robbed. One party of the pirates, aſſigned to this purpoſe, ran immediately to the cloiſters, and took as many religious men and women as they could find. The governor of the city, not being able to rally the citizens, through their great confuſion, retired to one of the caſtles remaining, and thence fired inceſſantly at the pirates: but theſe were not in the leaſt negligent either to aſſault him, or defend themſelves; ſo that amidſt the horror of the aſſault, they made very few ſhots in vain; for aiming with great dexterity at the mouths of the guns, the Spaniards were certain to loſe one or two men every time they charged each gun a-new.

This continued very furious from break of day till noon; yea, about this time of the day the caſe was very dubious which party ſhould conquer, or be conquered. At laſt, the pirates perceiving they had loſt many men, and yet advanced but little towards the gaining either this, or the other caſtles, made uſe of fire-balls, which they threw with their hands, deſigning to burn the doors of the caſtles:

Digitized by Google

but the Spaniards from the walls let fall great quantities of ſtones, and earthen pots full of powder, and other combuſtible matter, which forced them to deſiſt. Captain Morgan ſeeing this generous defence made by the Spaniards, began to deſpair of ſucceſs. Hereupon many faint and calm meditations came into his mind; neither could he determine which way to turn himſelf in that ſtreight. Being thus puzzled, he was ſuddenly animated to continue the aſſault, by ſeeing Engliſh colours put forth at one of the leſſer caſtles, then entered by his men; of whom he preſently after ſpied a troop coming to meet him, proclaiming victory with loud ſhouts of joy. This inſtantly put him on new reſolutions of taking the reſt of the caſtles, eſpecially ſeeing the chiefeſt citizens were fled to them, and had conveyed thither great part of their riches, with all the plate belonging to the churches and divine ſervice.

To this effect he ordered ten or twelve ladders to be made in all haſte, ſo broad, that three or four men at once might aſcend them: theſe being finiſhed, he commanded all the religious men and women, whom he had taken priſoners, to fix them againſt the walls of the caſtle. This he had before threatened the governor to do, if he delivered not the caſtle: but his anſwer was, 'He would never 'ſurrender himſelf alive.' Captain Morgan was perſuaded the governor would not employ his utmoſt force, ſeeing the religious women, and eccleſiaſtical perſons, expoſed in the front of the ſoldiers to the greateſt danger. Thus the ladders, as I have ſaid, were put into the hands of religious perſons of both ſexes, and theſe were forced, at the head of the companies, to raiſe and apply them to the walls; but captain Morgan was fully deceived in his judgment of this deſign; for the governor, who acted

Digitized by Google

acted like a brave ſoldier in performance of his duty, uſed his utmoſt endeavour to deſtroy whoſoever came near the walls. The religious men and women ceaſed not to cry to him, and beg of him, by all the Saints of Heaven, to deliver the caſtle, and ſpare both his and their own lives; but nothing could prevail with his obſtinacy and fierceneſs. Thus many of the religious men and nuns were killed before they could fix the ladders; which, at laſt, being done, though with great loſs of the ſaid religious people, the pirates mounted them in great numbers, and with not leſs valour, having fire-balls in their hands, and earthen pots full of powder; all which things, being now at the top of the walls, they kindled and caſt in among the Spaniards.

This effort of the pirates was very great, inſomuch that the Spaniards could no longer reſiſt nor defend the caſtle, which was now entered. Hereupon they all threw down their arms, and craved quarter for their lives; only the governor of the city would crave no mercy, but killed many of the pirates with his own hands, and not a few of his own ſoldiers, becauſe they did not ſtand to their arms. And though the pirates aſked him if he would have quarter; yet he conſtantly anſwered, 'By no means, I had rather die as a valiant ſoldier, 'than be hanged as a coward.' They endeavoured as much as they could to take him priſoner, but he defended himſelf ſo obſtinately, that they were forced to kill him, notwithſtanding all the cries and tears of his own wife and daughter, who begged him, on their knees, to demand quarter, and ſave his life. When the pirates had poſſeſſed themſelves of the caſtle, which was about night, they incloſed therein all the priſoners, placing the women and men by themſelves, with ſome guards: the wounded were put in an apartment by itſelf, that their

own complaints might be the cure of their diſeaſes; for no other was afforded them.

This done, they fell to eating and drinking as uſual; that is, committing in both all manner of debauchery and exceſs: theſe two vices were immediately followed by many inſolent actions of rape and adultery, committed on many very honeſt women, as well married as virgins; who being threatened with the ſword, were conſtrained to ſubmit their bodies to the violence of thoſe lewd and wicked men. Thus they gave themſelves up to all ſorts of debauchery, that fifty courageous men might eaſily have retaken the city, and killed all the pirates. Next day, having plundered all they could find, they examined ſome of the priſoners, (who had been perſuaded by their companions to ſay they were the richeſt of the town) charging them ſeverely to diſcover where they had hid their riches and goods. Not being able to extort any thing from them, they not being the right perſons, it was reſolved to torture them: this they did ſo cruelly, that many of them died on the rack, or preſently after. Now the preſident of Panama being adverti ſed of the pillage and ruin of Puerto Bello, he employed all his care and induſtry to raiſe forces to purſue and caſt out the pirates thence; but theſe cared little for his preparations, having their ſhips at hand, and determining to fire the city, and retreat. They had now been at Puerto Bello fifteen days, in which time they had loſt many of their men, both by the unhealthineſs of the country, and their extravagant debaucheries.

Hereupon they prepared to depart, carrying on board all the pillage they had got, having firſt provided the fleet with ſufficient victuals for the voyage. While theſe things were doing, captain Morgan demanded of the priſoners a ranſom for the city, or elſe

Digitized by Google

elſe he would burn it down, and blow up all the caſtles; withal, he commanded them to ſend ſpeedily two perſons, to procure the ſum, which was 100,000 pieces of eight. To this effect, two men were ſent to the preſident of Panama, who gave him an account of all. The preſident having now a body of men ready, ſet forth towards Puerto Bello, to encounter the pirates before their retreat; but they hearing of his coming, inſtead of flying away, went out to meet him at a narrow paſſage, which he muſt paſs: here they placed 100 men, very well armed, which at the firſt encounter put to flight a good party of thoſe of Panama. This obliged the preſident to retire for that time, not being yet in a poſture of ſtrength to proceed farther. Preſently after, he ſent a meſſage to captain Morgan, to tell him, 'that if he departed not ſuddenly with all his 'forces from Puerto Bello, he ought to expect no 'quarter for himſelf, nor his companions, when 'he ſhould take them, as he hoped ſoon to do.' Captain Morgan, who feared not his threats, knowing he had a ſecure retreat in his ſhips, which were at hand, anſwered, 'He would not deliver the 'caſtles, before he had received the contribution 'money he had demanded; which, if it were not 'paid down, he would certainly burn the whole 'city, and then leave it, demoliſhing before-hand 'the caſtles, and killing the priſoners.'

The governor of Panama perceived by this anſwer, that no means would ſerve to mollify the hearts of the pirates, nor reduce them to reaſon: hereupon he determined to leave them, as alſo thoſe of the city whom he came to relieve, involved in the difficulties of making the beſt agreement they could. Thus in a few days more the miſerable citizens gathered the contribution required, and brought 100,000 pieces of eight to the pirates for

Digitized by Google

a ranſom of their cruel captivity: but the preſident of Panama was much amazed to conſider that 400 men could take ſuch a great city, with ſo many ſtrong caſtles, eſpecially having no ordnance wherewith to raiſe batteries; and, what was more, knowing the citizens of Puerto Bello had always great repute of being good ſoldiers themſelves, and who never wanted courage in their own defence. This aſtoniſhment was ſo great, as made him ſend to captain Morgan, deſiring ſome ſmall pattern of thoſe arms wherewith he had taken with ſuch vigour ſo great a city. Captain Morgan received this meſſage very kindly, and with great civility; and gave him a piſtol, and a few ſmall bullets, to carry back to the preſident his maſter; telling him, withal, 'He 'deſired him to accept that ſlender pattern of the 'arms wherewith he had taken Puerto Bello, and 'keep them for a twelve-month; after which time 'he promiſed to come to Panama, and fetch them 'away.' The governor returned the preſent very ſoon to captain Morgan, giving him thanks for the favour of lending him ſuch weapons as he needed not; and, withal, ſent him a ring of gold, with this meſſage, 'that he deſired him not to give him-'ſelf the labour of coming to Panama, as he had 'done to Puerto Bello; for he did aſſure him, he 'ſhould not ſpeed ſo well here, as he had done 'there.'

After this, Captain Morgan (having provided his fleet with all neceſſaries, and taken with him the beſt guns of the caſtles, nailing up the reſt) ſet ſail from Puerto Bello with all his ſhips, and arriving in a few days at Cuba, he ſought out a place wherein he might quickly make the dividend of their ſpoil. They found in ready money 250,000 pieces of eight, beſides other merchandizes; as cloth, linen, ſilks, &c. With this rich purchaſe they ſailed thence to

Digitized by Google

to their common place of rendezvous, Jamaica. Being arrived, they paſſed here ſome time in all ſorts of vices and debaucheries, according to their cuſtom; ſpending very prodigally what others had gained with no ſmall labour and toil.

CHAP. XIV.

Captain Morgan takes the city of Maracaibo on the coaſt of Neuva Venezuela. Piracies committed in thoſe ſeas. Ruin of three Spaniſh ſhips ſent forth to hinder the robberies of the pirates.

NOT long after their arrival at Jamaica, being that ſhort time they needed to laviſh away all the riches above-mentioned, they concluded on another enterprize to ſeek new fortunes: to this effect, captain Morgan ordered all the commanders of his ſhips to meet at De la Vacca, or the Cow Iſle, ſouth of Hiſpaniola, as is ſaid. Hither flocked to them great numbers of other pirates, French and Engliſh; the name of captain Morgan being now famous in all the neighbouring countries for his great enterprizes. There was then at Jamaica an Engliſh ſhip newly come from New England, well mounted with 36 guns: this veſſel, by order of the governor of Jamaica, joined captain Morgan to ſtrengthen his fleet, and give him greater courage to attempt mighty things. With this ſupply, captain Morgan judged himſelf ſufficiently ſtrong; but there being in the ſame place another great veſſel of 24 iron guns, and 12 braſs ones, belonging to the French, captain Morgan endeavoured alſo to join this ſhip to his own; but the French not daring to truſt the Engliſh, denied abſolutely to conſent.

The French pirates belonging to this great ſhip had met at ſea an Engliſh veſſel; and being under great

great want of victuals, they had taken ſome proviſions out of the Engliſh ſhip, without paying for them, having, perhaps, no ready money aboard; only they gave them bills of exchange for Jamaica and Tortuga, to receive money there. Captain Morgan having notice of this, and perceiving he could not prevail with the French captain to follow him, reſolved to lay hold on this occaſion, to ruin the French, and ſeek his revenge. Hereupon he invited, with diſſimulation, the French commander, and ſeveral of his men, to dine with him on board the great ſhip that was come to Jamaica, as is ſaid; being come, he made them all priſoners, pretending the injury aforeſaid done to the Engliſh veſſel.

This unjuſt action of captain Morgan was ſoon followed by divine puniſhment, as we may conceive: the manner I ſhall inſtantly relate. Captain Morgan, preſently after he had taken theſe French priſoners, called a council to deliberate what place they ſhould firſt pitch upon in this new expedition. Here it was determined to go to the iſle of Savona, to wait for the Flota then expected from Spain, and take any of the Spaniſh veſſels ſtraggling from the reſt. This reſolution being taken, they began aboard the great ſhip to feaſt one another for joy of their new voyage, and happy council, as they hoped: they drank many healths, and diſcharged many guns, the common ſign of mirth among ſeamen. Moſt of the men being drunk, by what accident is not known, the ſhip ſuddenly was blown up, with 350 Engliſhmen, beſides the French Priſoners in the hold; of all which, there eſcaped but 30 men, who were in the great cabin, at ſome diſtance from the main force of the powder. Many more, it is thought, might have eſcaped, had they not been ſo much overtaken with wine.

This

This loſs brought much conſternation of mind upon the Engliſh; they knew not whom to blame, but at laſt the accuſation was laid on the French priſoners, whom they ſuſpected to have fired the powder of the ſhip out of revenge, though with the loſs of their own lives: hereupon they added new accuſations to their former, whereby to ſeize the ſhip and all that was in it, by ſaying the French deſigned to commit piracy on the Engliſh. The grounds of this accuſation were given by a commiſſion from the governor of Barracoa, found aboard the French veſſel, wherein were theſe words, 'that 'the ſaid governor did permit the French to trade 'in all Spaniſh ports, &c.—As alſo to cruiſe on the 'Engliſh pirates in what place ſoever they could 'find them, becauſe of the multitude of hoſtilities 'which they had committed againſt the ſubjects of 'his catholick majeſty in time of peace betwixt the 'two crowns.' This commiſſion for trade was interpreted as an expreſs order to exerciſe piracy and war againſt them, though it was only a bare licence for coming into the Spaniſh ports; the cloak of which permiſſion were thoſe words, 'that they ſhould 'cruiſe upon the Engliſh:' And though the French did ſufficiently expound the true ſenſe of it, yet they could not clear themſelves to captain Morgan, nor his council; but in lieu thereof, the ſhip and men were ſeized and ſent to Jamaica. Here they alſo endeavoured to obtain juſtice, and the reſtitution of their ſhip, but all in vain; for inſtead of juſtice, they were long detained in priſon, and threatened with hanging.

Eight days after the loſs of the ſaid ſhip, captain Morgan commanded the bodies of the miſerable wretches who were blown up to be ſearched for, as they floated on the ſea; not to afford them chriſtian burial, but for their clothes and attire; and

Digitized by Google

and if any had gold rings on their fingers, these were cut off, leaving them exposed to the voracity of the monsters of the sea. At last they set sail for Savona, the place of their assignation. There were in all 15 vessels, captain Morgan commanding the biggest, of only 14 small guns; his number of men was 960. Few days after, they arrived at the Cabo de Lobos, south of Hispaniola, between Cape Tiburon and Cape Punta de Espada: hence they could not pass by reason of contrary winds for three weeks, notwithstanding all the utmost endeavours captain Morgan used to get forth; then they doubled the Cape, and spied an English vessel at a distance. Having spoken with her, they found she came from England, and bought of her for ready money some provisions they wanted.

Captain Morgan proceeded in his voyage till he came to the port of Ocoa; here he landed some men, sending them into the woods to seek water and provisions, the better to spare such as he had already on board. They killed many beasts, and among others some horses. But the Spaniards, not well satisfied at their hunting, laid a stratagem for them, ordering three or four hundred men to come from Santo Domingo not far distant, and desiring them to hunt in all the parts thereabout near the sea, that so, if the pirates should return, they might find no subsistence. Within few days the same pirates returned to hunt, but finding nothing to kill, a party of about fifty straggled farther on into the woods. The Spaniards, who watched all their motions, gathered a great herd of cows, and set two or three men to keep them. The pirates having spied them, killed a sufficient number; and though the Spaniards could see them at a distance, yet they would not hinder them at present; but as soon as they attempted to carry them away, they set

Digitized by Google

ſet upon them furiouſly, crying, Mata, mata, i. e. Kill, kill. Thus the pirates were compelled to quit the prey, and retreat to their ſhips; but they did it in good order, retiring by degrees, and when they had opportunity, diſcharging full vollies on the Spaniards, killing many of their enemies, tho' with ſome loſs.

The Spaniards ſeeing their damage, endeavoured to ſave themſelves by flight, and carry off their dead and wounded companions. The pirates perceiving them flee, would not content themſelves with what hurt they had already done, but purſued them ſpeedily into the woods, and killed the greateſt part of thoſe that remained. Next day captain Morgan, extremely offended at what had paſſed, went himſelf with 200 men into the woods to ſeek for the reſt of the Spaniards, but finding no body, he revenged his wrath on the houſes of the poor and miſerable ruſticks that inhabit thoſe ſcattering fields and woods, of which he burnt a great number: with this he returned to his ſhips, ſomewhat more ſatisfied in his mind, for having done ſome conſiderable damage to the enemy, which was always his moſt ardent deſire.

The impatience wherewith captain Morgan had waited a long while for ſome of his ſhips not yet arrived, made him reſolve to ſail away without them, and ſteer for Savona, the place he always deſigned. Being arrived, and not finding any of his ſhips come, he was more impatient and concerned than before, fearing their loſs, or that he muſt proceed without them; but he waiting for their arrival a few days longer, and having no great plenty of proviſions, he ſent a crew of 150 men to Hiſpaniola to pillage ſome towns near Santo Domingo; but the Spaniards, upon intelligence of their coming, were ſo vigilant, and in ſuch good poſture of defence, that the pirates thought

Digitized by Google

thought not convenient to aſſault them, chooſing rather to return empty-handed to captain Morgan, than to periſh in that deſperate enterprize.

At laſt captain Morgan, ſeeing the other ſhips did not come, made a review of his people, and found only about 500 men; the ſhips wanting were ſeven, he only having eight in his company, of which the greateſt part were very ſmall. Having hitherto reſolved to cruiſe on the coaſts of Carraccas, and to plunder the towns and villages there, finding himſelf at preſent with ſuch ſmall forces, he changed his reſolution by advice of a French captain in his fleet. This Frenchman having ſerved Lolonois in the like enterprizes, and at the taking of Maracaibo, knew all the entries, paſſages, forces, and means how to put in execution the ſame again in company of captain Morgan; to whom having made a full relation of all, he concluded to ſack it the ſecond time, being himſelf perſuaded, with all his men, of the facility the Frenchman propounded. Hereupon they weighed anchor, and ſteered towards Curaſao. Being come within ſight of it, they landed at another iſland near it, called Ruba, about twelve leagues from Curaſao to the weſt. This iſland, defended by a ſlender garriſon, is inhabited by Indians ſubject to Spain, and ſpeak Spaniſh, by reaſon of the Romon catholick religion here cultivated by a few prieſts ſent from the neighbouring continent.

The inhabitants exerciſe commerce or trade with the pirates that go and come this way: they buy of the iſlanders ſheep, lambs, and kids, which they exchange for linen, thread, and like things. The country is very dry and barren, the whole ſubſtance thereof conſiſting in thoſe three things, and a little indifferent wheat. This iſle produces many venomous inſects, as vipers, ſpiders, and others. Theſe laſt are ſo pernicious, that a man bitten by them dies

Digitized by Google

dies mad; and the manner of recovering such, is to tie them very fast both hands and feet, and so to leave them twenty four hours, without eating or drinking any thing. Captain Morgan, as was said, having cast anchor before this island, bought of the inhabitants sheep, lambs, and wood for all his fleet. After two days, he sailed again in the night, to the intent they might not see what course he steered.

Next day they arrived at the sea of Maracaibo, taking great care not to be seen from Vigilia, for which reason they anchored out of sight of it. Night being come, they set sail again towards the land, and next morning, by break of day, were got directly over against the Bar of the said lake. The Spaniards had built another fort since the action of Lolonois, whence they now fired continually against the pirates, while they put their men into boats to land. The dispute continued very hot, being managed with great courage from morning till dark night. This being come, captain Morgan, in the obscurity thereof, drew nigh the fort, which having examined, he found no body in it, the Spaniards having deserted it not long before. They left behind them a match lighted near a train of powder, to have blown up the pirates and the whole fortress as soon as they were in it. This design had taken effect, had not the pirates discovered it in a quarter of an hour; but captain Morgan snatching away the match, saved both his own and his companions lives. They found here much powder, whereof he provided his fleet, and then demolished part of the walls, nailing 16 pieces of ordnance from 12 to 24 pounders. Here they also found many muskets and other military provisions.

Next day they commanded the ships to enter the Bar, among which they divided the powder, muskets,

Digitized by Google

quets, and other things found in the fort: then they embarked again to continue their courſe towards Maracaibo; but the waters being very low, they could not paſs a certain bank at the entry of the lake: hereupon they were compelled to go into canoes and ſmall boats, with which they arrived next day before Maracaibo, having no other defence than ſome ſmall pieces which they could carry in the ſaid boats. Being landed, they ran immediately to the fort de la Barra, which they found as the precedent, without any perſon in it, for all were fled into the woods, leaving alſo the town without any people, unleſs a few miſerable folks, who had nothing to loſe.

As ſoon as they had entered the towns, the pirates ſearched every corner to ſee if they could find any people that were hid, who might offend them unawares; not finding any body, every party as they came out of their ſeveral ſhips, choſe what houſes they pleaſed. The church was deputed for the common corps du guard, where they lived after their military manner, very inſolently. Next day after they ſent a troop of 100 men to ſeek for the inhabitants and their goods: theſe returned next day, bringing with them thirty perſons, men, women, and children, and fifty mules loaden with good merchandiſe. All theſe miſerable people were put to the rack, to make them confeſs where the reſt of the inhabitants were, and their goods. Among other tortures, one was to ſtretch their limbs with cords, and then to beat them with ſticks and other inſtruments. Others had burning matches placed betwixt their fingers, which were thus burnt alive. Others had ſlender cords or matches twiſted about their heads, till their eyes burſt out. Thus all inhuman cruelties were executed on thoſe innocent people. Thoſe who would not confeſs, or who had

Digitized by Google

had nothing to declare, died under the hands of thoſe villains. Theſe tortures and racks continued for three whole weeks, in which time they ſent out daily parties to ſeek for more people to torment and rob, they never returning without booty and new riches.

Captain Morgan having now gotten into his hands about 100 of the chief families, with all their goods, at laſt reſolved for Gibraltar, as Lolonois had done before: with this deſign he equipped his fleet, providing it ſufficiently with all neceſſaries. He put likewiſe on board all the priſoners, and weighing anchor, ſet ſail with reſolution to hazard a battle. They had ſent before ſome priſoners to Gibraltar, to require the inhabitants to ſurrender, otherwiſe captain Morgan would certainly put them all to the ſword, without any quarter. Arriving before Gibraltar, the inhabitants received him with continual ſhooting of great cannon bullets; but the pirates, inſtead of fainting hereat, ceaſed not to encourage one another, ſaying, 'We muſt make one meal 'upon bitter things, before we come to taſte the 'the ſweetneſs of the ſugar this place affords.'

Next day very early they landed all their men, and being guided by the Frenchman aboveſaid, they marched towards the town; not by the common way, but croſſing through woods, which way the Spaniards ſcarce thought they would have come; for at the beginning of their march, they made as if they intended to come the next and open way to the town, hereby to deceive the Spaniards; but theſe remembering full well what Lolonois had done but two years before, thought it not ſafe to expect a ſecond brunt, and hereupon all fled out of the town as faſt as they could, carrying all their goods and riches, as alſo all the powder; and having nailed all the great guns, ſo as the pirates found not one

Digitized by Google

one perſon in the whole city, but one poor innocent man who was born a fool. This man they aſked whither the inhabitants were fled, and where they had hid their goods: to all which queſtions and the like, he conſtantly anſwered, 'I know nothing, I 'know nothing;' but they preſently put him to the rack, and tortured him with cords; which torments forced him to cry out, 'Do not torture me any more, 'but come with me, and I will ſhew you my goods 'and my riches.' They were perſuaded, it ſeems, he was ſome rich perſon diſguiſed under thoſe clothes ſo poor, and that innocent tongue; ſo they went along with him, and he conducted them to a poor miſerable cottage, wherein he had a few earthen diſhes and other things of no value, and three pieces of eight, concealed with ſome other trumpery under ground. Then they aſked him his name, and he readily anſwered, 'My name is Don Sebaſtian San-'chez, and I am brother unto the governor of Ma-'racaibo.' This fooliſh anſwer, it muſt be conceived, theſe inhuman wretches took for truth; for no ſooner had they heard it, but they put him again upon the rack, lifting him up on high with cords, and tying huge weights to his feet and neck. Beſides which, they burnt him alive, applying palm-leaves burning to his face.

The ſame day they ſent out a party to ſeek for the inhabitants, on whom they might exerciſe their cruelties. Theſe brought back an honeſt peaſant with two daughters of his, whom they intended to torture as they uſed others, if they ſhewed not the places where the inhabitants were hid. The peaſant knew ſome of thoſe places, and ſeeing himſelf threatened with the rack, went with the pirates to ſhew them; but the Spaniards perceiving their enemies to range every where up and down the woods, were already fled thence farther off into the thickeſt of the woods,

Digitized by Google

woods, where they built themſelves huts, to preſerve from the weather thoſe few goods they had. The pirates judged themſelves deceived by the peaſant, hereupon, to revenge themſelves, notwithſtanding all his excuſes and ſupplication, they hanged him on a tree.

Then they divided into parties to ſearch the plantations; for they knew the Spaniards that were abſconded could not live on what the woods afforded, without coming now and then for proviſions to their country houſes. Here they found a ſlave, to whom they promiſed mountains of gold, and his liberty, by tranſporting him to Jamaica, if he would ſhew them where the inhabitants of Gibraltar lay hid. This fellow conducted them to a party of Spaniards, whom they inſtantly made priſoners, commanding this ſlave to kill ſome before the eyes of the reſt; that by this perpetrated crime, he might never be able to leave their wicked company. The negro, according to their orders, committed many murders and inſolencies upon the Spaniards, and followed the unfortunate traces of the pirates; who eight days after returned to Gibraltar with many priſoners, and ſome mules laden with riches. They examined every priſoner by himſelf (who were in all about 250 perſons) where they had hid the reſt of their goods, and if they knew of their fellow townſmen. Such as would not confeſs, were tormented after a moſt inhuman manner. Among the reſt, there happened to be a Portugueſe, who by a negro was reported, though falſly, to be very rich; this man was commanded to produce his riches. His anſwer was, he had no more than 100 pieces of eight in the world, and theſe had been ſtolen from him two days before by his ſervant; which words, though he ſealed with many oaths and proteſtations, yet they would not believe him, but dragging him to the rack,

Digitized by Google

rack, without any regard to his age of ſixty years, they ſtretched him with cords, breaking both his arms behind his ſhoulders.

This cruelty went not alone; for he not being able or willing to make any other declaration, they put him to another ſort of torment more barbarous; they tied him with ſmall cords by his two thumbs and great toes to four ſtakes fixed in the ground at a convenient diſtance, the whole weight of his body hanging on thoſe cords. Not ſatisfied yet with this cruel torture, they took a ſtone of above two hundred pounds, and laid it upon his belly, as if they intended to preſs him to death; they alſo kindled palm leaves, and applied the flame to the face of this unfortunate Portugueſe, burning with them the whole ſkin, beard, and hair. At laſt, ſeeing that neither with theſe tortures, nor others, they could not get any thing out of him, they untied the cords, and carried him half dead to the church, where was their corps du gard; here they tied him anew to one of the pillars thereof, leaving him in that condition, without giving him either to eat or drink, unleſs very ſparingly, and ſo little as would ſcarce ſuſtain life for ſome days; four or five being paſt, he deſired one of the priſoners might come to him, by whoſe means he promiſed he would endeavour to raiſe ſome money to ſatisfy their demands. The priſoner whom he required was brought to him, and he ordered him to promiſe the pirates 500 pieces of eight for his ranſom; but they were deaf and obſtinate at ſuch a ſmall ſum, and inſtead of accepting it, beat him cruelly with cudgels, ſaying, 'Old 'fellow, inſtead of five hundred, you muſt ſay five 'hundred thouſand pieces of eight; otherwiſe you 'ſhall here end your life.' Finally, after a thouſand proteſtations that he was but a miſerable man, and kept a poor tavern for his living, he agreed with them

Digitized by Google

them for 1000 pieces of eight. Theſe he raiſed, and having paid them, got his liberty; though ſo horribly maimed, that it is ſcarce to be believed he could ſurvive many weeks.

Other tortures, beſide theſe, were exerciſed upon others, which this Portugueſe endured not. Some were hanged up by the teſticles, or privy-members, and left till they fell to the ground, thoſe parts being torn from their bodies: if with this they minded to ſhew mercy to thoſe wretches, thus lacerated in the moſt tender parts, their mercy was, to run them through with their ſwords; otherwiſe they uſed to lie four or five days under the agonies of death before they died. Others were crucified by theſe tyrants, and with kindled matches burnt between the joints of their fingers and toes: others had their feet put into the fire, and thus were left to be roaſted alive. Having uſed theſe and other cruelties with the white men, they began to practiſe the ſame with the negroes, their ſlaves, who were treated with no leſs inhumanity than their maſters.

Among theſe ſlaves was one who promiſed captain Morgan to conduct him to a river of the lake, where he ſhould find a ſhip and four boats, richly laden with goods of the inhabitants of Maracaibo: the ſame diſcovered likewiſe where the governor of Gibraltar lay hid, with the greateſt part of the women of the town; but all this he revealed, upon great menaces to hang him, if he told not what he knew. captain Morgan ſent away preſently 200 men in two ſettees, or great boats, to this river, to ſeek for what the ſlave had diſcovered; but he himſelf, with 250 more, undertook to go and take the governor. This gentleman was retired to a ſmall iſland in the middle of the river, where he had built a little fort, as well as he could, for his defence; but hearing that captain Morgan came in perſon with great forces

to ſeek him, he retired to the top of a mountain not far of, to which there was no aſcent, but by a very narrow paſſage, ſo ſtreight, that whoſoever did attempt to gain the aſcent, muſt march his men one by one. Captain Morgan ſpent two days before he arrived at this little iſland, whence he deſigned to proceed to the mountain where the governor was poſted, had he not been told of the impoſſibility of aſcent, not only for the narrowneſs of the way, but becauſe the governor was well provided with all ſorts of ammunition: beſide, there was fallen a huge rain, whereby all the pirates baggage and powder was wet. By this rain, alſo, they loſt many men at the paſſage over a river that was overflown: here periſhed, likewiſe, ſome women and children, and many mules laden with plate and goods, which they had taken from the fugitive inhabitants; ſo that things were in a very bad condition with captain Morgan, and his men much harraſſed, as may be inferred from this relation; whereby, if the Spaniards, in that juncture, had had but fifty men well armed, they might have entirely deſtroyed the pirates. But the fears the Spaniards had at firſt conceived were ſo great, that the leaves ſtirring on the trees they often fancied to be pirates. Finally, captain Morgan and his people, having upon this march ſometimes waded up to their middles in water for half, or whole miles together, they at laſt eſcaped, for the greateſt part; but the women and children for the major part died.

Thus twelve days after they ſet forth to ſeek the governor, they returned to Gibraltar with many priſoners: two days after arrived alſo the two ſettees that went to the river, bringing with them four boats, and ſome priſoners; but the greateſt part of the merchandize in the ſaid boats they found not, the Spaniards having unladed and ſecured it, having intelli-

Digitized by Google

intelligence of their coming; who deſigned alſo, when the merchandize was taken out, to burn the boats: yet the Spaniards made not ſo much haſte to unlade theſe veſſels, but that they left in the ſhip and boats great parcels of goods, which the pirates ſeized, and brought a conſiderable booty to Gibraltar. Thus, after they had been in poſſeſſion of the place five entire weeks, and committed an infinite number of murders, robberies, rapes, and ſuch like inſolencies, they concluded to depart; but firſt they ordered ſome priſoners to go forth into the woods and fields, and collect a ranſom for the town; otherwiſe they would certainly burn it down to the ground. Theſe poor afflicted men went as they were ſent, and having ſearched the adjoining fields and woods, returned to captain Morgan, telling him, they had ſcarce been able to find any body, but that to ſuch as they had found, they had propoſed his demands; to which they had anſwered, that the governor had prohibited them to give any ranſom for the town, but they beſeeched him to have a little patience, and among themſelves they would collect 5000 pieces of eight; and for the reſt, they would give ſome of their own townſmen as hoſtages, whom he might carry to Maracaibo, till he had received full ſatisfaction.

Captain Morgan having now been long abſent from Maracaibo, and knowing the Spaniards had had ſufficient time to fortify themſelves, and hinder his departure out of the lake, granted their propoſition, and made as much haſte as he could for his departure: he gave liberty to all the priſoners, firſt putting every one to a ranſom; yet he detained the ſlaves. They delivered him four perſons agreed on for hoſtages of what money more he was to receive, and they deſired to have the ſlave mentioned above, intending to puniſh him according to his

Digitized by Google

deſerts; but captain Morgan would not deliver him, leſt they ſhould burn him alive. At laſt, they weighed anchor, and ſet ſail in all haſte for Maracaibo: here they arrived in four days, and found all things as they had left them; yet here they received news from a poor diſtreſſed old man, whom alone they found ſick in the town, that three Spaniſh men of war were arrived at the entry of the lake, waiting the return of the pirates: moreover, that the caſtle at the entry thereof was again put into a good poſture of defence, well provided with guns and men, and all ſorts of ammunition.

This relation could not chooſe but diſturb the mind of captain Morgan, who now was careful how to get away through the narrow entry of the lake: hereupon, he ſent his ſwifteſt boat to view the entry, and ſee if things were as they had been related. Next day the boat came back, confirming what was ſaid; aſſuring him, they had viewed the ſhips ſo nigh, that they had been in great danger of their ſhot: hereunto they added, that the biggeſt ſhip was mounted with 40 guns, the ſecond with 30, and the ſmalleſt with 24. Theſe forces being much beyond thoſe of captain Morgan, cauſed a general conſternation in the pirates, whoſe biggeſt veſſel had not above 14 ſmall guns: every one judged captain Morgan to deſpond, and to be hopeleſs, conſidering the difficulty of paſſing ſafe with his little fleet amidſt thoſe great ſhips and the fort, or he muſt periſh. How to eſcape any other way, by ſea or land, they ſaw no way. Under theſe neceſſities, captain Morgan reſumed new courage, and reſolving to ſhew himſelf ſtill undaunted, he boldly ſent a Spaniard to the admiral of thoſe three ſhips, demanding of him a conſiderable ranſom for not putting the city of Maracaibo to the flames. This man (who was received by

Digitized by Google

by the Spaniards with great admiration of the boldneſs of thoſe pirates, returned two days after, bringing to captain Morgan a letter from the ſaid admiral, as follows:

The letter of don Alonſo del Campo y Eſpinoſa, admiral of the Spaniſh fleet, to captain Morgan, commander of the pirates.

'HAVING underſtood by all our friends and neighbours, the unexpected news, that you 'have dared to attempt and commit hoſtilities in 'the countries, cities, towns, and villages belong-'ing to the dominions of his catholick majeſty, my 'ſovereign lord and maſter; I let you underſtand by 'theſe lines, that I am come to this place, accord-'ing to my obligation, near that caſtle which you 'took out of the hands of a parcel of cowards; 'where I have put things in a very good poſture of 'defence, and mounted again the artillery which 'you had nailed and diſmounted. My intent is, to 'diſpute with you your paſſage out of the lake, 'and follow and purſue you every where, to the 'end you may ſee the performance of my duty. 'Notwithſtanding, if you be contented to ſurren-'der with humility all that you have taken, to-'gether with the ſlaves and all other priſoners, I will 'let you freely paſs, without trouble or moleſta-'tion; on condition that you retire home preſently 'to your own country. But if you make any re-'ſiſtance or oppoſition to what I offer you, I aſ-'ſure you, I will command boats to come from 'Caraccas, wherein I will put my troops, and, 'coming to Maracaibo, will put you and every one 'to the ſword. This is my laſt and abſolute reſo-'lution. Be prudent, therefore, and do not abuſe 'my bounty with ingratitude. I have with me very

Digitized by Google

'good ſoldiers, who deſire nothing more ardently 'than to revenge on you, and your people, all the 'cruelties and baſe infamous actions you have com-'mitted upon the Spaniſh nation in America. 'Dated on board the royal ſhip named the Mag-'dalen, lying at anchor at the entry of the lake 'of Maracaibo, this 24th of April, 1669.

'Don Alonſo del Campo y Eſpinoſa.'

As ſoon as captain Morgan received this letter, he called all his men together in the market-place of Maracaibo, and after reading the contents thereof, both in French and Engliſh, aſked their advice and reſolution on the whole matter, and whether they had rather ſurrender all they had got, to obtain their liberty, than fight for it.

They anſwered all unanimouſly, they had rather fight to the laſt drop of blood, than ſurrender ſo eaſily the booty they had got with ſo much danger of their lives. Among the reſt, one ſaid to captain Morgan, 'Take you care for the reſt, and I will un-'dertake to deſtroy the biggeſt of thoſe ſhips with 'only twelve men: the manner ſhall be, by making 'a brulot, or fire-ſhip, of that veſſel we took in 'the river of Gibraltar, which, to the intent ſhe 'may not be known for a fire-ſhip, we will fill her 'decks with logs of wood, ſtanding with hats and 'montera-caps, to deceive their ſight with the re-'preſentation of men. The ſame we will do at 'the port-holes that ſerve for the guns, which ſhall 'be filled with counterfeit cannon. At the ſtern 'we will hang out Engliſh colours, and perſuade 'the enemy ſhe is one of our beſt men of war 'going to fight them.' This propoſition was admitted and approved by every one; howbeit, their fears were not quite diſperſed.

For,

Digitized by Google

For, notwithſtanding what had been concluded there, they endeavoured the next day to come to an accommodation with don Alonſo. To this effect, captain Morgan ſent to him two perſons, with theſe propoſitions: firſt, 'That he would quit Maracaibo, 'without doing any damage to the town, or exacting any ranſom for the firing thereof. Secondly, 'That he would ſet at liberty one half of the ſlaves, 'and all the priſoners, without ranſom. Thirdly, 'That he would ſend home freely the four chief 'inhabitants of Gibraltar, which he had in his 'cuſtody as hoſtages for the contributions theſe 'people had promiſed to pay.' Theſe propoſitions were inſtantly rejected by don Alonſo as diſhonourable; neither would he hear of any other accommodation, but ſent back this meſſage: 'That if they 'ſurrendered not themſelves voluntarily into his 'hands, within two days, under the conditions 'which he had offered them by his letter, he would 'immediately come and force them to do it.'

No ſooner had captain Morgan received this meſſage from don Alonſo, than he put all things in order to fight, reſolving to get out of the lake by main force, without ſurrendering any thing. Firſt, he commanded all the ſlaves and priſoners to be tied, and guarded very well, and gathered all the pitch, tar, and brimſtone they could find in the whole town, for the fire-ſhip above-mentioned; then they made ſeveral inventions of powder and brimſtone with palm-leaves, well anointed with tar. They covered very well their counterfeit cannon, laying under every piece many pounds of powder; beſides, they cut down many out-works of the ſhip, that the powder might exert its ſtrength the better; breaking open, alſo, new port-holes, where, inſtead of guns, they placed little drums uſed by the Negroes. Finally, the decks were handſomely beſet

Digitized by Google

with many pieces of wood, dreſſed up like men with hats, or montera's, and armed with ſwords, muſkets, and bandeleers.

The fire-ſhip being thus fitted, they prepared to go to the entry of the port. All the priſoners were put into one great boat, and in another of the biggeſt they placed all the women, plate, jewels, and other rich things: into others they put the bales of goods and merchandize, and other things of bulk: each of theſe boats had twelve men aboard, very well armed; the brulot had orders to go before the reſt of the veſſels, and preſently to fall foul with the great ſhip. All things being ready, captain Morgan exacted an oath of all his comrades, proteſting to defend themſelves to the laſt drop of blood, without demanding quarter; promiſing withal, that whoſoever behaved himſelf thus, ſhould be very well rewarded.

With this courageous reſolution, they ſet ſail to ſeek the Spaniards. On April 30, 1669, they found the Spaniſh fleet riding at anchor in the middle of the entry of the lake. Captain Morgan, it being now late, and almoſt dark, commanded all his veſſels to an anchor, deſigning to fight, even all night, if they forced him to it. He ordered a careful watch to be kept aboard every veſſel till morning, they being almoſt within ſhot, as well as within ſight of the enemy. The day dawning, they weighed anchor, and ſailed again, ſteering directly towards the Spaniards; who ſeeing them move, did inſtantly the ſame. The fire-ſhip ſailing before the reſt, fell preſently upon the great ſhip, and grappled her; which the Spaniards (too late) perceiving to be a fire-ſhip, they attempted to put her off, but in vain; for the flame ſeizing her timber and tackling, ſoon conſumed all the ſtern, the forepart ſinking into the ſea, where ſhe periſhed. The ſecond Spaniſh ſhip perceiving

Digitized by Google

perceiving the admiral to burn, not by accident, but by induſtry of the enemy, eſcaped towards the caſtle, where the Spaniards themſelves ſunk her, chooſing to loſe their ſhip, rather than to fall into the hands of thoſe pirates. The third having no opportunity to eſcape, was taken by the pirates. The ſeamen that ſunk the ſecond ſhip near the caſtle, perceiving the pirates come towards them to take what remains they could find of their ſhipwreck, (for ſome part was yet above water) ſet fire alſo to this veſſel, that the pirates might enjoy nothing of that ſpoil. The firſt ſhip being ſet on fire, ſome of the perſons in her ſwam towards the ſhore; theſe the pirates would have taken up in their boats, but they would not aſk or take quarter, chooſing rather to loſe their lives than receive them from their hands, for reaſons which I ſhall relate.

The pirates being extreamly glad at this ſignal victory ſo ſoon obtained, and with ſo great an inequality of forces, conceived greater pride than they had before, and all preſently ran aſhore, intending to take the caſtle. This they found well provided with men, canons, and ammunition, they having no other arms than muſkets, and a few hand-granadoes: their own artillery they thought incapable, for its ſmallneſs, of making any conſiderable breach in the walls. Thus they ſpent the reſt of the day, firing at the garriſon with their muſkets, till the duſk of the evening; when they attempted to advance nearer the walls, to throw in their fire-balls: but the Spaniards reſolving to ſell their lives as dear as they could, fired ſo furiouſly at them, that they having experienced the obſtinacy of the enemy, and ſeeing thirty of their men dead, and as many more wounded, they retired to their ſhips.

The Spaniards believing the pirates would next day renew the attack with their own cannon, la-

boured hard all night to put things in order for their coming; particularly, they dug down, and made plain, ſome little hills and eminences, whence poſſibly the caſtle might be offended.

But captain Morgan intended not to come again, buſying himſelf next day in taking priſoners ſome of the men who ſtill ſwam alive, hoping to get part of the riches loſt in the two ſhips that periſhed. Among the reſt, he took a pilot, who was a ſtranger, and who belonged to the leſſer ſhip of the two, of whom he enquired ſeveral things; as, what number of people thoſe three ſhips had in them? whether they expected any more ſhips to come? From what port they ſet forth laſt, when they came to ſeek them out? He anſwered, in Spaniſh, 'Noble 'Sir, be pleaſed to pardon and ſpare me, that 'no evil be done to me, being a ſtranger to this 'nation I have ſerved, and I ſhall ſincerely inform 'you of all that paſſed till our arrival at this lake. 'We were ſent, by orders from the ſupream coun-'cil of ſtate in Spain, being ſix men of war, well 'equipped, into theſe ſeas, with inſtructions to 'cruize upon the Engliſh pirates, and root them 'out from theſe parts, by deſtroying as many of 'them as we could.

'Theſe orders were given, upon the news brought 'to the court of Spain of the loſs and ruin of 'Puerto Bello, and other places: of all which 'damages and hoſtilities committed here by the 'Engliſh, diſmal lamentations have often been made 'to the catholick king and council, to whom be-'longs the care and preſervation of this new world. 'And though the Spaniſh court hath many times 'by their ambaſſadors complained hereof to the king 'of England; yet it has been the conſtant anſwer 'of his majeſty of Great Britain, that he never gave 'any letters patents, nor commiſſions, for acting

'any

Digitized by Google

'any hoſtility againſt the ſubjects of the king of Spain. 'Hereupon the catholick king reſolved to revenge his 'ſubjects, and puniſh theſe proceedings; commanded 'ſix men of war to be equipped, which he ſent under 'the command of don Auguſtine de Buſtos, admiral 'of the ſaid fleet. He commanded the biggeſt ſhip, 'named N. S. de la Soleda, of 48 great guns, and '8 ſmall ones. The vice admiral was don Alonſo del 'Campo y Eſpinoſa, who commanded the ſecond ſhip 'called la Conception, of 44 great guns and 8 ſmall 'ones; beſides 4 veſſels more, whereof the firſt 'was named the Magdalen, of 36 great guns, and '12 ſmall ones, with 250 men. The ſecond was 'called St. Lewis with 26 great guns 12 ſmall ones, 'and 200 men. The third was called la Marqueſa, of '16 great guns and 8 ſmall ones, and 150 men. 'The fourth and laſt, N. S. del Carmen, with 8 'great guns, 8 ſmall ones, and 150 men.

'Being arrived at Carthagena, the two greateſt 'ſhips received orders to return to Spain, being judged 'too big for cruizing on theſe coaſts. With the four 'ſhips remaining, don Alonſo del Campo y Eſpinoſa 'departed towards Campechy to ſeek the Engliſh: 'we arrived at the port there, where, being ſur-'prized by a huge ſtorm from the north, we loſt one 'of our ſhips, being that which I named laſt. Hence 'we ſailed for Hiſpaniola, in ſight of which we came 'in a few days, and ſteered for Santo Domingo: 'here we heard that there had paſſed that way a 'fleet from Jamaica, and that ſome men thereof had 'landed at Alta Gracia; the inhabitants had taken 'one priſoner, who confeſſed their deſign was to 'go and pillage the city of Caraccas. On this news, 'don Alonſo inſtantly weighed anchor, and croſſing 'over to the continent, we came in ſight of the Ca-'raccas: here we found them not, but met with a 'boat, which certified us they were in the lake of 'Maracaibo, and that the fleet conſiſted of ſeven ſmall 'ſhips, and one boat.

'Upon this we came here, and arriving at the entry 'of the lake, we ſhot off a gun for a pilot from the 'ſhore. Thoſe on land perceiving we were Spaniards 'came willingly to us with a pilot, and told us the 'Engliſh had taken Maracaibo, and that they were 'now at the pillage of Gibraltar. Don Alonſo, on 'this news, made a handſome ſpeech to his ſoldiers 'and mariners, encouraging them to their duty, and 'promiſing to divide among them all they ſhould take 'from the Engliſh: he ordered the guns we had taken 'out of the ſhip that was loſt, to be put into the 'caſtle, and mounted for its defence, two eighteen 'pounders more out of his own ſhip. The pilots 'conducted us into the port, and don Alonſo com-'manded the people on ſhore to come before him, 'whom he ordered to repoſſeſs the caſtle, and re-'inforce it with 100 men more than it had before 'its being taken. Soon after, we heard of your re-'turn from Gibraltar to Maracaibo, whither don 'Alonſo wrote you a letter, giving you an account 'of his arrival and deſign, and exhorting you to re-'ſtore what you had taken. This you refuſing, he 'renewed his promiſes to his ſoldiers and ſeamen; 'and having given a very good ſupper to all his 'people, he ordered them not to take or give any 'quarter; which was the occaſion of ſo many 'being drowned, who dared not to crave quarter, 'knowing themſelves muſt give none. Two days 'before you came againſt us, a negro came aboard 'don Alonſo's ſhip, telling him, Sir, be pleaſed to 'have great care of yourſelf, for the Engliſh have 'prepared a fire-ſhip, with deſign to burn your fleet. 'But don Alonſo not believing this, anſwered, how 'can that be? Have they, peradventure, wit enough 'to build a fire-ſhip? Or what inſtruments have 'they to do it withal?'

This pilot having related ſo diſtinctly theſe things to captain Morgan was very well uſed by him, and, after

after ſome kind proffers made to him, remained in his ſervice. He told captain Morgan, that in the ſhip which was ſunk there was a great quantity of plate, to the value of 40,000 pieces of eight; which occaſioned the Spaniards to be often ſeen in boats about it. Hereupon captain Morgan ordered one of his ſhips to remain there, to find ways of getting out of it what plate they could; mean while himſelf, with all his fleet, returned to Maracaibo, where he refitted the great ſhip he had taken, and choſe it for himſelf, giving his own bottom to one of his captains.

Then he ſent again a meſſenger to the admiral, who was eſcaped aſhore, and got into the caſtle, demanding of him a ranſom of fire for Maracaibo; which being denied, he threatened entirely to conſume and deſtroy it. The Spaniards conſidering the ill luck they had all along with thoſe pirates, and not knowing how to get rid of them, concluded to pay the ſaid ranſom, though don Alonſo would not conſent.

Hereupon they ſent to captain Morgan, to know what ſum he demanded. He anſwered, that on payment of 30,000 pieces of eight, and 500 beeves, he would releaſe the priſoners, and do no damage to the town. At laſt they agreed on 20,000 pieces of eight, and 5000 beeves to victual his fleet. The cattle were brought the next day, with one part of the money; and while the pirates were buſied in ſalting the fleſh, they made up the whole 20,000 pieces of eight, as was agreed.

But captain Morgan would not preſently deliver the priſoners, as he had promiſed, fearing the ſhot of the caſtle at his going forth out of the lake. Hereupon he told them he intended not to deliver them till he was out of that danger, hoping thus to obtain a free paſſage. Then he ſet ſail with his fleet in queſt of the ſhip he had left to ſeek for the plate of the veſſel that was burnt. He found her on the place,

Digitized by Google

place, with 15,000 pieces of eight got out of the works, beſide many pieces of plate, as hilts of ſwords, and the like; alſo a great quantity of pieces of eight melted and run together by the force of the fire.

Captain Morgan ſcarce thought himſelf ſecure, nor could he contrive how to avoid the ſhot of the caſtle; hereupon he wiſhed the priſoners to agree with the governor to permit a ſafe paſſage to his fleet, which if he ſhould not allow, he would certainly hang them all up in his ſhips. Upon this the priſoners met, and appointed ſome of their fellow meſſengers to go to the ſaid governor don Alonſo: theſe went to him, beſeeching and ſupplicating him to have compaſſion on thoſe afflicted priſoners, who were, with their wives and children, in the hands of captain Morgan, and that to this effect he would be pleaſed to give his word to let the fleet of pirates freely paſs, this being the only way to ſave both the lives of them that came with this petition, as alſo of thoſe who remained in captivity; all being equally menaced with the ſword and gallows, if he granted them not this humble requeſt. But don Alonſo gave them for anſwer a ſharp reprehenſion of their cowardice, telling them, 'If you 'had been as loyal to your king in hindering the 'entry of theſe pirates, as I ſhall do their going out, 'you had never cauſed theſe troubles neither to your-'ſelves, nor to our whole nation, which hath ſuf-'fered ſo much through your puſillanimity. In a 'word, I ſhall never grant your requeſt, but ſhall en-'deavour to maintain that reſpect which is due to my 'king, according to my duty.'

Thus the Spaniards returned with much conſternation, and hopes of obtaining their requeſt, telling captain Morgan what anſwer they had received: his reply was, if don Alonſo will not let me paſs, I will find means how to dow it without him. Hereupon he preſently made a dividend of all they had taken, fearing

Digitized by Google

fearing he might not have an opportunity to do it in another place, if any tempeſt ſhould riſe and ſeparate the ſhips, as alſo being jealous that any of the commanders might run away with the beſt part of the ſpoil, which then lay much more in one veſſel than another. Thus they all brought in according to their laws, and declared what they had, firſt making oath not to conceal the leaſt thing. The account being caſt up, they found to the value of 25,000 pieces of eight in money and jewels, beſides the huge quantity of merchandiſe and ſlaves; all which purchaſe was divided to every ſhip or boat, according to their ſhare.

The dividend being made, the queſtion ſtill remained how they ſhould paſs the caſtle, and get out of the lake: to this effect they made uſe of a ſtratagem, as follows; the day before the night wherein they determined to get forth, they embarked many of their men in canoes, and rowed towards the ſhore, as if they deſigned to land; here they hid themſelves under branches of trees that hang over the coaſt awhile, laying themſelves down in the boats; then the canoes returned to the ſhips, with the appearance of only two or three men rowing them back, the reſt being unſeen at the bottom of the canoes; thus much only could be perceived from the caſtle; and this falſe landing of men, for ſo we may call it, was repeated that day ſeveral times: this made the Spaniards think the pirates intended at night to force the caſtle by ſcaling it. This fear cauſed them to place moſt of their great guns on the land ſide, together with their main force, leaving the ſide towards the ſea almoſt deſtitute of defence.

Night being come, they weighed anchor, and by moon-light, without ſetting ſail, committed themſelves to the ebbing tide, which gently brought them down the river, till they were near the caſtle; being almoſt

Digitized by Google

moſt over againſt it, they ſpread their ſails with all poſſible haſte. The Spaniards perceiving this, tranſported with all ſpeed their guns from the other ſide, and began to fire very furiouſly at them; but theſe having a very favourable wind, were almoſt paſt danger before thoſe of the caſtle could hurt them; ſo that they loſt few of their men, and received no conſiderable damage in their ſhips. Being out of the reach of the guns, captain Morgan ſent a canoe to the caſtle with ſome of the priſoners, and the governor thereof gave them a boat to return to their own homes; but he detained the hoſtages from Gibraltar, becauſe the reſt of the ranſom for not firing the place was yet unpaid. Juſt as he departed, captain Morgan ordered ſeven great guns with bullets to be fired againſt the caſtle, as it were to take his leave of them, but they anſwered not ſo much as with a muſket ſhot.

Next day after they were ſurprized with a great tempeſt, which forced them to caſt anchor in five or ſix fathom water; but the ſtorm increaſing, compelled them to weigh again, and put to ſea, where they were in great danger of being loſt; for if they ſhould have been caſt on ſhore, either into the hands of the Spaniards or Indians, they would certainly have obtained no mercy; at laſt the tempeſt being ſpent the wind ceaſed, to the great joy of the whole fleet.

While captain Morgan made his fortune by theſe pillagings, his companions, who were ſeparated from his fleet at the cape de Lobos, to take the ſhip ſpoken of before, endured much miſery, and were unfortunate in all their attempts. Being arrived at Savona, they found not captain Morgan there, nor any of their companions, nor had they the fortune to find a letter which captain Morgan at his departure left behind him in a place where in all probability they would

Digitized by Google

would meet with it. Thus, not knowing what courſe to ſteer, they concluded to pillage ſome town or other. They were in all about 400 men divided into four ſhips and one boat: being ready to ſet forth, they conſtituted an admiral among themſelves, being one who had behaved himſelf very courageouſly at the taking of Puerto Bello, named captain Hanſel: this commander attempted the taking of the town of Commana, on the continent of Caraccas, nigh 60 leagues to the weſt of the iſle de la Trinidad. Being arrived there, they landed their men, and killed ſome few Indians near the coaſt; but approaching the town, the Spaniards having in their company many Indians, diſputed the entry ſo briſkly, that with great loſs and confuſion they were forced to retire to the ſhips. At laſt they arrived at Jamaica, where the reſt of their companions who came with captain Morgan, mocked and jeered them for their ill ſucceſs at Commana, often telling them, 'let us ſee what mo-'ney you brought from Commana, and if it be as good 'ſilver as that which we bring from Maracaibo.

CHAP. XV.

Captain Morgan goes to Hiſpaniola to equip a new fleet, with intent to pillage again on the coaſt of the Weſt-Indies.

CAptain Morgan perceived now that fortune favoured him by giving ſucceſs to all his enterprizes, which occaſioned him, as is uſual in human affairs, to aſpire to greater things, truſting ſhe would always be conſtant to him. Such was the burning of Panama, wherein fortune failed not to aſſiſt him, as ſhe had done before, though ſhe had led him thereto through a thouſand difficulties. The hiſtory hereof I ſhall now relate, being ſo remarkable in all its circumſtances, as

Digitized by Google

as peradventure nothing more deſerving memory will be read by future ages.

Captain Morgan arriving at Jamaica, found many of his officers and ſoldiers reduced to their former indigency by their vices and debaucheries: hence they perpetually importuned him for new exploits, thereby to get ſomething to expend ſtill in wine and ſtrumpets, as they had already done what they got before. Captain Morgan, willing to follow fortune's call, ſtopped the mouth of many inhabitants of Jamaica, who were creditors to his men for large ſums, with the hopes and promiſes of greater atchievements than ever, by a new expedition: this done, he could eaſily levy men for any enterprize, his name being ſo famous through all thoſe iſlands, as that alone would readily bring him in more men than he could well employ. He undertook therefore to equip a new fleet, for which he aſſigned the ſouth ſide of Tortuga as a place of rendezvous, writing letters to all the expert pirates there inhabiting, as alſo to the governor, and to the planters and hunters of Hiſpaniola, informing them of his intentions, and deſiring their appearance, if they intended to go with him. Theſe people upon this notice flocked to the place aſſigned, in huge numbers, with ſhips, canoes, and boats, being deſirous to follow him. Many who had not the convenience of coming by ſea, traverſed the woods of Hiſpaniola, and with no ſmall difficulties arrived there by land. Thus all were preſent at the place aſſigned, and ready againſt October the twenty-fourth, 1670.

Captain Morgan was not wanting to be there punctually, coming in his ſhip to Port Couillon, over-againſt the iſland de la Vaca, the place aſſigned. Having gathered the greateſt part of his fleet, he called a council to deliberate about finding proviſions for ſo many people. Here they concluded to ſend four ſhips and one boat, with 400 men, to the continent,

Digitized by Google

in order to rifle ſome country towns and villages for all the corn or maiz they could gather. They ſet ſail for the continent towards the river de la Hacha, deſigning to aſſault the village called la Rancheria, uſually beſt ſtored with maiz of all the parts thereabouts. Mean while captain Morgan ſent another party to hunt in the woods, who killed a great number of beaſts, and ſalted them; the reſt remained in the ſhips, to clean, fit, and rig them, that at the return of their fellows all things might be in a readineſs to weigh anchor and follow their deſigns.

CHAP. XVI.

What happened in the river de la Hacha.

THESE four ſhips ſetting ſail from Hiſpaniola, ſteered for the river de la Hacha, where they were ſuddenly overtaken with a tedious calm. Being within ſight of land becalmed for ſome days, the Spaniards inhabiting along the coaſts, who had perceived them to be enemies, had ſufficient time to prepare themſelves, at leaſt to hide the beſt of their goods, that without any care of preſerving them, they might be ready to retire, if they proved unable to reſiſt the pirates, by whoſe frequent attempts on thoſe coaſts they had already learned what to do in ſuch caſes. There was then in the river a good ſhip, come from Carthagena to lade with maiz, and now almoſt ready to depart: the men of this ſhip endeavoured to eſcape, but not being able to do it, both they and the veſſel fell into their hands. This was a fit purchaſe for them, being good part of what they came for. Next morning, about break of day, they came with their ſhips aſhore, and landed their men, though the Spaniards made good reſiſtance from a battery they had raiſed on that ſide, where, of neceſſity,

Digitized by Google

ceſſity, they were to land; but they were forced to retire to a village, whither the pirates followed them: here the Spaniards rallying, fell upon them with great fury, and maintained a ſtrong combat, which laſted till night; but then perceiving they had loſt a great number of men, which was no leſs on the pirates ſide, they retired to ſecret places in the woods.

Next day the pirates ſeeing them all fled, and the town left empty of people, they purſued them as far as they could, and overtook a party of Spaniards, whom they made priſoners, and exerciſed with moſt cruel torments, to diſcover their goods. Some were forced by intolerable tortures to confeſs; but others, who would not were uſed more barbarouſly. Thus in fifteen days that they remained there, they took many priſoners, much plate and moveables, with which booty they reſolved to return to Hiſpaniola; yet not content with what they had got, they diſpatched ſome priſoners into the woods to ſeek for the reſt of the inhabitants, and to demand a ranſom for not burning the town. They anſwered, they had no money, nor plate; but if they would be ſatisfied with a quantity of maiz, they would give as much as they could. The pirates accepted this, it being then more uſeful to them than ready money, and agreed they ſhould pay 4000 hanegs, or buſhels of maiz. Theſe were brought in three days after, the Spaniards being deſirous to rid themſelves of that inhuman ſort of people. Having laded them on board with the reſt of their purchaſe, they returned to Hiſpaniola, to give account to their leader, captain Morgan, of all they had performed.

They had now been abſent five weeks on this commiſſion, which long delay occaſioned captain Morgan almoſt to deſpair of their return, fearing leſt they were fallen into the hands of the Spaniards; eſpecially conſidering the place whereto they went could eaſily

Digitized by Google

eaſily be relieved from Carthagena and Santa Maria, if the inhabitants were careful to alarm the country. On the other ſide, he feared leſt they ſhould have made ſome great fortune in that voyage, and with it have eſcaped to ſome other place: but ſeeing his ſhips return in greater numbers than they departed, he reſumed new courage, this ſight cauſing both in him and his companions infinite joy, eſpecially when they found them full laden with maiz, which they much wanted for the maintenance of ſo many people, from whom they expected great matters under ſuch a commander.

Captain Morgan having divided the ſaid maiz, as alſo the fleſh which the hunters brought, among his ſhips, according to the number of men, he concluded to depart; having viewed before-hand every ſhip, and obſerved their being well equipped, and clean. Thus he ſet ſail, and ſtood for Cape Tiburon, where he determined to reſolve what enterprize he ſhould take in hand. No ſooner were they arrived, but they met ſome other ſhips newly come to join them from Jamaica: ſo that now their fleet conſiſted of 37 ſhips, wherein were 2000 fighting men, beſide mariners and boys. The admiral hereof was mounted with 22 great guns, and 6 ſmall ones of braſs; the reſt carried ſome 20, ſome 16, ſome 18, and the ſmalleſt veſſel at leaſt 4; beſides which, they had great quantities of ammunition and fire-balls, with other inventions of powder.

Captain Morgan having ſuch a number of ſhips, divided the whole fleet into two ſquadrons, conſtituting a vice-admiral, and other officers of the ſecond ſquadron, diſtinct from the former: to theſe he gave letters patents, or commiſſions to act all manner of hoſtilities againſt the Spaniſh nation, and take of them what ſhips they could, either abroad at ſea, or in the harbours, as if they were open and declared enemies (as he termed it) of the king of England, his pretended

Digitized by Google

tended maſter. This done, he called all his captains and other officers together, and cauſed them to ſign ſome articles of agreement betwixt them, and in the name of all. Herein it was ſtipulated, that he ſhould have the hundredth part of all that was gotten to himſelf: that every Captain ſhould draw the ſhares of 8 men for the expences of his ſhip, beſides his own. To the ſurgeon, beſide his pay, 200 pieces of eight for his cheſt of medicaments: to every carpenter, above his ſalary, 100 pieces of eight. The rewards were ſettled in this voyage much higher than before: as for the loſs of both legs 1500 hundred pieces of eight, or 15 ſlaves, the choice left to the party: for the loſs of both hands, 1800 pieces of eight, or 18 ſlaves: for one leg, whether right or left, 600 pieces of eight, or 6 ſlaves: for a hand, as much as for a leg; and for the loſs of an eye, 100 pieces of eight, or one ſlave. Laſtly, To him that in any battle ſhould ſignalize himſelf, either by entering firſt any caſtle, or taking down the Spaniſh colours, and ſeting up the Engliſh, they allotted 50 pieces of eight for a reward: all which extraordinary ſalaries and rewards, to be paid out of the firſt ſpoil they ſhould take, as every one ſhould occur, to be either rewarded or paid.

This contract being ſigned, captain Morgan commanded his vice-admirals and captains to put allthings in order, to attempt one of theſe three places; either Carthagena, Panama, or Vera Cruz: but the lot fell on Panama, as the richeſt of all three, though this city being ſituated at ſuch a diſtance from the North ſea, as they knew not well the approaches to it, they judged it neceſſary to go beforehand to the iſle of St. Catherine, there to find ſome perſons for guides in this enterprize: for in the garriſon there are commonly many banditti and outlaws belonging to Panama, and the neighbouring places, who

Digitized by Google

who are very expert in the knowledge of that country. But before they proceeded, they publiſhed an act through the whole fleet, promiſing if they met with any Spaniſh veſſel, the firſt captain who ſhould take it, ſhould have for his reward the tenth part of what ſhould be found in her.

CHAP. XVII.

Captain Morgan leaves Hiſpaniola, and goes to St. Catherine's, which he takes.

CAptain Morgan and his companions weighed anchor from the cape of Tiburon, December 16, 1670. Four days after they arrived in ſight of St. Catherine's, now in poſſeſſion of the Spaniards again, as was ſaid before, to which they commonly baniſh the malefactors of the Spaniſh dominions in the Weſt-Indies. Here are huge quantities of pigeons at certain ſeaſons. It is watered by four rivulets, whereof two are always dry in ſummer: here is no trade or commerce exerciſed by the inhabitants, neither do they plant more fruits than what are neceſſary for human life, though the country would make very good plantations of tobacco of conſiderable profit, were it cultivated.

As ſoon as captain Morgan came near the iſland with his fleet, he ſent one of his beſt ſailing veſſels to view the entry of the river, and ſee if any other ſhips were there, who might hinder him from landing; as alſo fearing leſt they ſhould give intelligence of his arrival to the inhabitants, and prevent his deſigns.

Next day, before ſun-riſe, all the fleet anchored near the iſland, in a bay called Aguade Grande. On this bay the Spaniards had built a battery mounted with four pieces of cannon. Captain Morgan landed about a 1000 men in divers ſquadrons, marching through

Digitized by Google

through the woods, though they had no other guides than a few of his own men, who had been there before under Manſvelt: the ſame day they came to a place where the governor ſometimes reſided; here they found a battery called a Platform, but no body in it, the Spaniards having retired to the leſſer iſland, which, as was ſaid before, is ſo near the great one, that a ſhort bridge only may conjoin them.

This leſſer iſland was ſo well fortified with forts and batteries round it, as might ſeem impregnable: hereupon, as ſoon as the Spaniards perceived the pirates approach, they fired on them ſo furiouſly, that they could advance nothing that day, but were content to retreat, and take up their reſt in the open fields, which was not ſtrange to theſe people, being ſufficiently uſed to ſuch kind of repoſe: what moſt afflicted them was hunger, having not eat any thing that whole day. About midnight it rained ſo hard, that they had much ado to bear it, the greateſt part of them having no other cloaths than a pair of ſeaman's trowzers, or breeches, and a ſhirt, without ſhoes or ſtockings. In this great extremity they pulled down a few thatched houſes to make fires withal; in a word, they were in ſuch a condition, that 100 men, indifferently well armed, might eaſily that night have torn them all in pieces. Next morning about break of day the rain ceaſed, and they dried their arms, and marched on; but ſoon after it rained afreſh, rather harder than before, as if the ſkies were melted into waters; which kept them from advancing towards the forts, whence the Spaniards continually fired at them.

The pirates were now reduced to great affliction and danger through the hardneſs of the weather, their nakedneſs, and great hunger; for a ſmall relief hereof, they found in the fields an old horſe, lean, and full of ſcabs and blotches, with galled back and ſides: this they

Digitized by Google

they instantly killed and flayed, and divided in small pieces among themselves, as far as it would reach (for many could not get a morsel) which they roasted and devoured without salt or bread, more like ravenous wolves than men. The rain not ceasing, captain Morgan perceived their minds to relent, hearing many of them say they would return on board. Among these fatigues of mind and body, he thought convenient to use some sudden remedy: to this effect, he commanded a canoe to be rigged in haste, and colours of truce to be hanged out. This canoe he sent to the Spanish governor, with this message: "That if within a few hours he de-"livered not himself and all his men into his hands, "he did by that messenger swear to him, and all "those that were in his company, he would most "certainly put them to the sword, without grant-"ing quarter to any."

In the afternoon the canoe returned with this answer: "That the governor desired two hours time "to deliberate with his officers about it, which be-"ing past he would give his positive answer." The time being elapsed, the governor sent two canoes with white colours, and two persons, to treat with captain Morgan; but before they landed, they demanded of the pirates two persons as hostages. These were readily granted by captain Morgan, who delivered them two of his captains for a pledge of the security required: with this the Spaniards propounded to captain Morgan, that the governor in a full assembly had resolved to deliver up the island, not being provided with sufficient forces to defend it against such an armado: but, withal, he desired captain Morgan would be pleased to use a certain stratagem of war, for the better saving of his own credit, and the reputation of his officers both abroad and at home, which should be as follows: that captain Morgan

would come with his troops by night to the bridge that joined the leſſer iſland to the great one, and there attack the fort of St. Jerom: that at the ſame time all his fleet would draw near the caſtle of Santa Tereſa, and attack it by land, landing, in the mean while, more troops near the battery of St. Matthew: that theſe troops being newly landed, ſhould by this means intercept the governor as he endeavoured to paſs to St. Jerom's fort, and then take him priſoner; uſing the formality, as if they forced him to deliver the caſtle; and that he would lead the Engliſh into it, under colour of being his own troops. That on both ſides there ſhould be continual firing, but without bullets, or at leaſt into the air; ſo that no ſide might be hurt. That thus having obtained two ſuch conſiderable forts, the chiefeſt of the iſle, he need not take care for the reſt, which muſt fall of courſe into his hands.

Theſe propoſitions were granted by captain Morgan, on condition they ſhould ſee them faithfully obſerved; otherwiſe they ſhould be uſed with the utmoſt rigour: this they promiſed to do, and took their leave, to give account of their negociation to the governor. Preſently after captain Morgan commanded the whole fleet to enter the port, and his men to be ready to aſſault, that night, the caſtle of St. Jerom. Thus the falſe battle began, with inceſſant firing from both the caſtles againſt the ſhips, but without bullets, as was agreed: then the pirates landed, and aſſaulted by night the leſſer iſland, which they took, as alſo both the fortreſſes; forcing the Spaniards, in appearance, to fly to the church. Before this aſſault, captain Morgan ſent word to the governor, that he ſhould keep all his men together in a body; otherwiſe, if the pirates met any ſtraggling Spaniards in the ſtreets, they ſhould certainly ſhoot them.

This

Digitized by Google

This iſland being taken by this unuſal ſtratagem, and all things put in order; the pirates made a new war againſt the poultry, cattle, and all ſorts of victuals they could find, for ſome days; ſcarce thinking of any thing elſe than to kill, roaſt, and eat, and make what good cheer they could. If wood was wanting, they pulled down the houſes, and made fires with the timber, as had been done before in the field. Next day they numbered all the priſoners they had taken upon the iſland, which were found to be in all 459 perſons, men, women, and children, viz. 190 ſoldiers of the garriſon; 40 inhabitants, who were married; 43 children; 34 ſlaves, belonging to the king; with 8 children, 8 banditti, 39 negroes belonging to private perſons; with 27 female blacks, and 34 children. The pirates diſarmed all the Spaniards, and ſent them out immediately to the plantations to ſeek for proviſions, leaving the women in the church to exerciſe their devotions.

Soon after they reviewed the whole iſland, and all the fortreſſes thereof, which they found to be nine in all; viz. the fort of St. Jerom, next the bridge, had 8 great guns, of 12, 6, and 8 pounds carriage, with 6 pipes of muſkets, every pipe containing 10 muſkets. Here they found ſtill 60 muſkets, with ſufficient powder, and other ammunition. The ſecond fortreſs, called St. Matthew, had 3 guns, of 8 pounds each: the third, and chiefeſt, named Santa Tereſa, had 20 great guns, of 18, 12, 8, and 6 pounds, with 10 pipes of muſkets, like thoſe before, and 90 muſkets remaining, beſides other ammunition. This caſtle was built with ſtone and mortar, with very thick walls, and a large ditch round it, 20 feet deep, which though it was dry, yet was very hard to get over. Here was no entry, but through one door, to the middle of the caſtle.

Digitized by Google

Within it was a mount almoſt inacceſſible, with 4 pieces of cannon at the top; whence they could ſhoot directly into the port: on the ſea-ſide it was impregnable, by reaſon of the rocks round it, and the ſea beating furiouſly upon them: to the land it was ſo commodiouſly ſeated on a mountain, as there was no acceſs to it but by a path three or four feet broad. The fourth fortreſs was named St. Auguſtine, having 3 guns of 8 and 6 pounds. The fifth, named La Plattaforma de la Conception, had only 2 guns of 8 pounds. The ſixth, by name San Salvador, had likewiſe no more than 2 guns. The ſeventh, called Plattaforma de los Artillery, had alſo 2 guns. The eighth, called Santa Cruz, had 3 guns. The ninth, called St. Joſeph's fort, had 6 guns of 12 and 8 pounds, beſides two pipes of muſkets and ſufficient ammunition.

In the ſtorehouſes were above 30,000 pounds of powder, with all other ammunition, which was carried by the pirates on board: all the guns were ſtopped and nailed, and the fortreſſes demoliſhed; except that of St. Jerom, where the pirates kept guard and reſiſtance. Captain Morgan enquired for any banditti from Panama or Puerto Bello, and three were brought him, who pretended to be very expert in the avenues of thoſe parts. He aſked them to be his guides, and ſhew him the ſecureſt ways to Panama, which if they performed he promiſſed them equal ſhares in the plunder of that expedition, and their liberty when they arrived at Jamaica. Theſe propoſitions the banditti readily accepted, promiſing to ſerve him very faithfully, eſpecially one of the three, who was the greateſt rogue, thief, and aſſaſſin among them, and who had deſerved rather to be broken alive on the wheel, than puniſhed with ſerving in a garriſon: this wicked fellow had a great aſcendant over the other two, and domi-

Digitized by Google

domineered over them as he pleaſed, they not daring to diſobey his orders.

Captain Morgan commanded four ſhips and one boat to be equipped and provided with neceſſaries, to go and take the caſtle of Chagre, on the river of that name; neither would he go himſelf with his whole fleet, leſt the Spaniards ſhould be jealous of his farther deſign on Panama. In theſe veſſels he embarked 400 men to put in execution theſe his orders; mean while himſelf remained in St. Catherine's with the reſt of the fleet, expecting to hear of their ſucceſs.

CHAP. XVIII.

Captain Morgan takes the caſtle of Chagre, with 400 men ſent to this purpoſe from St. Catherine's.

CAPTAIN Morgan ſending this little fleet to Chagre, choſe for vice-admiral thereof one captain Brodely, who had been long in thoſe quarters, and committed many robberies on the Spaniards, when Manſvelt took the iſle of St. Catherine, as was before related; and therefore was thought a fit perſon for this exploit, his actions likewiſe having render'd him famous among the pirates, and their enemies the Spaniards. Captain Brodely being made commander, in three days after his departure arrived in ſight of the ſaid caſtle of Chagre, by the Spaniards called St. Lawrence. This caſtle is built on a high mountain, at the entry of the river, ſurrounded with ſtrong paliſadoes, or wooden walls, filled with earth, which ſecures them as well as the beſt wall of ſtone or brick. The top of this mountain is, in a manner, divided into two parts, between which is a ditch thirty feet deep. The caſtle hath but one entry, and that by a draw-

Digitized by Google

bridge over this ditch: to the land it has four baſtions, and to the ſea two more. The ſouth part is totally inacceſſible, through the craggineſs of the mountain; the north is ſurrounded by the river, which here is very broad: at the foot of the caſtle, or rather mountain, is a ſtrong fort, with eight great guns, commanding the entry of the river. Not much lower are two other batteries, each of ſix pieces, to defend likewiſe the mouth of the river. At one ſide of the caſtle are two great ſtorehouſes of all ſorts of warlike ammunition and merchandize, brought thither from the inland country; near theſe houſes is a high pair of ſtairs hewn out of the rock, to mount to the top of the caſtle. On the weſt is a ſmall port, not above ſeven or eight fathoms deep, fit for ſmall veſſels, and a very good anchorage; beſides, before the caſtle, at the entry of the river, is a great rock, ſcarce to be deſcried, but at low tides.

No ſooner had the Spaniards perceived the pirates, but they fired inceſſantly at them with the biggeſt of their guns. They came to an anchor in a ſmall port, about a league from the caſtle. Next morning, very early, they went aſhore, and marched through the woods to attack the caſtle on that ſide: this march laſted till two of the clock in the afternoon before they could reach the caſtle, by reaſon of the difficulties of the way, and its mire and dirt; and though their guides ſerved them very exactly, yet they came ſo nigh the caſtle at firſt, that they loſt many of their men by its ſhot, they being in an open place without covert. This much perplexed the pirates, not knowing what courſe to take; for on that ſide, of neceſſity, they muſt make the aſſault; and being uncovered from head to foot, they could not advance one ſtep without danger: beſides that, the caſtle, both for its ſituation and ſtrength, made them much doubt of ſucceſs. But to give it over they

Digitized by Google

they dared not, leſt they ſhould be reproached by their companions.

At laſt, after many doubts and diſputes, reſolving to hazard the aſſault and their lives deſperately, they advanced towards the caſtle with their ſwords in one hand and fire-balls in the other. The Spaniards defended themſelves very briſkly, ceaſing not to fire at them continually; crying withal, "Come "on, ye Engliſh dogs, enemies to God and our "king; and let your other companions that are behind "come on too, ye ſhall not go to Panama this bout." The pirates making ſome trial to climb the walls, were forced to retreat, reſting themſelves till night, this being come, they returned to the aſſault, to try by the help of their fire-balls to deſtroy the pales before the wall; and while they were about it, there happened a very remarkable accident, which occaſioned their victory. One of the pirates being wounded with an arrow in his back, which pierced his body through, he pulled it out boldly at the ſide of his breaſt, and winding a little cotton about it, he put it into his muſket, and ſhot it back to the caſtle; but the cotton being kindled by the powder, fired two or three houſes in the caſtle, being thatched with palm-leaves, which the Spaniards perceived not ſo ſoon as was neceſſary; for this fire meeting with a parcel of powder blew it up, thereby cauſing great ruin, and no leſs conſternation to the Spaniards, who were not able to put a ſtop to it, not having ſeen it time enough.

The pirates perceiving the effect of the arrow, and the misfortunes of the Spaniards, were infinitely glad; and while they were buſied in quenching the fire, which cauſed a great confuſion for want of water, the pirates took this opportunity, ſetting fire likewiſe to the paliſadoes. The fire thus ſeen at once in ſeveral parts about the caſtle, gave them

Digitized by Google

great advantage againſt the Spaniards, many breaches being made by the fire among the pales, and great heaps of earth falling into the ditch. Then the pirates climbing up, got over into the caſtle, tho' thoſe Spaniards, who were not buſy about the fire, caſt down many flaming pots full of combuſtible matter and odious ſmells, which deſtroyed many of the Engliſh.

The Spaniards, with all their reſiſtance, could not hinder the paliſadoes from being burnt down before midnight. Mean while the pirates continued in their intention of taking the caſtle; and though the fire was very great, they would creep on the ground, as near as they could, and ſhoot amidſt the flames againſt the Spaniards on the other ſide, and thus killed many from the walls. When day was come, they obſerved all the moveable earth that lay betwixt the pales to be fallen into the ditch; ſo that now thoſe within the caſtle lay equally expoſed to them without, as had been on the contrary before; whereupon the pirates continued ſhooting very furiouſly, and killed many Spaniards; for the governor had charged them to make good thoſe poſts, anſwering to the heaps of earth fallen into the ditch, and cauſed the artillery to be tranſported to the breaches.

The fire within the caſtle ſtill continuing, the pirates from abroad did what they could to hinder its progreſs, by ſhooting inceſſantly againſt it; one party of them was employed only for this, while another watched all the motions of the Spaniards. About noon the Engliſh gained a breach, which the governor himſelf defended with 25 ſoldiers. Here was made a very courageous reſiſtance by the Spaniards with muſkets, pikes, ſtones, and ſwords; but thro' all theſe the pirates fought their way till they gained the caſtle. The Spaniards, who remained alive, caſt themſelves down from the caſtle into the ſea, chooſing

Digitized by Google

ing rather to die thus (few or none surviving the fall) than to ask quarter for their lives. The governor himself retreated to the corps du gard, before which were placed two pieces of cannon; here he still defended himself, not demanding any quarter, till he was killed with a musket-shot in the head.

The governor being dead, and the corps du gard surrendering, they found remaining in it alive 30 men, whereof scarce ten were not wounded; these informed the pirates that eight or nine of their soldiers had deserted, and were gone to Panama to carry news of their arrival and invasion. These 30 men alone remained of 314 wherewith the castle was garrisoned, among whom not one officer was found alive. These were all made prisoners, and compelled to tell whatever they knew of their designs and enterprizes. Among other things, that the governor of Panama had notice sent him three weeks ago from Carthagena, when the English were equipping a fleet at Hispaniola, with a design to take Panama; and beside, that this had been discovered by a deserter from the pirates at the river de la Hacha, where they had victualled: that upon this, the governor had sent 164 men to strengthen the garrison of that castle, with much provision and ammunition; the ordinary garrison whereof was only 150 men, but these made up 214 men, very well armed. Besides this they declared, that the governor of Panama had placed several ambuscades along the river of Chagre; and that he waited for them in the open fields of Panama with 3600 men.

The taking of this castle cost the pirates excessively dear, in comparison to what they were wont to lose; their toil and labour was greater than at the conquest of the isle of St. Catherine; for numbering their men, they had lost above 100, beside 70 wounded. They commanded the Spanish pri-

ſoners to caſt the dead bodies of their own men from the top of the mountain to the ſea-ſide, and to bury them. The wounded were carried to the church, of which they made an hoſpital, and where alſo they ſhut up the women. Thus it was likewiſe turned into a place of proſtitution, the pirates ceaſing not to defile the bodies of thoſe afflicted widows, with all manner of inſolent actions and threats.

Captain Morgan remained not long behind at St. Catherine's, after taking the caſtle of Chagre, of which he had notice preſently; but before he departed, he embarked all the proviſions could be found, with much maiz, or Indian wheat, and cazave, whereof alſo is made bread in thoſe parts. He tranſported great ſtore of proviſions to the garriſon of Chagre, whenceſoever they could be got. At a certain place they caſt into the ſea all the guns belonging thereto, deſigning to return, and leave that iſland well garriſoned, to the perpetual poſſeſſion of the pirates; but he ordered all the houſes and forts to be fired, except the caſtle of St. Tereſa, which he judged to be the ſtrongeſt and ſecureſt wherein to fortify himſelf at his return from Panama. He carried with him all the priſoners of the iſland, and then ſailed for Chagre, where he arrived in eight days. Here the joy of the whole fleet was ſo great, when they ſpied the Engliſh colours on the caſtle, that they minded not their way into the river, ſo that they loſt four ſhips at the entry thereof, captain Morgan's being one; yet they ſaved all the men and goods. The ſhips too had been preſerved, if a ſtrong northerly wind had not riſen, which caſt them on the rock at the entry of the river.

Captain Morgan was brought into the caſtle with great acclamations of all the pirates, both of thoſe within and thoſe newly come. Having heard the manner of the conqueſt he commanded all the priſoners

Digitized by Google

ſeamers to work and repair what was neceſſary, eſpecially to ſet up new palliſadoes round the forts of the caſtle. There were ſtill in the river ſome Spaniſh veſſels, called Chatten, ſerving for tranſportation of merchandiſe up and down the river, and to go to Puerto Bello and Nicaragua: theſe commonly carry two great guns of iron, and four ſmall ones of braſs. Theſe veſſels they ſeized, with four little ſhips they found there, and all the canoes. In the caſtle they left a garriſon of 500 men, and in the ſhips in the river 150 more. This done, captain Morgan departed for Panama at the head of 1200 men. He carried little proviſions with him, hoping to provide himſelf ſufficiently among the Spaniards, whom he knew to lie in ambuſcade by the way.

CHAP. XIX.

Captain Morgan departs from Chagre, at the head of 1200 men, to take the City of Panama.

CAPTAIN Morgan ſet forth from the caſtle of Chagre, towards Panama, Auguſt 18th, 1670. He had with him 1200 men, 5 boats laden with artillery, and 32 canoes. The firſt day they ſailed only ſix leagues, and came to a place called De los Bracos: here a party of his men went aſhore only to ſleep and ſtretch their limbs, being almoſt crippled with lying too much crowded in the boats. Having reſted a while, they went abroad to ſeek victuals in the neighbouring plantations; but they could find none, the Spaniards being fled, and carrying with them all they had. This day, being the firſt of their journey, they had ſuch ſcarcity of victuals, as the greateſt part were forced to paſs with only a pipe of tobacco, without any other refreſhment.

Digitized by Google

Next day, about evening, they came to a place called Cruz de Juan Gallego; here they were compelled to leave their boats and canoes, the river being very dry for want of rain, and many trees having fallen into it.

The guides told them, that about 2 leagues farther the country would be very good to continue the journey by land; hereupon they left 160 men on board the boats to defend them, that they might ſerve for a refuge in neceſſity.

Next morning, being the third day, they all went aſhore, except thoſe who were to keep the boats: to theſe captain Morgan gave order under great penalties, that no man, on any pretext whatever, ſhould dare to leave the boats, and go aſhore; fearing leſt they ſhould be ſurprized by an ambuſcade of Spaniards in the neighbouring woods, which appeared ſo thick, as to ſeem almoſt impenetrable. This morning beginning their march, the ways proved ſo bad, that captain Morgan thought it more convenient to tranſport ſome of the men in canoes (though with great labour) to a place farther up the river, called Cedro Bueno: thus they re-imbarked, and the canoes returned for the reſt; ſo that about night they got all together at the ſaid place. The pirates much deſired to meet ſome Spaniards or Indians, hoping to fill their bellies with their proviſions, being reduced to extremity and hunger.

The fourth day the greateſt part of the pirates marched by land, being led by one of the guides; the reſt went by water farther up, being conducted by another guide, who always went before them, to diſcover, on both ſides the river, the ambuſcades. Theſe had alſo ſpies, who were very dextrous to give notice of all accidents, or of the arrival of the pirates, ſix hours, at leaſt, before they came. This day, about noon, they came near a poſt called Tor-

na

Digitized by Google

na Cavallos; here the guide of the canoes cried out, that he perceived an ambuſcade. His voice cauſed infinite joy to all the pirates, hoping to find ſome proviſions to ſatiate their extreme hunger. Being come to the place, they found no body in it, the Spaniards being fled, and leaving nothing behind but a few leathern bags, all empty, and a few crumbs of bread ſcattered on the ground where they had eaten. Being angry at this, they pulled down a few little huts which the Spaniards had made, and fell to eating the leathern bags, to allay the ferment of their ſtomachs, which was now ſo ſharp, as to gnaw their very bowels. Thus they made a huge banquet upon theſe bags of leather, divers quarrels ariſing concerning the greateſt ſhares. By the bigneſs of the place, they conjectured about 500 Spaniards had been there, whom, finding no victuals, they were now infinitely deſirous to meet, intending to devour ſome of them rather than periſh.

Having feaſted themſelves with thoſe pieces of leather, they marched on, till they came about night to another poſt, call'd Torna Munni: here they found another ambuſcade, but as barren as the former. They ſearched the neighbouring woods, but could not find any thing to eat, the Spaniards having been ſo provident, as not to leave, any where, the leaſt crumb of ſuſtenance; whereby the pirates were now brought to this extremity. Here again he was happy that had reſerved ſince noon any bit of leather, to make his ſupper of, drinking after it a good draught of water for his comfort. Some, who never were out of their mother's kitchens, may aſk, how theſe pirates could eat and digeſt thoſe pieces of leather, ſo hard and dry? Whom I anſwer, that could they once experience what hunger, or rather famine is, they would find the way as the pirates did. For theſe firſt ſliced it in pieces, then

they

they beat it between two ſtones, and rubbed it, often dipping it in water to make it ſupple and tender: laſtly, they ſcraped off the hair, and broiled it. Being thus cooked, they cut it into ſmall morſels, and eat it, helping it down with frequent gulps of water, which, by good fortune, they had at hand.

The fifth day about noon they came to a place called Barbacoa: here they found traces of another ambuſcade, but the place totally as unprovided as the former. At a ſmall diſtance were ſeveral plantations, which they ſearched very narrowly, but could not find any perſon, animal, or other thing, to relieve their extreme hunger. Finally, having ranged about, and ſearched a long time, they found a grot, which ſeemed to be but lately hewn out of a rock, where were two ſacks of meal, wheat, and like things, with two great jars of wine, and certain fruits called platano's. Captain Morgan knowing ſome of his men were now almoſt dead with hunger, and fearing the ſame of the reſt, cauſed what was found to be diſtributed among them who were in greateſt neceſſity: having refreſhed themſelves with theſe victuals, they marched anew with greater courage than ever. Such as were weak were put into the canoes, and thoſe commanded to land that were in them before. Thus they proſecuted their journey till late at night; when coming to a plantation, they took up their reſt, but without eating any thing: for the Spaniards, as before, had ſwept away all manner of proviſions.

The ſixth day they continued their march, part by land, and part by water: howbeit, they were conſtrained to reſt very frequently, both for the ruggedneſs of the way and their extreme weakneſs, which they endeavoured to relieve by eating leaves of trees and green herbs, or graſs, ſuch was their miſerable condition! This day at noon they arrived

ed at a plantation, where was a barn full of maiz; immediately they beat down the doors, and eat it dry, as much as they could devour; then they diſtributed a great quantity, giving every man a good allowance. Thus provided, and proſecuting their journey for about an hour, they came to another ambuſcade. This they no ſooner diſcovered, but they threw away their maiz, with the ſudden hopes of finding all things in abundance; but they were much deceived, meeting neither Indians nor victuals, nor any thing elſe: but they ſaw, on the other ſide of the river, about 100 Indians, who all fleeing, eſcaped. Some few pirates leaped into the river to croſs it, and try to take any of the Indians, but in vain: for being much more nimble than the pirates, they not only baffled them, but killed two or three with their arrows; houting at them, and crying, *Ha! perros, à la ſavana, à la ſavana.* "Ha! ye "dogs, go to the plain, go to the plain."

This day they could advance no farther, being neceſſitated to paſs the river, to continue their march on the other ſide. Hereupon they repoſed for that night, though their ſleep was not profound; for great murmurings were made at captain Morgan, and his conduct; ſome being deſirous to return home, while others would rather die there than go back a ſtep from their undertaking; others who had greater courage, laughed and joked at their diſcourſes. Mean while, they had a guide, who much comforted them, ſaying, "It would not be long before they "met with people from whom they ſhould reap ſome "conſiderable advantage."

The ſeventh day, in the morning, they made clean their arms, and every one diſcharged his piſtol, or muſket, without bullet, to try their fire locks: this done, they croſſed the river, leaving the poſt where they had reſted, called Santa Cruz, and at noon

noon they arrived at a village called Cruz. Being yet far from the place, they perceived much ſmoke from the chimnies; the ſight hereof gave them great joy, and hopes of finding people, and plenty of good cheer. Thus they went on as faſt as they could, encouraging one another, ſaying, "There "is ſmoke comes out of every houſe; they are "making good fires, to roaſt and boil what we are "to eat;" and the like.

At length they arrived there, all ſweating and panting, but found no perſon in the town, nor any thing eatable to refreſh themſelves, except good fires, which they wanted not; for the Spaniards, before their departure, had every one ſet fire to his own houſe, except the king's ſtorehouſes and ſtables.

They had not left behind them any beaſt, alive or dead, which much troubled their minds, not finding any thing but a few cats and dogs, which they immediately killed and devoured. At laſt, in the king's ſtables they found, by good fortune, 15 or 16 jars of Peru wine, and a leathern ſack, full of bread. No ſooner had they drank of this wine, when they fell ſick, almoſt every man: this made them think the wine was poiſoned, which cauſed a new conſternation in the whole camp, judging themſelves now to be irrecoverably loſt. But the true reaſon was, their want of ſuſtenance, and the manifold ſorts of traſh they had eaten. Their ſickneſs was ſo great, as cauſed them to remain there till the next morning, without being able to proſecute their journey in the afternoon. This village is ſeated in 9 deg. 2 min. north latitude, diſtant from the river Chagre 26 Spaniſh leagues, and 8 from Panama. This is the laſt place to which boats or canoes can come; for which reaſon they built here ſtorehouſes for all ſorts of merchandize, which to and from Panama are tranſported on the backs of mules.

Here

Here captain Morgan was forced to leave his canoes, and land all his men, though never ſo weak; but leſt the canoes ſhould be ſurprized, or take up too many men for their defence, he ſent them all back to the place where the boats were, except one, which he hid, that it might ſerve to carry intelligence. Many of the Spaniards and Indians of this village having fled to the near plantations, captain Morgan ordered that none ſhould go out of the village, except companies of 100 together, fearing leſt the enemies ſhould take an advantage upon his men. Notwithſtanding one party contravened theſe orders, being tempted with the deſire of victuals; but they were ſoon glad to fly into the town again, being aſſaulted with great fury by ſome Spaniards and Indians, who carried one of them away priſoner. Thus the vigilancy and care of captain Morgan was not ſufficient to prevent every accident.

The eighth day in the morning captain Morgan ſent 200 men before the body of his army, to diſcover the way to Panama, and any ambuſcades therein; the path being ſo narrow, that only ten or twelve perſons could march a-breaſt, and often not ſo many. After ten hours march they came to a place called Quebrada Obſcura; here, all on a ſudden, 3 or 4000 arrows were ſhot at them, they not perceiving whence they came, or who ſhot them; tho' they preſumed it was from a high rocky mountain, from one ſide to the other, whereon was a grot capable of but one horſe, or other beaſt laded. This multiude of arrows much alarmed the pirates, eſpecially becauſe they could not diſcover whence they were diſcharged. At laſt, ſeeing no more arrows, they marched a little farther, and entered a wood: here they perceived ſome Indians to fly as faſt as they could, to take the advantage of another poſt, thence to obſerve their march; yet there remained

mained one troop of Indians on the place, reſolved to fight and defend themſelves, which they did with great courage, till their captain fell down wounded; who, though he deſpaired of life, yet his valour being greater than his ſtrength, would aſk no quarter, but endeavouring to raiſe himſelf, with undaunted mind laid hold of his azagayo, or javelin, and ſtruck at one of the pirates; but before he could ſecond the blow, he was ſhot to death. This was alſo the fate of many of his companions, who, like good ſoldiers, loſt their lives with their captain, for the defence of their country.

The pirates endeavoured to take ſome of the Indians priſoners, but they being ſwifter than the pirates, every one eſcaped, leaving eight pirates dead, and ten wounded: yea, had the Indians been more dextrous in military affairs, they might have defended that paſſage, and not let one man paſs. A little while after they came to a large champaign, open, and full of fine meadows: hence they could perceive at a diſtance before them ſome Indians on the top of a mountain, near the way by which they were to paſs: they ſent fifty men, the nimbleſt they had, to try to catch any of them, and force them to diſcover their companions; but all in vain; for they eſcaped by their nimbleneſs, and preſently ſhewed themſelves in another place, hollowing to the Engliſh, and crying, *A la ſavana, à la ſavana, cornudos, perros Ingleſes:* that is, "To the plain, to the "plain, ye cuckolds, ye Engliſh dogs." Mean while the ten pirates that were wounded, were dreſſed and plaiſtered up.

Here was a wood, and on each ſide a mountain. The Indians poſſeſſed themſelves of one, and the pirates of the other. Captain Morgan was perſuaded the Spaniards had placed an ambuſcade there, it lying ſo conveniently: hereupon he ſent 200 men to

Digitized by Google

to ſearch it. The Spaniards and Indians perceiving the pirates deſcend the mountain, did ſo too, as if they deſigned to attack them; but being got into the wood, out of ſight of the pirates, they were ſeen no more, leaving the paſſage open.

About night fell a great rain, which cauſed the pirates to march the faſter, and ſeek for houſes to preſerve their arms from being wet; but the Indians had ſet fire to every one, and driven away all their cattle, that the pirates, finding neither houſes nor victuals, might be conſtrained to return: but, after, diligent ſearch, they found a few ſhepherds huts, but in them nothing to eat. Theſe not holding many men, they placed in them out of every company, a ſmall number, who kept the arms of the reſt; thoſe who remained in the open field, endured much hardſhip that night, the rain not ceaſing till morning.

Next morning, about break of day, being the ninth of this tedious journey, captain Morgan marched on while the freſh air of the morning laſted; for the clouds hanging yet over their heads, were much more favourable than the ſcorching rays of the ſun, the way being now more difficult than before. After two hours march they diſcovered about twenty Spaniards, who obſerved their motions: they endeavoured to catch ſome of them, but could not, they ſuddenly diſappearing and abſconding themſelves in caves among the rocks, unknown to the pirates. At laſt, aſcending a high mountain, they diſcovered the South-Sea: this happy ſight, as if it were the end of their labours, cauſed infinite joy among them; hence they could deſcry alſo one ſhip and ſix boats, which were ſet forth from Panama, and ſailed towards the iſlands of Tovago and Tovaglia; then they came to a vale where they found much cattle, whereof they killed good ſtore: here,

here, while ſome killed and flayed cows, horſes, bulls, and chiefly aſſes, of which there were moſt, others kindled fires, and got wood to roaſt them; then cutting the fleſh into convenient pieces, or gobbets, they threw them into the fire, and half carbonadoed or roaſted, they devoured them with incredible haſte and appetite; ſuch was their hunger, as they more reſembled cannibals than Europeans, the blood many times running down from their beards to their waiſts.

Having ſatisfied their hunger, captain Morgan ordered them to continue the march. Here, again, he ſent before the main body 50 men to take ſome priſoners, if they could; for he was much concerned, that in nine days he could not meet one perſon to inform him of the condition and force of the Spaniards. About evening they diſcovered about 200 Spaniards, who hollowed to the pirates, but they underſtood not what they ſaid. A little while after they came in ſight of the higheſt ſteeple of Panama; this they no ſooner diſcovered, but they ſhewed ſigns of extreme joy, caſting up their hats into the air, leaping and ſhooting, juſt as if they had already obtained the victory, and accompliſhed their deſigns. All their trumpets ſounded, and drums beat, in token of this alacrity of their minds: thus they pitched their camp for that night, with general content of the whole army, waiting with impatience for the morning, when they intended to attack the city. This evening appeared 50 horſe, who came out of the city, on the noiſe of the drums and trumpets, to obſerve, as it was thought, their motions: they came almoſt within muſket-ſhot of the army, with a trumpet that ſounded marvelouſly well. Thoſe on horſeback hollowed aloud to the pirates, and threatened them, ſaying, *Perros! nos voremos:* that is, "Ye dogs! we ſhall meet ye." Having made this menace, they returned to the city, except

Digitized by Google

except only ſeven or eight horſemen, who hovered thereabouts to watch their motions. Immediately after the city fired, and ceaſed not to play their biggeſt guns all night long againſt the camp, but with little or no harm to the pirates, whom they could not eaſily reach. Now alſo the 200 Spaniards, whom the pirates had ſeen in the afternoon, appeared again, making a ſhow of blocking up the paſſages, that no pirates might eſcape their hands. But the pirates, though in a manner beſieged, inſtead of fearing their blockades, as ſoon as they had placed centinels about their camp, opened their ſatchels, and without any napkins or plates, fell to eating, very heartily, the pieces of bulls and horſes fleſh which they had reſerved ſince noon. This done, they laid themſelves down to ſleep on the graſs, with great repoſe and ſatisfaction, expecting only, with impatience, the dawning of the next day.

The tenth day, betimes in the morning, they put all their men in order, and, with drums and trumpets ſounding, marched directly towards the city; but one of the guides deſired captain Morgan not to take the common highway, leſt they ſhould find in it many ambuſcades. He took his advice, and choſe another way through the wood, though very irkſome and difficult. The Spaniards perceiving the pirates had taken another way they ſcarce had thought on, were compelled to leave their ſtops and batteries, and come out to meet them. The governor of Panama put his forces in order, conſiſting of two ſquadrons, four regiments of foot, and a huge number of wild bulls, which were driven by a great number of Indians, with ſome negroes, and others to help them.

The pirates, now upon their march, came to the top of a little hill, whence they had a large proſpect of the city and champaign country underneath;

Digitized by Google

neath; here they discovered the forces of the people of Panama, in battle array, to be so numerous, that they were surprized with fear, much doubting the fortune of the day; yea, few or none there were but wished themselves at home, or at least free from the obligation of that engagement, it so nearly concerning their lives. Having been some time wavering in their minds, they at last reflected on the straights they had brought themselves into, and that now they must either fight resolutely, or die; for no quarter could be expected from an enemy on whom they had committed so many cruelties: hereupon they encouraged one another, resolving to conquer, or spend the last drop of blood. Then they divided themselves into three battalions, sending before 200 Bucaniers, who were very dextrous at their guns; then descending the hill, they marched directly towards the Spaniards, who in a spacious field waited for their coming. As soon as they drew nigh, the Spaniards began to shout and cry, *Vive el roy!* "God save the king!" and immediately their horse moved against the pirates. But the fields being full of quags, and soft under foot, they could not wheel about as they desired. The 200 Bucaniers who went before, each putting one knee to the ground, began the battle briskly with a full volley of shot: the Spaniards defended themselves courageously, doing all they could to disorder the pirates. Their foot endeavoured to second the horse, but were constrained by the pirates to leave them. Finding themselves baffled, they attempted to drive the bulls against them behind, to put them into disorder; but the wild cattle ran away, frighted with the noise of the battle; only some few broke through the English companies, and only tore the colours in pieces, while the Bucaniers shot every one of them dead.

The

Digitized by Google

The battle having continued two hours, the greateſt part of the Spaniſh horſe was ruined, and almoſt all killed; the reſt fled, which the foot ſeeing, and that they could not poſſibly prevail, they diſcharged the ſhot they had in their muſkets, and throwing them down, fled away, every one as he could. The pirates could not follow them, being too much harraſſed and wearied with their long journey. Many not being able to fly whither they deſired, hid themſelves, for that preſent, among the ſhrubs of the ſea-ſide, but very unfortunately; for moſt of them being found by the pirates, were inſtantly killed without any quarter. Some religious men were brought priſoners before captain Morgan; but he being deaf to their cries, commanded them all to be piſtolled, which was done. Soon after they brought a captain to him, whom he examined very ſtrictly; particularly, wherein conſiſted the forces of thoſe of Panama? He anſwered, their whole ſtrength conſiſted in 400 horſe, 24 companies of foot, each of 100 men complete; 60 Indians, and ſome negroes, who were to drive 2000 wild bulls upon the Engliſh, and thus by breaking their files, put them into a total diſorder: beſide, that in the city they had made trenches, and raiſed batteries in ſeveral places, in all which they had placed many guns; and that at the entry of the highway leading to the city, they had built a fort, mounted with 8 great braſs guns, defended by 50 men.

Captain Morgan having heard this, gave orders inſtantly to march another way; but firſt he made a review of his men, whereof he found both killed and wounded a conſiderable number, and much greater than had been believed. Of the Spaniards were found 600 dead on the place, beſides the wounded and priſoners. The pirates, nothing diſcouraged on ſeeing their number ſo diminiſhed, but rather

rather filled with greater pride, perceiving what a great advantage they had obtained againſt their enemies, having reſted ſome time, prepared to march courageouſly towards the city, plighting their oaths to one another, that they would fight till not a man was left alive. With this courage they re-commenced their march, either to conquer or be conquered, carrying with them all the priſoners.

They found much difficulty in their approach to the city, for within the town the Spaniards had placed many great guns at ſeveral quarters, ſome charged with ſmall pieces of iron, and others with muſket-bullets; with all theſe they ſaluted the pirates at their approaching, and gave them full and frequent broadſides, firing at them inceſſantly; ſo that unavoidably they loſt at every ſtep great numbers of men. But theſe manifeſt dangers of their lives, nor the ſight of ſo many as dropped continually at their ſides, could deter them from advancing, and gaining ground every moment on the enemy: and though the Spaniards never ceaſed to fire, and act the beſt they could for their defence, yet they were forced to yield, after three hours combat. And the pirates having poſſeſſed themſelves, killed and deſtroyed all that attempted in the leaſt to oppoſe them. The inhabitants had tranſported the beſt of their goods to more remote and occult places; howbeit, they found in the city ſeveral warehouſes well ſtocked with merchandize, as well ſilks and cloths as linen, and other things of value. As ſoon as the firſt fury of their entrance was over, captain Morgan aſſembled his men, and commanded them, under great penalties, not to drink or taſte any wine; and the reaſon he gave for it was, becauſe he had intelligence that it was all poiſoned by the Spaniards. Howbeit, it was thought he gave theſe prudent orders to prevent the debauchery of his people,

Digitized by Google

people, which he foreſaw would be very great at the firſt, after ſo much hunger ſuſtained by the way; fearing withal, leſt the Spaniards, ſeeing them in wine, ſhould rally, and falling on the city uſe them as inhumanly as they had uſed the inhabitants before.

CHAP. XX.

Captain Morgan ſends canoes and boats to the South-ſea. He fires the city of Panama. Robberies and cruelties committed there by the pirates, till their return to the caſtle of Chagre.

CAptain Morgan, as ſoon as he had placed neceſſary guards at ſeveral quarters, within and without the city, commanded twenty-five men to ſeize a great boat which had ſtuck in the mud of the port for want of water at a low tide. The ſame day about noon he cauſed fire privately to be ſet to ſeveral great edifices of the city, no body knowing who were the authors thereof, much leſs on what motives captain Morgan did it, which are unknown to this day: the fire increaſed ſo that before night the greateſt part of the city was in a flame. Captain Morgan pretended the Spaniards had done it, perceiving that his own people reflected on him for that action. Many of the Spaniards, and ſome of the pirates, did what they could, either to quench the flame, or by blowing up houſes with gunpowder, and pulling down others, to ſtop it, but in vain; for in leſs than half an hour it conſumed a whole ſtreet. All the houſes of this city were built with cedar, very curious and magnificent, and richly adorned, eſpecially with hangings and paintings, whereof part were before removed, and another great part were conſumed by fire.

There were in this city (which is the ſee of a biſhop)

Digitized by Google

eight monaſteries, ſeven for men, and one for women, two ſtately churches, and one hoſpital. The churches and monaſteries were richly adorned with altar-pieces and paintings, much gold and ſilver, with other precious things; all which the eccleſiaſticks had hidden. Beſides which, here were two thouſand houſes of magnificent building, the greateſt part inhabited by merchants vaſtly rich. For the reſt of leſs quality, and tradeſmen, this city contained 5,000 more. Here were alſo many ſtables for the horſes and mules that carry the plate of the king of Spain, as well as private men, towards the North-ſea. The neighbouring fields are full of fertile plantations and pleaſant gardens, affordin g delicious proſpects to the inhabitants all the year.

The Geneoſe had in this city a ſtately houſe for their trade of negroes. This likewiſe was by captain Morgan burnt to very ground, beſides which building, there were conſumed 200 warehouſes, and many ſlaves, who had hid themſelves therein, with innumerable ſacks of meal; the fire of which continued four weeks after it had began. The greateſt part of the pirates ſtill encamped without the city, fearing and expecting the Spaniards would come and fight them anew, it being known they outnumbered the pirates. This made them keep the field, to preſerve their forces united, now much diminiſhed by their loſſes. Their wounded, which were many, they put into one church which remained ſtanding, the reſt being conſumed by the fire. Beſides theſe decreaſes of their men, captain Morgan had ſent a convoy of an 150 men to the caſtle of Chagre, to carry the news of his victory to Panama.

They ſaw often whole troops of Spaniards run to and fro in the fields, which made them ſuſpect their rallying, which they never had the courage to do. In the afternoon captain Morgan re-entered the city with

Digitized by Google

with his troops, that every one might take up their lodgings, which now they could hardly find, few houſes having eſcaped the fire; then they ſought very carefully among the ruins and aſhes for utenſils of plate or gold, that were not quite waſted by the flames; and of ſuch they found no ſmall number, eſpecially in wells and ciſterns, where the Spaniards had hid them.

Next day captain Morgan diſpatched away two troops of 150 men each, ſtout and well armed, to ſeek for the inhabitants who were eſcaped. Theſe having made ſeveral excurſions up and down the fields, woods, and mountains adjacent, returned after two days, bringing above 200 priſoners, men, women, and ſlaves. The ſame day returned alſo the boat which captain Morgan had ſent to the South-ſea, bringing three other boats which they had taken. But all theſe prizes they could willingly have given, and greater labour into the bargain, for one galleon, which miraculouſly eſcaped, richly laden with all the king's plate, jewels, and other precious goods of the beſt and richeſt merchants of Panama: on board which were alſo the religious women of the nunnery, who had embarked with them all the ornaments of their church, conſiſting in much gold, plate, and other things of great value.

The ſtrength of this galleon was inconſiderable, having only ſeven guns, and ten or twelve muſkets, and very ill provided of victuals, neceſſaries, and freſh water, having no more ſails than the uppermoſt of the mainmaſt: this account the pirates received from ſome who had ſpoke with ſeven mariners belonging to the galleon, who came aſhore in the cock-boat for freſh water. Hence they concluded they might eaſily have taken it, had they given her chace, as they ſhould have done; but they were impeded from following this vaſtly rich prize by their laſcivi-

ous exerciſes with women, which they had carried and forced on board their boat. To this vice were alſo joined thoſe of gluttony and drunkenneſs, having plentifully debauched themſelves with ſeveral rich wines they found ready, chooſing rather to ſatiate their luſts and appetites than to lay hold on ſuch huge advantage; ſince this only prize would have been of far greater value than all they got at Panama, and the places thereabouts. Next day, repenting of their negligence, being weary of their vices and debaucheries, they ſet forth another boat well armed, to purſue with all ſpeed the ſaid galleon; but in vain, the Spaniards who were on board having had intelligence of their own danger one or two days before, while the pirates were cruizing ſo near them; whereupon they fled to places more remote and unknown.

The pirates found in the ports of the iſland of Tavoga and Tavogilla ſeveral boats laden with very good merchandize; all which they took, and brought to Panama, where they made an exact relation of all that had paſſed to captain Morgan. The priſoners confirmed what the pirates ſaid, adding, that they undoubtedly knew where the galleon might then be, but that it was very probable they had been relieved before now from other places. This ſtirred up captain Morgan anew to ſend forth all the boats in the port of Panama to ſeek the ſaid galleon till they could find her. Theſe boats, being in all four, after eight days cruizing to and fro, and ſearching ſeveral ports and creeks, loſt all hopes of finding her; hereupon they returned to Tavoga and Tavogilla; here they found a reaſonable good ſhip newly come from Payta, laden with cloth, ſoap, ſugar, and biſket, with 20,000 pieces of eight: this they inſtantly ſeized without the leaſt reſiſtance, as alſo a boat, which was not far off, on which they laded

Digitized by Google

laded great part of the merchandizes from the ſhip, with ſome ſlaves. With this purchaſe they returned to Panama ſomewhat better ſatisfied; yet withal much diſcontented that they could not meet with the galleon.

The convoy which captain Morgan had ſent to the caſtle of Chagre returned much about the ſame time, bringing with them very good news: for while captain Morgan was on his journey to Panama, thoſe he had left in the caſtle of Chagre had ſent forth two boats to cruize. Theſe met with a Spaniſh ſhip, which they chaſed within ſight of the caſtle: this being perceived by the pirates in the caſtle, they put forth Spaniſh colours, to deceive the ſhip that fled before the boats; and the poor Spaniards, thinking to take refuge under the caſtle, were caught in a ſnare, and made priſoners. The cargo on board the ſaid veſſel conſiſted in victuals and proviſions, than which nothing could be more opportune for the caſtle, where they began already to want things of that kind.

This good luck of thoſe of Chagre cauſed captain Morgan to ſtay longer at Panama, ordering ſeveral new excurſions into the country round about; and while the pirates at Panama were upon theſe expeditions, thoſe at Chagre were buſy in piracies on the North-ſea. Captain Morgan ſent forth daily parties of 200 men, to make inroads into all the country round about; and when one party came back, another went forth, who ſoon gathered much riches, and many priſoners. Theſe being brought into the city, were put to the moſt exquiſite tortures, to make them confeſs both other people's goods and their own. Here it happened that one poor wretch was found in the houſe of a perſon of quality, who had put on, amidſt the confuſion, a pair of taffety breeches of his maſter's, with a little ſilver key hang-

Digitized by Google

ing out; perceiving which they aſked him for the cabinet of the ſaid key. His anſwer was, he knew not what was become of it, but that finding thoſe breeches in his maſter's houſe, he had made bold to wear them. Not being able to get any other anſwer, they put him on the rack, and inhumanly disjointed his arms; then they twiſted a cord about his forehead, which they wrung ſo hard, that his eyes appeared as big as eggs, and were ready to fall out. But with theſe torments not obtaining any poſitive anſwer, they hung him up by the teſticles, giving him many blows and ſtripes under that intolerable pain and poſture of body; afterwards they cut of his noſe and ears, and ſinged his face with burning ſtraw till he could not ſpeak, nor lament his miſery any longer: then, loſing all hopes of any confeſſion, they bad a negro run him through, which put an end to his life, and to their inhuman tortures. Thus did many others of thoſe miſerable priſoners finiſh their days, the common ſport and recreation of theſe pirates being ſuch tragedies.

They ſpared, in theſe their cruelties, no ſex nor condition: for as to religious perſons, and prieſts, they granted them leſs quarter than others unleſs they could produce a conſiderable ſum ſufficient for ranſom. Women were no better uſed, except they ſubmitted to their filthy luſts; for ſuch as would not conſent, were treated with all the rigour imaginable. Captain Morgan gave them no good example in this point; for when any beautiful woman was brought priſoner to his preſence, he uſed all means, both of rigour and mildneſs, to bend them to his laſcivious pleaſure. For confirmation of which, I ſhall give a ſhort hiſtory of a lady, whoſe virtue and conſtancy ought to be tranſmitted to poſterity.

Among the priſoners brought by the pirates from Tavoga and Tavogilla was a gentlewoman of good

Digitized by Google

quality, and no leſs virtue and chaſtity, wife to one of the richeſt merchants there. She was young, and ſo beautiful, as perhaps few in all Europe ſurpaſſed her, either in comelineſs or honeſty. Her huſband then was from home, being gone as far as Peru about his commerce and trade. This virtuous lady, hearing of the pirates coming, had fled, with other friends and relations, to preſerve her life from the cruelties and tyrannies of thoſe hard-hearted enemies; but no ſooner did ſhe appear before captain Morgan, but ſhe was deſigned for his pleaſure. Hereupon he lodged her in an apartment by herſelf, giving her a negro, or black woman, to wait on her, and treated her with all reſpect due to her quality. The poor afflicted lady begged, with many ſobs and tears, to lodge among the other priſoners, her relations fearing that unexpected kindneſs of the commander might be a deſign on her chaſtity. But captain Morgan would by no means hearken to her, but commanded ſhe ſhould be treated with more particular care than before, and have her victuals from his own table.

This lady had formerly heard very ſtrange reports concerning the pirates, as if they were not men, but, as they ſaid, hereticks, who did neither invoke the bleſſed Trinity, nor believe in Jeſus Chriſt. But now ſhe began to have better thoughts of them, upon theſe civilities of captain Morgan; eſpecially hearing him many times ſwear by God and Jeſus Chriſt, in whom, ſhe thought, they did not believe. Nor did ſhe think them to be ſo bad, or to have the ſhapes of beaſts, as had been related. As to the name of robbers or thieves, commonly given them, ſhe wondered not much at it, ſeeing, among all nations of the univerſe, there were wicked men, covetous to poſſeſs the goods of others. Like this was the opinion of another woman of weak underſtanding at Panama, who uſed to ſay, before the pirates came thither, ſhe had a great curioſity to ſee a pirate; her

Digitized by Google

husband having often told her, they were not like other men, but rather irrational beasts. This silly woman happening to see the first of them, cried out aloud, 'Jesus bless me! these thieves are like us 'Spaniards.'

This false civility of captain Morgan towards this lady, as is usual to such as pretend, and cannot obtain, was soon changed into barbarous cruelty; for after three or four days he came to see her, and entertained her with lascivious discourses, desiring the accomplishment of his lust. The virtuous lady constantly denied him with much civility, and many humble and modest expressions; but captain Morgan still persisted in his base request, presenting to her much pearl, gold, and whatever he had that was precious and valuable: but the lady, not willing to consent or accept his presents, shewing herself like Susannah for constancy, he presently changed his note, and addressed her in another tone, threatening a thousand cruelties and hard usages: to all which she gave only this resolute and positive answer: 'Sir, my life is in 'your hands; but as to my body, in relation to that 'which you would perswade me to, my soul shall 'sooner be separated from it through the violence of 'your arms, than I shall condescend to your request.' Captain Morgan understanding this her heroic resolution, commanded her to be stripped of the best of her apparel, and imprisoned in a darksome stinking cellar: here she was allowed a small quantity of meat and drink, wherewith she had much ado to sustain her life.

Under this hardship the virtuous lady prayed daily to God Almighty for constancy and patience; but captain Morgan, now thoroughly convinced of her chaste resolutions, as also desirous to conceal the cause of her hard usage, since many of his companions compassionated her condition, pretended she held intelligence

intelligence with the Spaniards, and corresponded with them, abusing his lenity and kindness. I myself was an eye-witness thereof, and could never have judged such constancy and chastity to be found in the world, if my own eyes and ears had not assured me thereof. But of this incomparable lady I shall say something more hereafter.

Captain Morgan having now been at Panama full three weeks, commanded all things to be prepared for his departure. He ordered every company of men to seek so many beasts of carriage as might convey the whole spoil to the river where his canoes lay. About this time there was a great rumour, that a considerable number of pirates intended to leave captain Morgan, and that taking a ship then in the port, they determined to go and rob on the South-sea, till they had got as much as they thought fit, and then return homewards by way of the East-Indies. For which purpose they had gathered much provisions, which they had hid in private places, with sufficient powder, bullets, and all other ammunition; likewise some great guns belonging to the town, muskets, and other things, wherewith they designed not only to equip their vessel, but to fortify themselves in some island, which might serve them for a place of refuge.

This design had certainly taken effect, had not captain Morgan had timely advice of it from one of their comrades; hereupon he commanded the main-mast of the said ship to be cut down, and burnt with all the other boats in the port: hereby the intentions of all, or most of his companions, were totally frustrated. Then captain Morgan sent many of the Spaniards into the adjoining fields and country to seek for money to ransom not only themselves, but the rest of the prisoners, as likewise the ecclesiasticks. Moreover, he commanded all the artillery of the town to be nailed and stopped up. At the same time he sent

Digitized by Google

out a ſtrong company of men to ſeek for the governor of Panama, of whom intelligence was brought, that he had laid ſeveral ambuſcades in the way by which he ought to return: but they returned ſoon after, ſaying, they had not found any ſign of any ſuch ambuſcades. For confirmation whereof, they brought ſome priſoners, who declared that the ſaid governor had had an intention of making ſome oppoſition by the way, but that the men deſigned to effect it were unwilling to undertake it; ſo that for want of means he could not put his deſign in execution.

February twenty-fourth 1671, captain Morgan departed from Panama, or rather from the place where the city of Panama ſtood; of the ſpoils whereof he carried with him 175 beaſts of carriage, laden with ſilver, and gold, and other precious things, beſide about 600 priſoners, men, women, children, and ſlaves. That day they came to a river that paſſes through a delicious plain, a league from Panama; here captain Morgan put all his forces into good order, ſo as that the priſoners were in the middle, ſurrounded on all ſides with the pirates, where nothing elſe was to be heard but lamentations, cries, ſhrieks, doleful ſighs of ſo many women and children, who feared captain Morgan deſigned to tranſport them all into his own country for ſlaves: beſides, all thoſe miſerable priſoners endured extream hunger and thirſt at that time, which miſery captain Morgan deſignedly cauſed them to ſuſtain, to excite them to ſeek for money to ranſom themſelves, according to the tax he had ſet upon every one. Many of the women begged captain Morgan, on their knees, with infinite ſighs and tears, to let them return to Panama, there to live with their dear huſbands and children in little huts of ſtraw, which they would erect, ſeeing they had no houſes till the rebuilding of the city. But his anſwer was, 'he came not thither to hear lamen-

'tations

'tations and cries, but to ſeek money; therefore they 'ought firſt to ſeek out that, where-ever it was to be 'had, and bring it to him; otherwiſe he would 'aſſuredly tranſport them all to ſuch places, whither 'they cared not to go.'

Next day, when the march began, thoſe lamentable cries and ſhrieks were renewed, ſo as it would have cauſed compaſſion in the hardeſt heart; but captain Morgan, as a man little given to mercy, was not moved in the leaſt. They marched in the ſame order as before, one party of the pirates in the van, the priſoners in the middle, and the reſt of the pirates in the rear, by whom the miſerable Spaniards were at every ſtep punched and thruſt in their backs and ſides with the blunt ends of their arms, to make them march faſter. That beautiful and virtuous lady, mentioned before for her unparallelled conſtancy and chaſtity, was led priſoner by herſelf between two pirates. Her lamentations now pierced the ſkies, ſeeing herſelf carried away into captivity, often crying to the pirates, and telling them, 'that ſhe had given 'orders to two religious perſons, in whom ſhe had 'relied, to go to a certain place, and fetch ſo much 'money as her ranſom did amount to; that they had 'promiſed faithfully to do it, but having obtained the 'money, inſtead of bringing it to her, they had em-'ployed it another way, to ranſom ſome of their own 'and particular friends.' This ill action of theirs was diſcovered by a ſlave, who brought a letter to the ſaid lady. Her complaints, and the cauſe thereof, being brought to captain Morgan, he thought fit to enquire thereinto. Having found it to be true, eſpecially hearing it confirmed by the confeſſion of the ſaid religious men, though under ſome frivolous excuſes, of having diverted the money but for a day or two, in which time they expected more ſums to repay it; he gave liberty to the ſaid lady, whom

Digitized by Google

otherwiſe he deſigned to tranſport to Jamaica. But he detained the ſaid religious men, as priſoners in her place, uſing them according to their deſerts.

Captain Morgan arriving at the town called Cruz, on the banks of the river Chagre, he publiſhed an order among the priſoners, that within three days every one ſhould bring in their ranſom, under the penalty of being tranſported to Jamaica. Mean while he gave orders for ſo much rice and maiz to be collected thereabouts, as was neceſſary for victualling his ſhips. Here ſome of the priſoners were ranſomed, but many others could not bring in the money. Hereupon he continued his voyage, leaving the village on the fifth of March following, carrying with him all the ſpoil he could. Hence he likewiſe led away ſome new priſoners, inhabitants there, with thoſe of Panama who had not paid their ranſoms: but the two religious men, who had diverted the lady's money, were ranſomed three days after by other perſons, who had more compaſſion for them than they had ſhewed for her. About the middle of the way to Chagre, captain Morgan commanded them to be muſtered, and cauſed every one to be ſworn, that they had concealed nothing, not even to the value of ſix-pence. This done, captain Morgan knowing thoſe lewd fellows would not ſtick to ſwear falſly for intereſt, he commanded every one to be ſearched very ſtrictly, both in their clothes and ſatchels, and elſewhere. Yea, that this order might not be ill taken by his companions, he permitted himſelf to be ſearched even to his very ſhoes. To this effect, by common conſent, one was aſſigned out of every company to be ſearchers of the reſt. The French pirates that aſſiſted on this expedition diſliked this new practice of ſearching; but being out-numbered by the Engliſh, they were forced to ſubmit as well as the reſt. The ſearch being over, they re-embarked, and arrived at the caſtle of

Digitized by Google

of Chagre on the ninth of March. Here they found all things in good order, excepting the wounded men whom they had left at their departure; for of these the greatest number were dead of their wounds.

From Chagre, captain Morgan sent presently after his arrival a great boat to Puerto Bello, with all the prisoners taken at the isle of St. Catherine, demanding of them a considerable ransom for the castle of Chagre, where he then was, threatening otherwise to ruin it. To this those of Puerto Bello answered, they would not give one farthing towards the ransom of the said castle, and the English might do with it as they pleased. Hereupon the dividend was made of all the spoil gotten in that voyage; every company and every particular person therein receiving their proportion, or rather what part thereof captain Morgan pleased to give them. For the rest of his companions, even of his own nation, murmured at his proceedings, and told him to his face, that he had reserved the best jewels to himself: for they judged it impossible that no greater share should belong to them than two hundred pieces of eight per capita, of so many valuable plunders they had made; which small sum they thought too little for so much labour, and such dangers as they had been exposed to. But captain Morgan was deaf to all this, and many other like complaints, having designed to cheat them of what he could.

At last, finding himself obnoxious to many censures of his people, and fearing the consequence, he thought it unsafe to stay any longer at Chagre, but ordered the ordnance of the castle to be carried on board his ships; then he caused most of the walls to be demolished, the edifices to be burnt, and as many other things ruined, as could be done in a short time: this done, he went secretly on board his own ship, without

Digitized by Google

giving any notice to his companions, and put out to sea, being only followed by three or four vessels of the whole fleet. These were such (the French pirates believed) as went shares with captain Morgan in the best part of the spoil, which had been concealed from them in the dividend. The Frenchmen could willingly have revenged themselves on captain Morgan, and his followers, had they been able to encounter him at sea; but they were destitute of necessaries, and had much ado to find sufficient provisions for their voyage to Jamaica, he having left them unprovided for all things.

CHAP. XXI.

A voyage made by the author along the coast of Costa Rica, at his return towards Jamaica. What happened most remarkable in the said voyage. Some observations then made by him.

CAptain Morgan left us all in such a miserable condition, as lively represented what reward attends wickedness in the end; whence we ought to have learned to regulate and amend our actions for the future. We were so reduced, that every company which was left, whether English or French, being compelled to help themselves, most of them separated from each other, and several companies took several courses at their return homewards. That party to which I did belong, steered along the coast of Costa Rica, to get provisions, and careen our vessel in some secure place or other; for our boat was grown foul, and unfit for sailing. In a few days we arrived at a great port called Bocca del Toro, where are always multitudes of good eatable tortoises. It is about ten leagues in compass, surrounded with little islands, under which vessels may ride secure from violent winds.

These

Digitized by Google

Theſe iſlands are inhabited by Indians, who never could be ſubdued by the Spaniards; and hence they called them Indios bravos, or wild Indians. They are divided, according to the variety of their language, into ſeveral people, whence it is that they are in perpetual wars. Towards the eaſt-ſide of this port are ſome who formerly did trade much with the pirates, ſelling them the fleſh of divers animals which they hunt, as alſo all ſorts of fruits; the exchange for which was iron inſtruments which the pirates brought, beads, and toys, whereof they made great account for wearing, more than of precious jewels, which they neither knew, nor eſteemed. But this commerce failed, the pirates committing many barbarities, killing their men, and taking away their women to ſerve their luſt, which put an end to all friendſhip and commerce between them.

We went aſhore to ſeek proviſions, our neceſſity being extream; but we could find nothing but a few eggs of crocodiles, wherewith we were forced to be content; hereupon we left thoſe quarters, and ſteered eaſtward: upon this tack we met three boats more of our own companions, who had been left behind by captain Morgan; theſe told us, they had been able to find no relief for their extream hunger, and that captain Morgan himſelf, and his people, were reduced to ſuch miſery, as he could afford them no more than one ſhort allowance a day.

Hearing thus that little or no good was to be expected by ſailing farther eaſtward, we changed our courſe weſtward: here we found a vaſt many tortoiſes more than we needed to victual our boats, though for a long time. Being provided with this ſort of victuals, the next thing we wanted was freſh water: there was enough to be had in the neighbouring iſlands, but we ſcarce dared to land, by reaſon of the enmity aboveſaid between the pirates and

Digitized by Google

and Indians. But, neceſſity having no law, we were forced to do as we could, not as we deſired. Hereupon we went all of us together to one of the iſlands; being landed, one party of our men ranged the woods, while another filled the barrels with water: ſcarce an hour paſt, when ſuddenly the Indians came upon us, and one of our men cried, Arm, arm. We preſently began to fire at them as hot as we could: this ſtopped them, and in ſhort time put them to flight; ſheltering themſelves in the woods. We purſued them, but not far, deſiring rather to get in our water than any advantage on the enemy. Coming back, we found two Indians dead on the ſhore; the habiliments of one ſhewed him to be a perſon of quality among them; for he had about his body a girdle, or ſaſh, richly woven; and on his face he wore a beard of maſſy gold, I mean a ſmall planch of gold hung down at his lips by two ſtrings which run through two little holes made there on purpoſe, that covered his beard or ſerved inſtead thereof. His arms were made of ſticks of palmito-trees, very curiouſly wrought; at one end whereof was a kind of hook, which ſeemed to be hardened with fire. We ſhould have ſpoken with ſome of theſe Indians, to reconcile them to us, and to renew the former trade, and obtain proviſions, but it was impoſſible, through the ſavageneſs of their minds. However we filled our barrels with water, and carried them aboard.

The night following we heard from ſhore huge cries and ſhrieks among the Indians. Theſe lamentations cauſed us to believe that they had called in many more people to their aid, or that they lamented the death of thoſe two men. Theſe Indians never came upon the ſea, or ever built canoes, or any veſſels for navigation, not ſo much as fiſher-boats, of which art of fiſhery they are ignorant. At laſt, having

having nothing elſe to hope for in theſe parts, we reſolved to depart for Jamaica. Being ſet forth, we met with contrary winds, which cauſed us to uſe our ours, and row to the river of Chagre. When we came near it, we perceived a ſhip that began to give us chaſe; we feared it was a ſhip from Carthagena, ſent to rebuild and retake poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Chagre, now the pirates had left it. Hereupon we ſet our ſail, and ran before the wind, to make our eſcape; but the veſſel being much ſwifter and cleaner than ours, eaſily got the wind of us, and ſtopped our courſe. They approaching to us we diſcovered them to be our former comrades in the expedition of Panama, but lately ſent out from Chagre. Their deſign was to go to Nombre de Dios, and thence to Carthagena, to ſeek ſome purchaſe or other: but the wind being contrary, they concluded to go in our company to the place whence we came, called Bocca del Toro.

This accident and encounter retarded our journey two days, more than we could regain in a fortnight; this obliged us to return to our former ſtation for a few days. Thence we directed our courſe for a place called Bocca del Dragon, to get proviſions of fleſh, eſpecially of an animal called by the Spaniards manentine, by the Dutch ſea cow, becauſe its head, noſe and teeth are very like thoſe of a cow. They are found commonly, where, under the depth of the waters, it is full of graſs, on which it is thought they feed. They have no ears, but in place of them, two little holes as wide as one's little finger: near the neck they have two fins, under which they have two udders, like the breaſts of a woman. The ſkin is very cloſe, reſembling the ſkin of a Barbary or Guinea dog. This ſkin on the back is two fingers thick, which being dryed is hard as whalebone and may ſerve to make walking-ſtaffs. The belly is in all things like

Digitized by Google

like that of a cow, as far as the reins. Their manner of engendering is the ſame with that of a land cow, the male being every way like a bull. They conceive and breed but once; but what time they go with calf, I could not learn. Theſe fiſhes have a very acute ſenſe of hearing, ſo as in taking them, the fiſhermen make not the leaſt noiſe, nor row, unleſs very ſlightly. For this reaſon they uſe certain inſtruments for rowing, by the Indians called Pagaros, by the Spaniards Canclettas, with which they row without any noiſe to fright the fiſh. While they are fiſhing, they ſpeak not one to another, only make ſigns. They dart them with a javelin as they do tortoiſes; but the point of the javelin ſomewhat differs, having two hooks at the end, and being longer. Theſe fiſhes are from twenty to twenty-four feet long. Their fleſh is good to eat, being like in colour to that of a land cow, but in taſte, to pork. It has much fat, or greaſe, which the pirates melt, and keep in earthen pots to uſe inſtead of oil.

Once when we could do any good at this fiſhery, ſome of our men going to hunt, and others to catch fiſh, we eſpied a canoe with two Indians; theſe no ſooner diſcovered our veſſels, but they rowed with all ſpeed towards land, being unwilling to have any thing to do with us pirates; we followed them to the ſhore, but being naturally nimbler than us, they eſcaped into the woods; and, what was more, they drew aſhore and carried with them their canoe into the wood, as eaſily as if it had been ſtraw, though it weighed above 2000 weight; this we knew by the canoe itſelf, which we found afterwards, and had much ado to get into the water again, though we were in all eleven perſons to pull at it.

We had then with us a pilot, who had been often in thoſe parts; this man ſeeing this action of the Indians, told us, that ſome few years before, a ſquadron of

Digitized by Google

of pirates arriving at that place, they went in canoes to catch ſome little birds, which frequent the ſea-coaſt, among very beautiful trees. While they were buſied, certain Indians who had climbed the trees to view them, ſeeing the canoes underneath, ſuddenly leaped down into the ſea, and ſeized ſome of the canoes and pirates that kept them, both which they carried into the woods, that the priſoners could not be releaſed by their companions. Hereupon the admiral of that ſquadron landed with 500 men to reſcue his men, but they ſaw ſuch a number of Indians flock together to oppoſe them, as obliged them to retreat in haſte to their ſhips, concluding, that if ſuch forces as thoſe could not do anything towards the recovery of their companions, they ought not to ſtay longer there. Having heard this hiſtory, we came away, fearing ſome miſchief, and bringing with us the canoe, in which we found nothing but a fiſhing-net, not very large, and four arrows made of palm trees, ſeven feet long each; theſe arrows we believed to be their arms. The canoe we brought away was of cedar, but very roughly hewn, which made us think that thoſe people have no inſtruments of iron.

Leaving that place, we arrived in twenty-four hours at another, called Rio de Zuera, where were ſome few houſes belonging to Carthagena, inhabited by Spaniards, whom we reſolved to viſit, not being able to find any tortoiſes, nor any of their eggs. The inhabitants were all fled, leaving no victuals nor proviſions, ſo we were forced to be contented with a certain fruit they called platanos; with theſe platanos we filled our boats and continued our voyage, coaſting along the ſhore to find out ſome creek or bay, wherein to careen our veſſel, which now was ſo very leaky, that night and day we were conſtrained to put ſeveral men, beſides our ſlaves, to the pump. This voyage laſted a fortnight, all which time we were

were under continual fear of periſhing. At laſt we arrived at a port called the Bay of Blevelt, ſo named from a pirate who uſed to reſort thither, as we did; here one party of men went into the woods to hunt, while another undertook to refit and careen our veſſel.

Our companions who went abroad to hunt, found hereabouts porcupines of a monſtrous bigneſs: but their chief exerciſe was killing of monkeys, and birds called by the Spaniards Faiſants or Pheaſants; the toil of ſhooting ſeemed, at leaſt to me, to be ſufficiently compenſated with the pleaſure of killing the monkeys; for at theſe we uſually made fifteen or ſixteen ſhot before we could kill three or four, ſo nimbly would they eſcape our hands and aim, even after being much wounded. Beſides, it was diverſion to ſee the female monkeys carry their little ones at their backs, juſt as the negroes do their children. When any perſon paſſes under the trees where theſe monkeys are ſitting, they will commonly ſquirt their excrements upon their heads and clothes; likewiſe, if ſhooting at a parcel of them, one happen to be wounded, the reſt of them flock about him and lay their paws on the wound to hinder the blood from iſſuing forth; others gather moſs from the trees, and thruſt into the wound, and thereby ſtop the blood. At other times they gather ſuch or ſuch herbs, and chewing them in their mouths, apply them as a poultice. All which cauſed in me great admiration, ſeeing ſuch ſtrange actions in thoſe irrational creatures, which teſtify the fidelity and love they have for one another.

On the ninth day after our arrival, our women ſlaves being buſied in ordinary employments of waſhing of diſhes, ſewing, drawing water out of wells which we had made on the ſhore, and the like, one of them, who had ſeen a troop of Indians towards the woods,

Digitized by Google

woods, cried out, Indians, Indians! we ran presently to our arms and their relief, but coming to the wood, we found no person there, but two of our women slaves killed upon the place with arrows: in their bodies we saw so many arrows sticking, as if they had been fixed there with particular care, for otherwise we know that one of them was sufficient to kill any man. These arrows were all of a rare shape, being eight feet long, and as thick as a man's thumb; at one end was a hook of wood, tied to the body of the arrow with a string, at the other end was a case or box like the case of a pair of tweezers, in which we found little pebbles or stones; the colour was very red, very shining, as if they had been locked up, all which we believed were the arms of their leaders. These arrows were all made without instruments of iron; for whatever the Indians make, they harden first artificially with fire, and then polish them with flints.

These Indians are of a very robust constitution, strong, and nimble at their feet: we sought carefully up and down the woods, but could find no track of them, nor any of their canoes nor floats which they use in fishing; hereupon we retired to our vessels, where having embarked all our goods, we put off from shore, fearing lest finding us there, they should return and overpower us.

CHAP. XXII.

The author departs towards the cape of Gracias à Dios. The commerce of the pirates with the Indians. His arrival at the island de los Pinos; and finally, his return to Jamaica.

THE great fear we had of those Indians, by reason of the death of our two women slaves, made

made us depart thence as fast as we could, directing our course towards the cape Gracias à Dios, where we placed our last hopes of provisions; for thither usually resort many pirates, who friendly correspond with the Indians there: being arrived at the said cape we rejoiced, and gave thanks to Almighty God, for having delivered us out of so many dangers, and brought us to this place of refuge, where we found people, who shewed us most cordial friendship, and provided us with all necessaries.

The custom here is, that when pirates arrive, every one has liberty to buy himself an Indian woman at the price of a knife, or any old ax, wood-bill, or hatchet. By this contract the woman is obliged to remain with the pirates all the time he stays there: she serve him in the mean while with victuals of all sorts that the country affords. The pirate has liberty also to go to hunt or fish when he pleases, or about any other divertisement, but is not to commit any hostility, or depredation, on the inhabitants, seeing the Indians bring him in all he needs or desires.

Through this frequent converse of these Indians with the pirates, they some times go to sea with them and remain with them whole years, without returning home; so that many of them can speak English and French, and some of the pirates their Indian language. Being very dextrous at their javelins, they are useful to the pirates in victualling their ships, by the fishery of tortoises and manitas, a fish so called by the Spaniards: for one of these Indians is alone able to victual a vessel of 100 men. We had in our crew, two pirates who could speak the Indian language, by whose help I inquired into their customs, lives, and policy, whereof I shall give a brief account.

This island is about 30 leagues in circumference; it is governed as a little commonwealth, without

Digitized by Google

without any king or ſovereign prince; neither do they entertain any friendſhip or correſpondence with other neighbouring iſlands, much leſs with the Spaniards: they are in all but a ſmall nation, whoſe number exceeds not 1600 or 1700 perſons. They have among them a few negro ſlaves, who happened to arrive there, ſwimming after ſhipwreck made on that coaſt: for being bound for Terra Firma, in a ſhip that carried them to be ſold there, they killed the captain and mariners, with deſign to return to their country; but being ignorant of navigation, they ſtranded their veſſel hereabouts. Though, as I ſaid, they make but a ſmall nation, yet they are as it were two ſorts of people: of which one ſort cultivates the ground, and makes plantations; but the other are ſo lazy, as they have no courage to build themſelves huts, much leſs houſes. They frequent chiefly the ſea-coaſt, wandering up and down, without knowing, or caring ſo much as to cover their bodies from the rains (which are very frequent) unleſs with a few palm-leaves; theſe they put on their heads, and keep their backs always to the wind. They uſe no other clothes than an apron tied to their middle, coming down ſo as to hide their privities: ſuch aprons are made of the rinds of trees, which are ſtrongly beat upon ſtones, till they are ſoftened; the ſame they uſe for bedclothes, except a few, who make them of cotton. Their uſual arms are nothing but azagayas, or ſpears, which they make fit for uſe with points of iron, or teeth of crocodiles.

They know, after ſome manner, that there is a God, yet they live without any religion, or divine worſhip; and, as far as I can learn, they believe not in, nor ſerve the devil, as many other nations of America do; hereby they are not ſo much tormented by him as other nations are. Their ordi-

nary

nary food, for the moſt part, conſiſts in ſeveral fruits; ſuch as bananas, racoves, ananas, potatoes, cazave, as alſo crabs, and ſome few fiſh, which they kill in the ſea with darts. They are pretty expert in making certain pleaſant and delicate liquors; the commoneſt among them is called achioc: this is made of a certain ſeed of palm-tree, bruiſed, and ſteeped in hot water, till it be ſettled at bottom; this liquor being ſtrained off, hath a pleaſant taſte, and is very nouriſhing. Other ſorts of liquors they prepare, which I ſhall omit for brevity, only I ſhall ſay ſomething of that made of platanos; theſe they knead with hot water, and then put into great calabaſhes full of cold water, for eight days, during which it ferments as well as the beſt wine: this liquor they drink for pleaſure, and as a great regale; ſo that when they invite their friends or relations, they cannot treat them better than with this pleaſant drink.

They are very unſkilful in dreſſing victuals, ſo that they ſeldom treat one another with banquets; but when they invite others, they deſire them to come and drink of their liquors. Before the invited perſons come to their houſe, thoſe that expect them comb their hair very well, and anoint their faces with oil of palm, mixed with a black tincture, which renders them very hideous: the women alſo dawb their faces with another ſort of ſtuff, which makes them look as red as crimſon; and ſuch are their greateſt ornaments and attire. Then he that invites, takes his arms, which are three or four azagayas, and goes out of his cottage 3 or 400 ſteps, to wait for, and receive the invited perſons. As ſoon as they draw nigh, he falls on the ground, lying flat on his face, without any motion, as if he was dead: being thus proſtrate, the invited friends take him up, and ſet him on his feet, and go all together

Digitized by Google

gether to the hut: here the perſons invited uſe the ſame ceremony, falling down on the ground, as the inviter did before; but he lifts them up one by one, and giving them his hand, conducts them into his cottage, where he cauſes them to ſit: the women on theſe occaſions uſe few or no ceremonies.

Being thus brought into the houſe, there are preſented every one with a calabaſh, of about four quarts, full of achioc, almoſt as thick as water-gruel, or childrens pap; theſe they are to drink off, and get down at any rate: the calabaſhes being emptied, the maſter of the houſe, with many ceremonies, goes about the room, and gathers his calabaſhes: and this drinking is reckoned but for one welcome. Afterwards, they drink of the achioc above-mentioned, to which they are invited; then follow many ſongs, dances, and a thouſand careſſes to the women; ſo that ſometimes, for a teſtimony of their love, they take their darts, and with the points pierce and wound their genital parts: this I could not believe, though often affirmed to me, till my own eyes were witneſſes of theſe and the like actions, neither only on this occaſion do they uſe this ceremony of piercing their genitals, but alſo when they make love to any woman, thereby to let them underſtand the greatneſs of their affection and conſtancy.

They marry not any young maid without the conſent of her parents. If any one deſires to take a wife, he is firſt examined by the damſel's father concerning ſeveral points of good huſbandry. Theſe are commonly whether he can make azagayas, darts for fiſhing, or ſpin a certain thread, which they uſe about their arrows: having anſwered to ſatisfaction, the examiner calls to his daughter for a little calabaſh full of achioc; of this he drinks firſt, then gives the cup to the young man, and he to the

bride, who drinks it up, and with this only ceremony the marriage is made. When any one drinks to the health of another, the ſecond perſon is to drink up the liquor left in the calabaſh. But in caſe of marriage, as was ſaid, it is conſumed only among thoſe three, the bride obtaining the greateſt ſhare.

When the woman lies in, neither ſhe nor her huſband obſerve the time cuſtomary among the Caribbees; but as ſoon as the woman is delivered, ſhe goes to the next river, brook, or fountain, and waſhes the new-born creature, ſwathing it up in certain rollers, or ſwath-bands, there called cabalas; this done, ſhe goes about her ordinary labour. When the man dies, his wife buries him with all his azagayas, aprons, and ear-jewels; and comes every day to her huſband's grave, bringing him meat and drink for a whole year after. Their years they reckon by the moons, allowing fifteen to every year, which make their intire circle, as our twelve months do ours.

Some writers of the Caribbee Iſlands affirm, that this ceremony of carrying victuals to the dead is general among them; and that the devil comes to the ſepulchres, and carries away the meat and drink. But I know the contrary, having often myſelf taken away theſe offerings, and eaten them, knowing that the fruits uſed on theſe occaſions were of the choiceſt, and the liquor of the beſt ſort. The widow having completed her year, opens the grave, and takes out all her huſband's bones; theſe ſhe ſcrapes, and waſhes very well, and dries in the ſun; then ſhe ties them all together, and puts them into a cabalas, or ſachel, and is obliged for another year to carry them upon her back by day, and ſleep upon them by night, till the year is out; then ſhe hangs up the bag and bones againſt the poſt of her own

Digitized by Google

own door, if ſhe be miſtreſs of a houſe; if not, ſhe hangs them at the door of her next neighbours or relations.

The widows cannot marry the ſecond time, according to their cuſtoms, till after two years end. The men are bound to perform no ſuch ceremonies for their wives; but if any pirate marry an Indian woman, ſhe is bound to do in all things as if he were an Indian. The negroes on this iſland live in all reſpects according to their own cuſtoms. Now I ſhall continue the account of our voyage.

After we had refreſhed and provided ourſelves as well as we could at this iſland, we ſteered towards the iſland de los Pinos. Here we arrived in fifteen days, and were conſtrained to refit our veſſel, which now again was very leaky, and not fit for ſailing any farther. Hereupon we divided ourſelves as before, ſome to careening the ſhip, others to fiſhing. In this laſt we were ſo ſucceſsful, as to take, in ſix or ſeven hours, fiſh ſufficient for one thouſand perſons. We had with us ſome Indians from the cape of Gracias a Dios, very dextrous both in hunting and fiſhing; with whoſe help we ſoon killed likewiſe, and ſalted, a huge number of wild cows, enough to ſatiate our hungry appetites, and to victual our veſſel. Theſe cows were formerly brought into this iſland by the Spaniards, that they might here multiply, and ſtock the country. We ſalted alſo a vaſt number of tortoiſes, which are here very plentiful. Theſe things made us forget the miſeries we had lately endured, and we began to call one another again by the name of brothers, which was cuſtomary amongſt us, but had been diſuſed in our miſeries.

While we continued here, we feaſted ourſelves very plentifully without fear of enemies. For as to the Spaniards on the iſland, they were in friendſhip with us; only we were conſtrained to keep watch

Digitized by Google

and ward every night for fear of the crocodiles, which ſwarm all over the iſland; for theſe, when they are hungry, will aſſault any man and devour him, as it happened to one of our companions, who being gone into the wood, in company with a negro, they chanced upon a crocodile, which with incredible agility aſſaulted the pirate, and faſtening upon his leg, caſt him on the ground, the negro eſcaping by flight: yet he being a robuſt and a courageous man drew forth a knife he had then about him, and after a dangerous combat, ſtabbed the crocodile, which done, himſelf, tired with the battle, and weakened with loſs of blood, lay for dead on the place. Being ſo found by the negro, who returned to ſee what was become of him, he took him on his back, and brought him to the ſea ſide, though a whole league off, where we put him into a canoe, and conveyed him on board.

After this, none of our men dared to enter the woods without good company; and ourſelves, deſirous to revenge the diſaſter of our companion, went in troops next day to the woods to find out crocodiles to kill. Theſe animals would come every night to the ſides of our ſhip, and offer to climb up into the veſſel. One of theſe one night was ſeized with an iron hook; but he, inſtead of flying to the bottom, began to mount the ladder of the ſhip till we killed him with other inſtruments. After we had remained there ſome time, and refreſhed ourſelves, we ſet ſail for Jamaica. Here we arrived in a few days, after a proſperous voyage, and found captain Morgan got home before us; but had ſeen as yet none of his companions whom he left behind, we being the firſt that arrived there after him.

He was then very buſy in perſuading and levying people to tranſport to the iſle of St. Catherine, which he deſigned to fortify, and hold for a common refuge

Digitized by Google

fuge to all pirates, eſpecially of his own nation, as was ſaid; but this deſign was ſoon hindered by the arrival of a man of war from England, which brought orders from his majeſty of Great Britain to recal the governor of Jamaica to the court of England, to give an account of his favouring the pirates in thoſe parts, to the vaſt detriment to the ſubjects of the king of Spain: the ſaid man of war bringing over alſo a new governor of Jamaica, in place of the precedent. This gentleman entering on the government of the iſland preſently gave notice to all the ports, by ſeveral boats ſent forth to that intent, of the good correſpondence the king of England reſolved to maintain in thoſe parts of the world, towards his catholic majeſty, his ſubjects and dominions: and that for the future, he had received from his ſacred majeſty and privy-council ſtrict and ſevere orders not to permit any pirate to ſet forth from Jamaica, commit any hoſtility or depredation on the Spaniſh nation or dominions, or on any other people of thoſe neighbouring iſlands.

Theſe orders being ſufficiently divulged, the pirates who were abroad at ſea began to fear them, ſo as they dared not return to the ſaid iſland, but kept the ſeas, and continued to act what hoſtilities they could. The ſame pirates took and ranſacked a conſiderable town in the iſle of Cuba, called la Villa de los Calos, which we mentioned in the deſcription of the ſaid iſland. Here they committed again all ſorts of inhuman and barbarous cruelties; but the new governor of Jamaica behaved himſelf ſo conſtant to his duty, and the orders he had from England, that he apprehended ſeveral of the chief actors, and cauſed them to be hanged. This ſeverity made thoſe remaining abroad take warning, and retire to the iſland of Tortuga, leſt they ſhould fall into his hands: here they joined with the French

pirates, inhabitants there, in whoſe company they continue to this day.

CHAP. XXIII.

The relation of the ſhipwreck which monſieur Bertram Ogeron, governor of Tortuga, ſuffered nigh the iſles of Guadanillas. He and his companions fell into the hands of the Spaniards. By what arts he eſcaped their hands, and preſerved his life. The enterprize againſt Puerto Rico to deliver his people, and its unfortunate ſucceſs.

AFTER that expedition of Panama, the inhabitants of the French iſlands in America, in 1673 (while the war was ſo fierce in Europe between France and Holland) gathered a conſiderable fleet to poſſeſs themſelves of the iſlands belonging to the United Provinces in the Weſt-Indies. To this effect their admiral raiſed all the pirates and volunteers that he could perſuade; and the governor of Tortuga cauſed to be built a good ſtrong man of war, which he named Ogeron, and provided very well with ammunition, and manned with 500 Bucaniers, reſolute men, being the veſſel he deſigned for himſelf. Their firſt intention was to take the iſle of Curaſao, belonging to the ſaid States of Holland; but this deſign miſcarried by reaſon of a ſhipwreck.

Ogeron ſet ſail from Tortuga as ſoon as things were ready, to join the fleet, and purſue the ſaid enterprize: being arrived on the Weſt of St. John de Puerto Rico, he was ſuddenly ſurprized with a violent ſtorm to that degree, as drove his new frigate againſt the rocks, near the iſlands called Guadanillas, and broke it in a thouſand pieces; yet being near

Digitized by Google

near the land of Puerto Rico, all his men ſaved their lives in their boats.

Next day being got on ſhore, they were diſcovered by the Spaniards inhabiting the iſland, who taking them to be French pirates that meant to take the iſland anew, as they had done before, they alarmed the whole country, and gathering their forces together, marched againſt them; and they found them, for want of arms, not able to make any defence, begging quarter for their lives, as the cuſtom is. But the Spaniards, remembering the horrible cruelties thoſe pirates had many times committed, would have no compaſſion on them; but anſwering them, "Hah! ye thieviſh dogs, here's "no quarter for you;" they aſſaulted them very furiouſly, and killed moſt of them. At laſt, perceiving they made no reſiſtance, nor had any arms to defend themſelves, they began to relent, taking priſoners as many as remained alive.

But, being ſtill perſuaded that thoſe unfortunate people came with deſign to take again and ruinate the iſland, they bound them with cords, two and two, or three and three together, and drove them through the woods into the open fields. Being come thus far with them, they aſked them, What was become of their leader? They conſtantly made anſwer, He was drowned in the ſhipwreck, though they knew it was falſe. For Ogeron being unknown to the Spaniards, behaved himſelf among them as an innocent fool, and, in his actions, mimicked the natural ſo well, that he was not tied as the reſt of his companions, but let looſe to ſerve the pleaſure and laughter of the common ſoldiers. Theſe now and then would give him ſcraps of bread and other victuals, whereas the reſt of the priſoners had never ſufficient to ſatisfy their hungry ſtomachs, their allowance.

Digitized by Google

lowance from the Spaniards being ſcarce enough to preſerve them alive.

There was among the French pirates a ſurgeon, who having done ſome remarkable ſervices to the Spaniards, was unbound and ſet at liberty to go freely up and down, even as Ogeron did. To this ſurgeon, Ogeron declared his reſolution of attempting an eſcape from the cruelty and hard uſage of thoſe enemies, which they did by fleeing to the woods, there to make ſomething or other wherein to tranſport themſelves elſewhere, though they had nor could obtain no other thing in the world that could be ſerviceable in building of veſſels, but one only hatchet. Thus they began their march towards the woods neareſt the ſea-coaſt. Having travelled all day long, they came about evening to the ſea-ſide, almoſt unexpectedly, but without any thing to eat, or any ſecure place to reſt their wearied limbs. At laſt they perceived nigh the ſhore an huge quantity of fiſhes, called by the Spaniards corladados. Theſe frequently approach the ſands of the ſhore, in purſuit of other little fiſhes that ſerve them for their food. Of theſe they took as many as they thought neceſſary, and by rubbing two ſticks briſkly together, they kindled fire, wherewith they made coals to roaſt them. Next day they began to cut down and prepare timber, to make a kind of ſmall boat to paſs over to the iſle of Santa Cruz which belongs to the French.

While they were buſied about their work, they diſcovered, at a great diſtance, a canoe ſteering directly towards the place where they were. This putting them in ſome fear, leſt they ſhould be found, and taken again by the Spaniards, they retired into the woods, till they could diſcern what people were in the canoe. At laſt, perceiving them to be no more than two men who ſeemed to be fiſher-

men,

Digitized by Google

men, they concluded to hazard their lives, and, overcoming them, to ſeize the canoe. Soon after they perceived one of them, who was a mulatto, to go with calabaſhes hanging at his back towards a ſpring not far off to take in freſh water; the other, who was a Spaniard, ſtaid behind him for his return. Seeing them divided, they aſſaulted the mulatto firſt, and by a great blow upon the head diſpatched him. The Spaniard, upon the noiſe, made towards the canoe, thinking to eſcape, but he was overtaken by the two, and killed. Having compaſſed their deſign, they fetched the corps of the mulatto, and caſt both into the middle of the ſea, to be conſumed by the fiſh, by this means to conceal this fact for ever from the Spaniards.

This done, they took in as much freſh water as they could, and ſet ſail thence to ſeek ſome place of refuge. That day they ſteered along the coaſts of Puerto Rico, and came to Cabo Roxo. Hence they traverſed directly to Hiſpaniola, where many of their own comrades and companions were to be found. The currents of the waters and winds were very favourable, ſo as in a few days they arrived at a place called Samana, in the ſaid iſland, where they found a party of their own people.

Ogeron being landed at Samana, ordered the ſurgeon to levy all the people he could in thoſe parts, while he departed to reviſit his government of Tortuga; where being arrived, he uſed all his endeavours to gather veſſels and men to his aſſiſtance; ſo that in a few days he got a good number of both, well equipped and diſpoſed to follow him. Theſe were to go to St. John de Puerto Rico, and deliver his fellows whom he had left in the miſerable condition as was ſaid before. Having embarked all the people which the ſurgeon had levied at Samana, he made them a ſpeech, telling them, "You may all

" expect great ſpoil and riches from this enterprize, " and therefore let all fear and cowardice be ſet " aſide; on the contrary, fill your hearts with " courage and valour, for thus you will find your- " ſelves ſoon ſatisfied of what at preſent bare hopes " do promiſe." Every one much relied on theſe promiſes of Ogeron, and from his words conceived no ſmall joy in their minds. Thus they ſet ſail from Tortuga for the coaſts of Puerto Rico. Being come within ſight of land, they uſed only their lower ſails, that they might not be diſcovered by the Spaniards, till they came near the place where they intended to land.

The Spaniards, notwithſtanding this caution, having had intelligence of their coming, were prepared for a defence, having poſted many troops of horſe along the coaſts to watch their deſcent. Ogeron perceiving their vigilancy, ordered the veſſels to draw near the ſhore, and ſhoot off many great guns, which forced the cavalry to retire within the woods: here lay concealed many companies of foot proſtrate on the ground. So the pirates made their deſcent at leiſure, and began to enter among the trees, ſcarce ſuſpecting any harm to be where the horſemen could do no ſervice; but no ſooner were they fallen into this ambuſcade, than the Spaniards aroſe and aſſaulted them ſo courageouſly, that they ſoon deſtroyed great part of them. Thus leaving great numbers dead on the place, the reſt very hardly eſcaped by flight to their ſhips.

Ogeron, though he eſcaped this danger, yet could willingly have periſhed in the fight, rather than ſuffer the ſhame which the ill ſucceſs of this enterprize was like to bring upon his reputation: beſide that, thoſe that he had attempted to reſcue, were now caſt into greater miſeries. Hereupon they haſtened back to Tortuga the ſame way they came, with

Digitized by Google

with great confuſion in their minds, much diminiſhed in their number, and utterly diſappointed of thoſe ſpoils, the ſubject of their hopes, and of the promiſes of the unfortunate Ogeron. The Spaniards were very vigilant, and kept their poſts near the ſea-ſide till the fleet of pirates was out of ſight; mean while they made an end of killing ſuch of their enemies, as, being deſperately wounded, could not eſcape by flight, and cut off ſeveral limbs from the dead bodies, to ſhew them to the former priſoners, for whoſe reſcue theſe others had croſſed the ſeas.

The fleet being gone, the Spaniards made bonfires, and great demonſtrations of joy for their victory; but the French priſoners, who were there before, endured more hardſhip than ever. Of their miſery and miſuſage, Jacob Binkes, governor at that time in America for the States General of the United Provinces, was an eye-witneſs; for he arriving in that juncture at Puerto Rico, with ſome men of war, to buy proviſions and other neceſſaries, he ſo pitied their miſery, as to bring away by ſtealth five or ſix of them, which only exaſperated the Spaniards; for ſoon after they ſent the reſt of the priſoners to the chief city of the iſland, to work and toil about the fortifications which then were making, forcing them to bring and carry ſtones, and all ſorts of materials: theſe being finiſhed, the governor tranſported them to Havanna, where they employed them alſo in fortifying that city: here they made them work by day, and at night they ſhut them up as cloſe priſoners, leſt they ſhould enterprize upon the city; for of ſuch attempts the Spaniards had had divers proofs, which gave them ſufficient cauſe to uſe them ſo.

Afterwards, at ſeveral times, when ſhips arrived from New Spain, they tranſported them by degrees

into Europe, and landed them at Cadiz; but notwithstanding this care of the Spaniards to disperse them, they soon after met almost all in France, and resolved to return to Tortuga with the first opportunity: to this effect they assisted one another very lovingly with what necessaries they could, according to every one's condition; so that in a short while the greatest part had nested themselves again at Tortuga, their place of rendezvous. Here they equipped again a new fleet to revenge their former misfortunes on the Spaniards, under the conduct of one le Sieur Maintenon a Frenchman; with this fleet he arrived at the island de la Trinidad, between the isle of Tobago and the coasts of Paria. This island they sacked, and after put to the ransom of one hundred thousand pieces of eight. Hence they departed with design to take and pillage the city of Caracoas, over-against the island of Curasao, belonging to the Hollanders.

CHAP. XXIV.

Encounters at the islands of Cayana and Tobago, between the count d'Estrees, admiral of France in America, and the Heer Jacob Binkes, vice-admiral of the United Provinces.

IT is already known to the greatest part of Europe, that the prince of Courland began to establish a colony in the island of Tobago; and that some time after his people, for want of timely recruits, abandoned the same, leaving it to the next occupant. Thus it fell into the hands of Adrian and Cornelius Lampesius, natives of Flissing in Zealand, who arriving there in 1654, they fortified it by the order of the States General, building a good-

Digitized by Google

ly caſtle, in a convenient ſituation, capable of hindering the aſſaults of any enemies.

The ſtrength of this caſtle was afterwards ſufficiently tried by monſieur d'Eſtrees, as I ſhall relate, after I have firſt told you what happened before Cayana in 1676. This year the States General ſent the vice-admiral, Jacob Binkes, to the iſland of Cayana, then in poſſeſſion of the French, to repoſſeſs it. With theſe orders he ſet forth from Holland, March 16th in the ſaid year, with a fleet of ſeven men of war, one fire-ſhip, and five other ſmall veſſels. This fleet arrived at Cayana, May 4th next following. Upon their arrival, the Heer Binkes landed 900 men, who approaching the caſtle, ſummoned the governor to ſurrender at diſcretion. He anſwered, "He thought of nothing leſs than ſurrendering, but that he and his people were reſolved to defend themſelves to the utmoſt." The Heer Binkes having received this anſwer, preſently commanded his troops to attack the caſtle on both ſides at once; the aſſault was very furious, but at length the French being very few, and overwhelmed with the multitude of their enemies, ſurrendered both their arms and the caſtle. In it were found 37 pieces of cannon. The governor, named monſieur Leſi, with two prieſts, were ſent into Holland. The Heer Binkes loſt in the combat 14 men only, and had 72 wounded.

The French king no ſooner underſtood this, but he ſent in October following the count d'Eſtrees to retake the ſaid iſland from the Hollanders. He arrived there in December with a ſquadron of men of war, all well equipped and provided. Being come as far as the river Aperovaco, he met with a ſmall veſſel of Nantes, which had ſet forth from Cayana but a fortnight before, which gave him intelligence of the condition wherein he might be certain to find

Digitized by Google

find the Hollanders at Cayana. They told them there were 300 men in the caſtle, that all about it they had fixed ſtrong paliſadoes or empalements, and that within the caſtle were mounted 26 pieces of cannon.

Monſieur d'Eſtrees being enabled with this intelligence to take his own meaſures, proceeded on his voyage, and arrived at the port of the ſaid iſland, three leagues from the caſtle; here he landed 800 men in two ſeveral parties; one he placed under the count de Blinac, and the other under monſieur de St. Faucher. On board the fleet he left monſieur Gabaret, with divers other principal troops, which he thought not neceſſary to be landed. The men being ſet on ſhore, the fleet weighed anchor, and ſailed very ſlowly toward the caſtle, while the ſoldiers marched by land. Theſe could not travel otherwiſe than by nights, by reaſon of the exceſſive heats and intolerable exhalations of the earth, which here is very ſulphurous, and no better than a ſmoaky and ſtinking oven.

October 19th, the count d'Eſtrees ſent monſieur de Leſi (who had been governor of the iſland, as was ſaid before) demanding of them to deliver the caſtle to the obedience of the king his maſter, and to him in his ſovereign's name. But thoſe within reſolved not to yield, but at the expence of their lives and blood; which anſwer they ſent to monſieur d'Eſtrees. Hereupon the French, the next night, ſtormed the caſtle on ſeven ſeveral ſides at once. The defendants having done their duty, and fought with as much valour as poſſible, were at laſt forced to ſurrender, having 38 perſons killed, beſides many wounded. All the priſoners were tranſported into France, where they were uſed with great hardſhip.

Monſieur.

Digitized by Google

Monſieur d'Eſtrees having ſettled all things at the iſle of Cayana, departed thence for Martinico, where being arrived, he was told, that the Heer Binkes was then at the iſland of Tobago, and his fleet lay at anchor in the bay. Upon this intelligence, monſieur d'Eſtrees made no long ſtay there, but ſteered directly for Tobago. No ſooner was he come nigh the iſland, but vice-admiral Binkes ſent his land-forces with a good number of mariners on ſhore to manage and defend the artillery there. Theſe forces were commanded by the captains Vander Graaf, Van Dongen, and Ciavone, who laboured very hard all that night in raiſing batteries, and filling up the paliſadoes of the fortreſs called Sterrſchans.

Two days after the French fleet came to an anchor in the bay of Palmit, and immediately in eighteen boats they landed all their men. The Heer Binkes perceiving the French upon the hills, gave orders to burn all the houſes near the caſtle, that the French might have no place to ſhelter themſelves there. February 23d, monſieur d'Eſtrees ſent a drum to the Hollanders to demand the ſurrendry of the fort, which was abſolutely denied. Thus things continued till the 3d of March: on this day the French fleet came with full ſail, and engaged the Dutch fleet, and the diſpute was very hot on both ſides; mean time, the land-forces of the French being ſheltered by the thickneſs of the woods, advanced towards the caſtle, and ſtormed it very briſkly; but were repulſed by the Dutch with ſuch vigour, as canſed them after three ſeveral attacks to retire, with the loſs of above 150 men, and 200 wounded; theſe they carried off, or rather dragged away with no ſmall difficulty, by reaſon of their diſorderly retreat.

All this while the two fleets continued the combat, and fought very deſperately, till on both ſides ſome ſhips were conſumed between Vulcan and Neptune;

Digitized by Google

tune; of this number was monſieur d'Eſtrees his own ſhip, mounted with 27 guns of prodigious bigneſs, beſides ſmaller pieces. The battle laſted from break of day till evening; a little before which time monſieur d'Eſtrees quitted the bay with the reſt of the ſhips to the Hollanders, except two, which were ſtranded under ſail, having gone too high within the port, leaving the victory to the Hollanders, though with the loſs of ſeveral ſhips that were burnt.

Monſieur d'Eſtrees, finding himſelf under the ſhame of this defeat, and that he could expect no advantage for the preſent over the iſland of Tobago, ſet ſail from thence March 18th, and June 21ſt he arrived at Breſt in France. Having given an account of himſelf to the king, he was commanded to undertake again the enterprize of Tobago. To this effect he ordered eight great men of war and eight ſmaller to be equipped with all ſpeed, with which monſieur d'Eſtrees ſet ſail from the ſaid port of Breſt, October 3d following, and arrived December 1ſt at Barbadoes. Having received ſome recruits from Martinico, he ſent before-hand to review Tobago, and ſet ſail directly for the ſame, where he arrived December 7th, with all his fleet.

Immediately he landed 500 men under monſieur de Blinac, governor of the French iſlands in America; theſe were followed ſoon after by a thouſand more. December 9th, they approached within 600 paces of a poſt called le Cort, where they landed the artillery deſigned for this enterprize. On the 10th monſieur d'Eſtrees went in perſon to view the caſtle, and demanded of the Heer Binkes, by a meſſenger, the ſurrendry thereof, which was generouſly denied. Next day the French advanced towards the caſtle, and on the 12th, the Dutch from within fired at them without intermiſſion. The French

began

Digitized by Google

began their attack by caſting fireballs into the caſtle with main violence; the very third ball that was caſt in, happened to fall in the path-way that led to the ſtorehouſe, where the powder and ammunition were kept; in this path was much powder ſcattered, through the negligence of thoſe that carried it to and fro, for the neceſſary ſupply of the defendants, which by this means taking fire, it ran in a moment to the ſtorehouſe, which ſuddenly was blown up, and with it vice-admiral Binkes himſelf, and all his officers, only captain Van Dongen remained alive. This miſchance being perceived by the French, they inſtantly ran with 500 men, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the caſtle: here they found 300 men alive, whom they took priſoners, and tranſported into France. Monſieur d'Eſtrees, after this, commanded the caſtle to be demoliſhed, with other poſts that might ſerve for any defence, as alſo all the houſes ſtanding upon the iſland: this done, he departed thence December 27th, and arrived again in France after a proſperous voyage.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

BUCANIERS, &c.

IN

AMERICA.

by Basil Ringrose

PART II.

The dangerous voyage and bold adventures of captain Sharp, Coxon, Sawkins, and others in the South-Sea.

CHAP. I.

They set sail for the province of Darien, upon the continent of America. Their designs to pillage and plunder in those parts. Number of their ships, and strength of their forces by sea and land.

AT a place called Bocca del Toro was the general rendezvous of the fleet, which lately had taken and sacked Puerto Bello the second time; that rich place having been taken once before under the conduct of Sir Henry Morgan. At this place were two other vessels; the one belonging to captain Peter Harris, the other to captain Richard Sawkins, two English privateers. Here we had the news of a peace concluded between the Spaniards and the Indians of Darien, who were commonly at war one with the other. Also, that since the conclusion

Digitized by Google

cluſion of the ſaid peace, they had been found very faithful to captain Bournano, a French commander, in an attempt upon a place called Chepo, nigh the South-Sea. Further, that the Indians had promiſed to conduct him unto a great and very rich place, named Tocamora; whereupon Bournano promiſed them to return in three months with more ſhips and men. This made us agree to viſit the ſaid place, and in order thereto diſperſed ourſelves into ſeveral Coves (by the Spaniards called Cuevas, *i. e.* hollow creeks under the coaſts) there to careen and fit our veſſels for that purpoſe. Here, *i. e.* at Bocca del Toro, we found plenty of fat tortoiſes, the pleaſanteſt meat in the world. Our veſſels being refitted, we rendezvouſed at an iſland called by us the Water-Key, and our ſtrength was as followeth:

	Tons.	Guns.	Men.
Capt. Coxon in a ſhip of	80	8	97
Capt. Harris in another of	150	25	107
Capt. Bournano — —	90	6	86
Capt. Sawkins — —	16	1	35
Capt. Sharp — — —	25	2	40
Capt. Cook — — —	35	●	43
Capt. Alleſton — —	18	0	24
Capt. Row — — —	20	0	25
Capt. Macket — —	14	0	20
Total — —	448	42	477

We ſailed from thence March 23d, 1679, and in our way touched at the iſlands called Zamblas. Theſe iſlands reach eight leagues in length, lying fourteen leagues weſtward of the river Darien. Being here at an anchor, many of the Indians, both men and women, came to ſee us; ſome brought plantanes, others other fruits, and veniſon, to exchange with us for beads, needles, knives, or any trifling bauble whereof

Digitized by Google

whereof they ſtand in need; but they moſt covet axes and hatchets, for the felling of timber. The men here go naked, having only a ſharp and hollow tip, made either of gold, ſilver, or bark, into which they thruſt their privy members, which they faſten with a ſtring about their middle: they wear as an ornament in their noſes, a gold or ſilver plate, in the form of a half-moon; which when they drink, they hold up with one hand, while they lift the cup with the other. The men paint themſelves ſometimes with ſtreaks of black, and the women with red: the women have in their noſes a pretty thick ring of gold or ſilver, and cover themſelves with a blanket only: they are generally well featured; among whom I ſaw ſeveral fairer than the faireſt of Europe, with hair as white as the fineſt flax: it is reported of them, that they ſee better in the dark than in the light.

Theſe Indians miſliked our deſign for Tocamora, and diſſuaded us from it, aſſerting that it would prove too tedious a march, the way being ſo mountainous and uninhabited, that it would be extreme difficult to get proviſions for our men. Withal, they proffered to guide us undeſcried within a few leagues of the city of Panama, in caſe we were pleaſed to go thither, where we knew we ſhould make a good voyage. Upon theſe, and other reaſons which they gave us, we concluded to deſiſt from the journey of Tocamora, and to proceed to Panama. Theſe reſolutions taken, captain Bournano and captain Row's veſſels ſeparated from us, being all French, and not willing to go to Panama, they declaring themſelves generally againſt a long march by land; ſo we left them at the Zamblas. From thence an Indian captain, or chief commander, named Andræas, conducted us to another iſland, called by the Engliſh the Golden Iſland, ſituated ſomething

Digitized by Google

ſomething to the weſtward of the mouth of the great river of Darien. At this iſland we met, being in all ſeven ſail, April 3, 1680.

Here the Indians gave us notice of a town called Santa Maria, ſituate on a great river of the ſame name, which runs into the South-Sea, by the gulph of San Miguel; that in the town was kept a garriſon of four hundred ſoldiers; and that from this place much gold was carried to Panama, which was gathered from the mountains thereabouts; that in caſe we ſhould not find ſufficient booty there, we might from thence proceed by ſea to Panama, where we could not eaſily fail of our deſigns. This motion of the Indians we liked ſo well, that we landed 331 men, April 5th, 1680, leaving captains Alleſton and Macket, with a party of ſeamen, to guard our ſhips in our abſence, with which we intended to return home.

Theſe men that were landed, had each of them three or four cakes of bread (called by the Engliſh, Dough-boys) for their proviſion of victuals; and as for drink, the rivers afforded them enough. At our landing here captain Sharp was very faint and weak, having had a great fit of ſickneſs, of which he was ſcarcely recovered. Our ſeveral companies that marched were diſtinguiſhed as follows: Firſt, captain Bartholomew Sharp, with his company, had a red flag, with a bunch of white and green ribbons: the ſecond diviſion, led by captain Richard Sawkins, with his men, had a red flag ſtriped with yellow: the third and fourth, which were led by captain Peter Harris, had two green flags, his company marching in two diſtinct diviſions: the fifth and ſixth, led by captain John Coxon, who had ſome of Alleſton's and Macket's men joined unto his, made two diviſions or companies, and had each of them a red flag: the ſeventh was led by captain Edmund

Digitized by Google

Edmund Cook, with red colours ſtriped with yellow, with a hand and ſword for his device: all, or moſt of them, were armed with fuzee, piſtol, and hanger.

CHAP. II.

They march towards the town of Santa Maria with a deſign to take it. The Indian king of Darien meeteth them. Difficulties of this march.

BEING landed on the coaſt of Darien, and divided into companies, as was mentioned in the preceding chapter, we began our march towards Santa Maria, the Indians ſerving us for guides in that unknown country: thus we marched at firſt through a ſmall ſkirt of a wood, and then over a bay almoſt a league in length; after that, we went two leagues directly up a woody valley, where we ſaw here and there an old plantation, and had a very good path to march in: there we came to the ſide of a river, which in moſt places was dry, and built us houſes, or rather huts to lodge in.

Here another Indian, who was a chief commander, a man of great parts, named captain Antonio, joined us: this Indian officer mightily encouraged us to undertake the journey of Santa Maria, and promiſed to be our leader; ſaying, that he would have gone along with us preſently, but that his child lay very ſick; however, he was aſſured it would die by next day, and then he would moſt certainly follow and overtake us: withal, he deſired we would not lie in the graſs, for fear of monſtrous adders which are very frequent in thoſe places. Breaking ſome of the ſtones that lay in the river, we found them ſhine like ſparks of gold. Theſe ſtones are driven down from the neighbouring mountains in time of floods. This

days

Digitized by Google

day four of our men tired, and returned back to the ſhips; ſo we remained in all 327 men with ſix Indians to conduct us: that night ſome ſhowers of rain fell.

The next day of our march we mounted a very ſteep hill, and on the other ſide, at the foot thereof, we reſted on the bank of the river, which captain Andræas told us ran into the South-Sea, being the ſame river on which the town of Santa Maria was ſituated. Hence we continued our march until noon, and then aſcended another mountain, far higher than the former. Here we were often, and in many places, in great danger, the mountain being ſo perpendicular, and the path ſo narrow, that but one man at a time could paſs. We arrived in the evening on the other ſide of the mountain, and lodged again by the ſide of the ſame river, having marched that day, according to our reckoning, about 18 miles: this night likewiſe ſome rain fell.

The next morning, being April 7th, we marched all along the river afore mentioned, croſſing it often, almoſt at every half mile, ſometimes up to the knees, and at other times up to the middle, in a very ſwift current; about noon we came to a place where we found ſome Indian houſes; theſe were very large and neat; the ſides were built with cabbage-trees, and the roofs with wild canes, thatched with palmito royal, but much neater than ours at Jamaica; they had many partitions, or diſtinct ground-rooms, but no aſcent by ſtairs. At this place were four of theſe houſes together, within a ſtone's throw of one another, each of them having a large plantane-walk before it. Half a mile from this place lived the king, or chief captain of theſe Indians of Darien, who came to viſit us in royal robes, with his queen and family. His crown was made of ſmall white reeds curiouſly woven, having no other top than its lining, which

which was red ſilk: round about the middle of it was a thin plate of gold, about two inches broad, laced behind, in which ſtuck two or three oſtrich's feathers; about this plate went alſo a row of golden beads, which were bigger than ordinary peaſe, underneath which the red lining of the crown was ſeen. In his noſe he wore a large plate of gold, in form of a half-moon; and in each ear a great gold ring, nigh four inches diameter, with a round thin plate of gold of the ſame breadth, having a ſmall hole in the center, by which it hung to the ring. He was covered with a thin white cotton robe, reaching to the ſmall of his legs, and round its bottom was a fringe of the ſame, three inches deep; ſo that by reaſon of the length of this robe, we could ſee no higher than his naked ancles: in his hand he had a long bright lance as ſharp as any knife. With him he had three ſons, each of them having a white robe, and their lances in their hands, but ſtanding bare-headed before him, as did eight or nine perſons more of his retinue or guard. His queen wore a red blanket, which was cloſely girt about her waiſt, another that came looſely over her head and ſhoulders, like our old-faſhioned ſtriped hangings: ſhe had a young child in her arms, and two daughters walked by her, both marriageable, with their faces almoſt covered with ſtripes or ſtreaks of red, and about their neck and arms almoſt loaden with ſmall beads of ſeveral colours. Theſe Indian women of the province of Darien are generally very free, airy, and briſk; yet withal very modeſt, and cautious in their huſbands preſence, of whoſe jealouſy they ſtand in fear. With theſe Indians we made an exchange, or had a truck, as it is called, for knives, pins, needles, or any other ſuch like trifles; but in our dealings with them we found them to be very cunning. Here we reſted ourſelves

ſo,

Digitized by Google

for the ſpace of one day; and withal choſe captain Sawkins to lead the forlorn, unto whom, for that purpoſe, we gave the choice of fourſcore men. The king ordered us each man to have three plantanes, with ſugar canes to ſuck, by way of a preſent; but when theſe were conſumed, if we would not truck we muſt have ſtarved, for the king himſelf did not refuſe to deal for his plantanes: this ſort of fruit is firſt reduced to maſh, then laid between leaves of the ſame tree, and ſo uſed with water, after which preparation they call it Miſcelaw.

April nine we continued our march along the banks of the river above-mentioned, finding in our way here and there a houſe. The owners of the ſaid houſes would moſt commonly ſtand at the door, and give, as we paſſed by, to every one of us, either ripe plantane, or ſome ſweet cazove-root: ſome of them would count us by dropping a grain of corn for each man that paſſed before them, for they know no greater number, nor can tell farther than twenty. That night we arrived at three great Indian houſes, where we took up our lodgings, the weather being clear and ſerene all night.

The next day captain Sharp, captain Coxon, and captain Cook, with about threeſcore and ten of our men, embarked themſelves in fourteen canoes upon the river to glide down the ſtream: among this number I did alſo embark, and we had in our company our Indian captain Andræas, of whom mention was made above; and two Indians more in each canoe, to pilot or guide us down the river: but if we were tired in travelling by land before, certainly we were in a worſe condition now in our canoes; for at the diſtance of almoſt every ſtone's caſt we were conſtrained to quit and get out of our boats, and haul them over either ſands or rocks; at other times over trees that lay croſs and filled up the river, ſo

that they hindered our navigation; yea, ſeveral times over the very points of land itſelf. That night we built ourſelves huts to ſhelter in upon the river-ſide, and reſted our wearied limbs till next morning.

The eleventh we proſecuted our journey all day long with the ſame fatigue and toil as we had done the day before: at night came a tyger, and looked on us for ſome while, but we dared not to fire at the animal, fearing we ſhould be deſcried by the ſound of our fuzees; the Spaniards, as we were told, not being at much diſtance from that place.

But the next day, being April 12, our pain and labour was rather doubled than diminiſhed, not only for the difficulties of the way, which were intolerable, but chiefly for the abſence of our main body of men, from whom we had parted the day before: for now, hearing no news of them, we grew extremely jealous of the Indians, and their counſels, ſuſpecting it a deſign of thoſe people thus to divide our forces, and then betray us to the Spaniards, our implacable enemies: that night we reſted ourſelves by building of huts, as we had done, and hath been mentioned before.

The next day, being Tueſday, we continued our navigation down the river, and arrived at a beachy point of land, where another arm joineth the ſame river: here, as we underſtood, the Indians of Darien did uſually rendezvous, whenſoever they drew up in a body, with intention to fight their ancient enemies the Spaniards. Here alſo we made a halt, and ſtaid for the reſt of our forces and company, the Indians having now ſent to ſeek them, being themſelves not a little concerned at our diſſatisfaction and jealouſies: in the afternoon our companions came up with us, and were very glad to ſee us, they having been in no

Digitized by Google

no leſs fear for us than we had been in for them: we continued and reſted there that night alſo, with deſign to fit our arms for action, which now, as we were told, was nigh at hand.

We departed from thence early the next morning, which was the laſt day of our march, being in all now the number of threeſcore and eight canoes, wherein were embarked 327 of us Engliſhmen, and 50 Indians, who ſerved us for guides. To the point above-mentioned, the Indians had hitherto guided our canoes with long poles or ſticks; but now we made ourſelves oars and paddles to row withal, and thereby made what ſpeed we could: thus we rowed with all haſte imaginable, and on the river happened to meet two or three Indian canoes that were laden with plantanes. About midnight we arrived, and landed at the diſtance of half a mile, or thereabouts, from the town of Santa Maria, whither our march was all along intended: the place where we landed was very muddy, inſomuch that we were conſtrained to lay our paddles upon it, and withal lift ourſelves up by the boughs of the trees to ſupport our bodies from ſinking: afterwards we were forced to cut our way through the woods for ſome ſpace, where we took up our lodgings for that night, for fear of being diſcovered by the enemy, whom we were ſo near.

CHAP. III.

They take the town of Santa Maria, with no loſs of men, but meet not with ſo much booty as was expected. Deſcription of the place, country, and river adjacent. They reſolve to go and plunder a ſecond time the city of Panama.

THE next morning, which was Thurſday, April 15, about break of day, we heard from the town a ſmall arm diſcharged, and after that a drum beating a revailler; with this we rouzed from our ſleep, and

Digitized by Google

taking to our arms, we put ourſelves in order, and marched towards the town. As ſoon as we came out of the woods into the open ground, we were deſcried by the Spaniards, who had received beforehand intelligence of our coming, and were prepared to receive us, having already conveyed away all their treaſure of gold, and ſent it to Panama. They ran immediately into a large paliſado fort, having each pale or poſt twelve feet high, and began to fire very briſkly at us as we came; but our vanguard ran up to the place, and pulling down two or three of their paliſadoes, entered the fort inſtantly, and made themſelves maſters thereof. In this action there were not fifty of our men that came up before the fort was taken; and on our ſide only two were wounded, and not one killed; notwithſtanding within the place were found two hundred and threeſcore men, beſides which number, two hundred others were ſaid to be abſent, being gone up into the country, unto the mines, to fetch down gold, or rather to convey away what was already in the town. This golden treaſure cometh down another branch of this river unto Santa Maria, from the neighbouring mountains, where are thought to be the richeſt mines of the Indies, or, at leaſt, of all theſe parts of the weſtern world. Of the Spaniards were killed in the aſſault twenty-ſix, and wounded to the number of ſixteen more; but their governor, their prieſt, and all, or moſt of their chief men, made their eſcape by flight.

Having taken the fort, we expected to find here a conſiderable town belonging to it; but it proved to be only ſome wild houſes made of cane, the place being chiefly a garriſon deſigned to keep the Indians in ſubjection, who bear a mortal hatred, and are often apt to rebel againſt the Spaniards. But as bad a place as it was, our fortune was much worſe, for we came only three days too late, or elſe we had met with three hundred weight of gold, which was carried

Digitized by Google

carried thence to Panama in a bark, that is ſent from thence twice or thrice every year, to fetch what gold is brought to Santa Maria from the mountains. This river, called by the name of the town, is hereabouts twice as broad as the river of Thames is at London, and floweth above threeſcore miles upwards, riſing to the height of two fathom and a half at the town itſelf. As ſoon as we had taken the place, the Indians who belonged to our company, and had ſerved us for guides, came up to the town; for while they heard the noiſe of the guns they were in a great conſternation, and dared not approach the paliſadoes, but had hid themſelves ſo well in a ſmall hollow ground, that the bullets, while we were fighting, flew over their heads.

Here we found and redeemed the eldeſt daughter of the king of Darien, of whom we made mention above; ſhe had, as it ſhould ſeem, been forced away from her father's houſe by one of the garriſon (which rape had greatly incenſed him againſt the Spaniard) and was with child by him. After the fight, the Indians deſtroyed as many more of the Spaniards, as we had done in the aſſault, by taking them into the adjoining woods, and there ſtabbing them to death with their lances: but as ſoon as we underſtood this their barbarous cruelty, we hindered them from taking any more out of the fort, where we confined them all priſoners. Captain Sawkins, with a ſmall party of ten more, put himſelf into a canoe, and went down the river to purſue and ſtop, if it were poſſible, thoſe that had eſcaped, who were the chief of the town and garriſon. But now our great expectations of making a huge purchaſe of gold at this place being totally vaniſhed, we were unwilling to come ſo far for nothing, or go back empty-handed; eſpecially conſidering what vaſt riches were to be had at no great diſtance from thence. Hereupon we reſolved to go for Panama,

Digitized by Google

which place if we could take, we were aſſured we ſhould get treaſure enough to ſatisfy our hungry appetite of gold and riches, that city being the receptacle of all the plate, jewels, and gold that is digged out of the mines of all Potoſi and Peru. In order to it therefore, and to pleaſe the humours of ſome of our company, we made choice of captain Coxon to be our general commander in chief. Before our departure we ſent back what ſmall booty we had taken here by ſome priſoners, and theſe under the charge of twelve of our men, to convey it to the ſhips.

Thus we prepared to go forward on that dangerous enterprize of Panama. But the Indians who had conducted us, having gotten from us what knives, ſciſſars, axes, needles, and beads they could obtain, would not ſtay any longer, but all, or the greateſt part of them, returned to their home. Notwithſtanding which, the king himſelf, captain Andræas, captain Antonio, the king's ſon, called by the Spaniards Bonete d'Oro, or king Golden-cap, as alſo his kinſman, would not be perſuaded by their falling off to leave us, but reſolved to go to Panama, out of the deſire they had to ſee that place taken and ſacked. Nay, the king promiſed, if there ſhould be occaſion, to join us with a very great number of men. Beſides which promiſes, we had alſo another very conſiderable encouragement to undertake this journey; for the Spaniard who had forced away the king's daughter, as was mentioned above, fearing leſt we ſhould leave him to the mercy of the Indians, who would have had but little on him, having ſhewed themſelves ſo cruel unto the reſt of his companions, for the ſafety of his life, had promiſed to lead us not only into the town, but even to the very door of the governor of Panama's bedchamber, and that we ſhould take him by the hand, and ſeize both him

Digitized by Google

him and the whole city, before we ſhould be diſcovered by the Spaniards, either before or after our arrival.

CHAP. IV.

The Bucaniers leave the town of Santa Maria, and proceed by ſea to take Panama. The extreme difficulties, with ſundry accidents and dangers of that voyage.

HAVING been in poſſeſſion of the town of Santa Maria only the ſpace of two days, we departed from thence on Saturday, April 17, 1680. We embarked all in thirty-five canoes and a periaugue which we had taken here lying at anchor before the town. Thus we ſailed, or rather rowed down the river, in queſt of the South-ſea, upon which Panama is ſeated towards the gulf of Belona, where we were to enter that ocean. Our priſoners, the Spaniards, begged very earneſtly they might be permitted to go with us, and not to be left abandoned to the mercy of the Indians, who would ſhew them no favour, and whoſe cruelty they ſo much feared. But we had much ado to find a ſufficient number of boats for ourſelves, the Indians that left us having taking with them, either by conſent or ſtealth, ſo many canoes. Yet notwithſtanding they ſoon after either found bark-logs, or old canoes, and by that means ſhifted ſo well for their lives, as to come along with us. Before our departure we burnt both the fort, the church, and the town, which was done at the requeſt of the king, he being extremely incenſed againſt it.

Among theſe canoes it was my misfortune to have one that was very heavy, and conſequently ſluggiſh.

By this means we were left behind the reſt a little way, our number being only four men, beſides myſelf, that were embarked therein. As the tide fell, it left ſeveral ſhoals of ſand naked; and hence, not knowing the true channel amongſt ſuch variety of ſtreams, we happened to ſteer within a ſhoal above two miles before we perceived our error. Hereupon we were forced to lie by till high-water; for to row in ſuch heavy boats as thoſe againſt tide is a thing totally impoſſible. As ſoon as the tide began to turn, we rowed away in proſecution of our voyage, and withal made what haſte we could; but all our endeavours were in vain, for we neither could find nor overtake our companions. Thus about ten of the clock at night, it being low water, we ſtuck up an oar in the river, and ſlept by turns in our canoe, ſeveral ſhowers of rain falling all night long, with which they were wet to the ſkin.

But the next morning, as ſoon as day appeared, we rowed away down the river as before in purſuit of our people. Having rowed about two leagues we were ſo fortunate as to overtake them; for they had lain that night at an Indian hut, or embarcadero, that is to ſay, landing-place, and had been filling of water till then in the morning. Being arrived at the place, they told us, that we muſt not omit to fill our jars there with water; otherwiſe we ſhould meet with none in the ſpace of ſix days time. Hereupon we went every one of us the diſtance of a quarter of a mile from the embarcadero unto a little pond, to fill our water in calabazas, making withal what haſte we could back to our canoe. But when we returned, we found not one of our men, they all being departed and already got out of ſight. Such is the procedure of theſe wild men, that they care not in the leaſt whom they loſe of their company, or leave behind. We were now more troubled in our minds than before, fearing

fearing leſt we ſhould fall into the ſame misfortune we had ſo lately overcome.

Hereupon we rowed after them as faſt as we poſſibly could, but all in vain; for here we found ſuch huge numbers of iſlands, greater and leſſer, as alſo keys about the mouth of the river, that it was not difficult for us, who were unacquainted with the river, to loſe ourſelves a ſecond time amongſt them. Yet notwithſtanding, though with much trouble and toil, we found at laſt that mouth of the river that is called by the Spaniards Bocca Chica, or the little mouth. But as it happened, it was now young flood and the ſtream ran very violently againſt us; ſo that though we were not above a ſtone's caſt from the ſaid mouth, and this was not a league broad, yet we could not by any means come near it. Hence we were forced to put aſhore, which we did accordingly till the time of high-water. We haled our canoe cloſe by the buſhes, and when we got out, we faſtened our rope to a tree, which the tide had almoſt covered; for it flows here near four fathom deep.

As ſoon as tide began to turn, we rowed away from thence to an iſland, diſtant about a league and a half from the mouth of the river, in the gulf of San Miguel. Here it went very hard with us, whenſoever any wave daſhed againſt the ſides of our canoe; for it was almoſt twenty feet long, and yet not quite one foot and a half in breadth where it was at the broadeſt; ſo that we had juſt room enough to ſit down in her, and a little water would eaſily have both filled and overwhelmed us. At the iſland aforeſaid, we took up our reſting-place for that night, though for the loſs of our company, and the great dangers we were in, the ſorrowfulleſt night that until then I ever experimented in my life: for it rained impetuouſly all night long, inſomuch that we were wet from head

Digitized by Google

to foot, and had not one dry thread about us; neither through the violence of the rain, were able to keep any fire, wherewith to warm or dry us. The tide ebbeth here a good half mile from the mark of high-water, and leaveth bare wonderful high and ſharp-pointed rocks. We paſſed this heavy and tedious night without one minute of ſleep, being all very ſorrowful to ſee ourſelves ſo remote from the reſt of our companions, as alſo totally deſtitute of all human comfort: for a vaſt ſea ſurrounded us on one ſide, and the mighty power of our enemies the Spaniards on the other; neither could we deſcry at any hand the leaſt thing to relieve us, all that we could ſee being the wide ſea, high mountains, and rocks; meanwhile ourſelves were confined to an egg-ſhell inſtead of a boat, without ſo much as a few clothes to defend us from the injuries of the weather; for at that time none of us had a ſhoe to our feet. We ſearched the whole key, to ſee if we could find any water, but found none.

CHAP. V.

Shipwreck of Mr. Ringroſe the author of this narrative. He is taken by the Spaniards, and miraculouſly by them preſerved. Several other accidents and other diſaſters which befel him after the loſs of his companions, till he found them again. Deſcription of the gulf of Vallona.

ON Monday, April the 19th, at break of day, we haled our canoe into the water again and departing from the iſland aforementioned, wet and cold as we were, we rowed towards the punta de San Lorenzo, or point St. Lawrence. In our way we met with ſeveral iſlands, which lie ſtraggling thereabouts. But

Digitized by Google

But now we were ſo hard put to it by the ſmallneſs of our veſſel, and being in an open ſea, that it was become the work of one man, yea ſometimes of two, to caſt out the water which came in on all ſides of our canoe. After ſtruggling for ſome while with theſe difficulties, as we came near one of thoſe iſlands, a ſea came and overturned our boat, by which means we were all forced to ſwim for our lives; but we ſoon got to ſhore, and our canoe came tumbling after us. Our arms were faſt laſhed to the inſide of the boat, and our locks as well caſed and waxed down as was poſſible; ſo were alſo our cartouch-boxes and powder-horns; but all our bread and freſh water was utterly ſpoiled and loſt.

Our canoe being tumbled on ſhore by the force of the waves, our firſt buſineſs was to take out and clean our arms. This we had ſcarcely done, but we ſaw another canoe run the ſame misfortune at a little diſtance to leeward of us amongſt a great number of rocks that bounded the iſland. The perſons that were caſt away proved to be ſix Spaniards of the garriſon of Santa Maria, who had found an old canoe, and had followed us to eſcape the cruelty of the Indians. They preſently came to us, and made us a fire, on which we broiled our meat, and eat it amicably together. But we were in great want of water, or any other drink to our victuals, not knowing in the leaſt where to get any. Our canoe was thrown up by the waves to the edge of the water, and there was no great fear of its ſplitting, as being full ſix inches on the ſides thereof. But that in which the Spaniards came, ſplit itſelf againſt the rocks, as being old and ſlender, into a hundred pieces. Though we were thus ſhipwrecked and driven aſhore, as I have related, yet at other times this gulf of San Miguel is a mere millpond for ſmoothneſs of water.

Digitized by Google

My company was altogether for returning, and to proceed no farther, but rather for living amongſt the Indians, in caſe they could not reach the ſhips we had left behind us in the Northern-ſea. But with much ado I prevailed with them to go forward, at leaſt one day longer, and in caſe we found not our people the next day, that then I would be willing to do any thing which they ſhould think fit. Thus we ſpent two or three hours of the day in conſulting about our affairs, and withal keeping a man to watch and look out on all ſides for fear of any ſurprizal by the Indians, or other enemies. About the time that we were come to a concluſion in our debates, our watchman by chance ſpied an Indian, who, as ſoon as he ſaw us, ran into the woods. I ſent immediately two of my company after him, who overtook him, and found him to be one of our friendly Indians. He carried them to a place not far diſtant from thence, where ſeven more of his company were, with a great canoe which they had brought with them. They came to the place where I was with the reſt of my company, and ſeemed to be glad to meet us on that iſland. I aſked them by ſigns for the main body of our company, and they gave me to underſtand, that in caſe we would go with them in their canoe, which was much bigger than ours, we ſhould be up with the party by next morning. This news, as may eaſily be ſuppoſed, not a little rejoiced our hearts.

Preſently after this friendly invitation, they aſked who the other ſix men were whom they ſaw in our company, for they eaſily perceived us not to be all of one and the ſame coat and lingua. We told them they were wankers, which is the name they commonly give to the Spaniards. Their next queſtion was, if they ſhould kill them. But I anſwered them, no, by no means, I would not conſent to have it done. With which anſwer they ſeemed to be ſatisfied for

that

Digitized by Google

the preſent. But a little while after, my back being turned, my company thinking they ſhould oblige the Indians thereby, beckoned to them to kill the Spaniards. With this, the poor creatures perceiving the danger that threatened them, made a ſad ſhriek and outcry, and I came time enough to ſave all their lives; but withal, I was forced to give my conſent they ſhould have one of them to make him their ſlave. Hereupon I gave the canoe that I came in to the five Spaniards remaining, and bid them get away and ſhift for their lives, leſt thoſe cruel Indians ſhould not keep their word, and they run again the ſame danger they had ſo lately eſcaped. Having ſent them away, I reſted myſelf awhile, and took a ſurvey of this gulf, and the mouth of the river.

But now, thanks be to God, joining company with thoſe Indians we were got into a very large canoe, the which, for its bigneſs, was better able to carry twenty men, than our own that we had brought to carry five. The Indians had alſo fitted a good ſail to the ſaid canoe; ſo that having now a freſh ſtrong gale of wind, we ſet ſail from thence, and made therewith brave way, to the infinite joy and comfort of our hearts, ſeeing ourſelves ſo well accommodated, and ſo happily rid of the miſeries we but lately had endured. We had now a ſmooth and eaſy paſſage, after ſuch tedious and laborious pains as we had ſuſtained in coming ſo far ſince we left Santa Maria. Under the point of St. Lawrence mentioned above, is a very great ripling of the ſea, occaſioned by a ſtrong current which runeth hereabouts, and which oftentimes almoſt filled our boat with its daſhes, as we ſailed. This evening, after our departure from the iſland where we were caſt away, it rained vehemently for ſeveral hours, and the night proved to be very dark. About nine of the clock that night we deſcried two fires on the ſhore of the continent over-againſt us. Theſe fires were no

ſooner

ſooner perceived by the Indians of our canoe, but they began to ſhout for joy, and cry out, captain Antonio, captain Andræas, the names of their Indian captains and leaders; and to affirm, they were aſſured thoſe fires were made by their companions. Hence they made for the ſhore towards thoſe fires as faſt as they could drive; but as ſoon as our canoe came amongſt the breakers, nigh the ſhore, out came from the woods above threeſcore Spaniards, with clubs and other arms; and laying hold on our canoe on both ſides thereof, haled it out of the water quite dry; ſo that by this means we were all ſuddenly taken and made their priſoners. I laid hold of my gun, thinking to make ſome defence for myſelf; but all was in vain, for they ſoon ſeized me between four or five of them, and hindered me from action. In the meanwhile our Indians leaped over-board, and got away very nimbly into the woods. My companion ſtanding amazed at what had happened, and the manner of our ſurprizal, I aſked them preſently if any of them could ſpeak either French or Engliſh. But they anſwered, no. Hereupon, as well as I could, I diſcourſed to ſome of them, who were more intelligent than the reſt, in Latin, and by degrees came to underſtand their condition. Theſe were Spaniards who had been turned here aſhore by our Engliſh party, who left them upon this coaſt, leſt by carrying them nearer to Panama, any of them ſhould make their eſcape, and diſcover our march towards the city. They had me preſently after I was taken into a ſmall hut which they had built, covered with boughs, and made there great ſhouts for joy, becauſe they had taken us; deſigning in their minds to uſe us very ſeverely for coming into thoſe parts, and eſpecially for taking and plundering their town of Santa Maria. But mean while the captain of thoſe Spaniards was examining me, in came the poor Spaniard that was

come

Digitized by Google

come along with us, and reported how kind I had been to him and the reſt of his companions, by ſaving their lives from the cruelty of the Indians.

The captain having heard him, aroſe from his ſeat immediately and embraced me; ſaying, that we Engliſhmen were very friendly enemies, and good people, but that the Indians were very rogues, and a treacherous nation. Withal, he deſired me to ſit down by him, and to eat part of ſuch victuals as our companions had left them when they were turned aſhore. Then he told me, that for the kindneſs I had ſhewed unto his countrymen, he gave us all our lives and liberties, which otherwiſe he would certainly have taken from us. And though he could ſcarcely be perſuaded in his mind to ſpare the Indians lives, yet for my ſake he did pardon them all, and I ſhould have them with me, in caſe I could find them. Thus he bid me likewiſe take my canoe, and go in God's name; ſaying withal, he wiſhed us as fortunate as we were generous. Hereupon I took my leave of him. I ſearched out, and at laſt found my Indians, who for fear had hid themſelves in the buſhes adjoining to the neighbouring woods, where they lay concealed. Having found them, the captain led me very civilly down to the canoe, and bidding my companions and the Indians get in after me, as they at firſt haled us aſhore, ſo now again they puſhed us off to ſea by a ſudden and ſtrange viciſſitude of fortune.

All that night it rained very hard, as was mentioned above; neither durſt we put any more aſhore at any place, being all along ſuch as by mariners is commonly called an iron coaſt.

The next morning being come, we ſailed and paddled, or rowed, till about ten of the clock; at which time we eſpied a canoe making towards us with all ſpeed imaginable. Being come up with us, and

and in view, it proved to be one of our Engliſh company, who miſtaking our canoe for a Spaniſh periaugue, was coming in all haſte to attack us. We were infinitely glad to meet them, and they preſently conducted us to the reſt of our company, who were at that inſtant coming from a deep bay, which lay behind a high point of rocks, where they had lain at anchor all that night and morning. We were all mutually rejoiced to ſee one another again, they having given both me and my companions for loſt.

CHAP. VI.

The Bucaniers proſecute their voyage till they come within ſight of Panama. They take ſeveral barks and priſoners by the way. Are deſcried by the Spaniards before their arrival. They order the Indians to kill the priſoners.

FROM the place where we rejoined our Engliſh forces, we all made our way towards a high hammock of land, as it appeared at a diſtance, but was nothing elſe than an iſland ſeven leagues diſtant from the bay aforementioned. On the higheſt part of this iſland the Spaniards keep a watch, or look-out (for ſo it is termed by the ſeamen) for fear of pirates, or other enemies. That evening we arrived at the iſland, and being landed, went up a very ſteep place, till we came to a little hut where the watchmen lodged. We took by ſurprizal the old man who watched in the place, but happened not to ſee us, till we were got into his plantane-walk before the lodge He told us in his examination, that we were not as yet deſcried by the Spaniards of Panama, or any others that he knew; which relation of the old man much encouraged us to go forwards with our deſign of

of ſurprizing that rich city. This place, if I took its name right, is called Farol de Plantanos, or in Engliſh Plantane-watch.

Here, a little before night, a certain bark came to an anchor at the outſide of the iſland, which was inſtantly deſcried by us. Hereupon we ſpeedily manned out two canoes, who went under the ſhore and ſurprized the ſaid boat. Having examined the perſons that were on board, we found ſhe had been abſent the ſpace of eight days from Panama, and had landed ſoldiers at a point of land not far diſtant from this iſland, with intention to fight and curb certain Indians and negroes who had done much hurt in the country thereabouts. The bark being taken, moſt of our men endeavoured to get into her, but more eſpecially thoſe who had the leſſer canoes. Thus there embarked thereon to the number of one hundred and thirty-ſeven of our company, together with that ſea-artiſt and valiant commander, captain Bartholomew Sharp; with him went alſo on board captain Cook, whom we mentioned at the beginning of this hiſtory. The remaining part of that night we lay at the key of the ſaid iſland, with intent to proſecute our voyage the next day.

Morning being come, I changed my canoe and embarked myſelf in another, which, though it was ſomething leſſer than the former, yet was furniſhed with better company. Departing from this iſland, we rowed all day long over ſhoal water, at the diſtance of about a league from land, having ſometimes not above four or five feet water, and white ground: in the afternoon we deſcried a bark at ſea, and inſtantly gave her chace: but the canoe in which was captain Harris happened to come up the firſt with her, who after a ſharp diſpute took her. Being taken, we put on board the ſaid bark thirty men; but the wind would not ſuffer the other bark in chacing to come up

Digitized by Google

up with us. This purſuit of the veſſel did ſo far hinder us in our voyage, and divide us aſunder, that night coming on preſently after, we loſt one another, and could no longer keep in a body together: hereupon we laid our canoe aſhore, to take up our reſt for that night, at the diſtance of two miles, or thereabouts, from high water mark, and about ſor leagues to leeward of the iſland Chepillo, to which place our courſe was then directed.

The next morning, as ſoon as the water began to float us, we rowed away for the forementioned iſland Chepillo, where by aſſignation our general rendezvous was to be: in our way we eſpied a bark under ſail, as we had done the day before: captain Coxon's canoe was the firſt that came up with her; but a ſmall breeze freſhening at that inſtant, ſhe got away from him after the firſt onſet, killing in the ſaid canoe one Mr. Bull, and wounding two others. We preſently conjectured that this bark would get before us to Panama, and give intelligence of our coming to thoſe of the town, all which happened accordingly. It was two of the clock that afternoon before all our canoes could come together, and join one another, as was agreed on at Chepillo. We took at that iſland fourteen priſoners, between negroes and mulattos; alſo a great ſtore of plantanes, and good water, together with two fat hogs. But now, believing that ere this we had been deſcried at Panama by the bark aforementioned, we reſolved among ourſelves to waſte no time, but to haſten away from the ſaid iſland, to the intent we might at leaſt be able to ſurprize and take their ſhipping, and by that means make ourſelves maſters of thoſe ſeas, in caſe we could not get the town, which we now judged almoſt impoſſible to be done. At Chepillo we took alſo a periaugue which we found at anchor before the iſland, and preſently we put ſome men on board her: we ſtaid here

here only a few hours; ſo that about four o'clock in the evening we rowed away from thence, deſigning to reach Panama before the next morning; it being only ſeven leagues between that city and Chepillo: but before we departed from Chepillo, it was judged convenient by our commanders, for certain reaſons, which I could not dive into, to rid their hands of the priſoners which we had taken; and hereupon orders were given to our Indians, who they knew would perform them very willingly, to fight or rather to murder and ſlay the ſaid priſoners upon the ſhore, and that in the view of the whole fleet. This they inſtantly went about, being glad of this opportunity to revenge themſelves upon their enemies, though in cold blood: but the priſoners, although they had no arms wherewith to defend themſelves, forced their way through thoſe barbarous Indians, in ſpite of their lances, bows, and arrows, and got into the woods of the iſland, only one man of them being killed. We rowed all night long, though much rain fell.

CHAP. VII.

They arrive within ſight of Panama, are encountered by three ſmall men of war: they fight them with only ſixty-eight men, and utterly defeat them, taking two of the ſaid veſſels. Deſcription of that bloody fight. They take ſeveral ſhips at the iſle of Perico before Panama.

THE next morning, which was April 23, 1680, that day being dedicated to St. George, our patron of England, we came before ſun-riſe within view of the city of Panama, which makes a very pleaſant proſpect to the ſea-ward: ſoon after we ſaw alſo the ſhips belonging to the ſaid city, which lay at anchor at

Digitized by Google

at an iſland called Perico, diſtant only two leagues from Panama. On the aforeſaid iſland are ſeveral ſtore-houſes built there to receive the goods delivered out of the ſhips: at that time there rid at anchor at Perico five great ſhips, and three pretty big barks, called barcos de la armadilla, or little men of war; the word armadilla ſignifying a little fleet. Theſe had been ſuddenly manned out with deſign to fight us, and prevent any farther attempts we ſhould make upon the city, or coaſts of thoſe ſeas. As ſoon as they eſpied us, they inſtantly weighed anchor, and got under ſail, coming directly to meet us. Our two periaugues being heavy, could not row ſo faſt as we that were in the canoes, ſo that we were got a pretty way before them: in our five canoes (for ſo many we were in company) we had only thirty-ſix men, and theſe but in a very unfit condition to fight, as being tired with ſo much rowing, and ſo few in number, in compariſon of the enemy that came againſt us. They ſailed towards us directly before the wind, inſomuch that we feared leſt they ſhould run us down before it: hereupon we rowed up into the wind's eye, as the ſeamen term it, and got cloſe to the windward of them. Meanwhile we were doing this, our leſſer periaugue came up with us, in which were thirty-two more of our company; ſo that we were in all ſixty-eight men that were engaged in the fight of that day; the king himſelf being one of our number, who was in the periaugue aforementioned. In the veſſel that was admiral of theſe three men of war, were fourſcore and ſix Biſcaniers, who have the repute of being the beſt mariners, and alſo the beſt ſoldiers amongſt the Spaniards. Theſe were all volunteers, who came deſignedly to ſhew their valour, under the command of don Jacinto de Barabona, who was high admiral of thoſe ſeas. In the ſecond were ſeventy-ſeven negroes, who were commanded by

Digitized by Google

by an old and ſtout Spaniard, a native of Andaluſia in Spain, named don Franciſco de Peralta. In the third and laſt were ſixty-five meſtizos, or mulattos or tawny-moors, commanded by don Diego de Carabaxal: ſo that they were in all two hundred and twen-eight. The commanders had ſtrict orders given them, and their reſolutions were to give quarters to none of the pirates or bucaniers: but ſuch bloody commands ſeldom proſper.

Captain Sawkins's canoe, and alſo that wherein I was, were much to leeward of the reſt; ſo that the ſhip of don Diego de Carabaxal came between us two, and fired preſently on me to windward, and on him to leeward, wounding with theſe broadſides four men in his canoe, and one in that I was in: but he paid ſo dear for his paſſage between us, that he was not quick in coming about again, and making the ſame way; for we killed with our firſt volley, ſeveral of his men upon the decks: thus we got alſo to windward, as the reſt were before. The admiral of the armadilla, or little fleet, came up with us inſtantly, ſcarce giving us time to charge, thinking to paſs by us all with as little damage as the firſt of his ſhips had done: but as it happened, it fell out much worſe with him, for we were ſo fortunate as to kill the man at the helm; ſo that his ſhip ran into the wind, and her ſails lay a-back. By this means we had time to come all up under her ſtern, and firing continually into his veſſel, we killed all that came to the helm; beſides which ſlaughter, we cut aſunder his main ſheet and brace with our ſhot. Now alſo the third veſſel, in which captain Peralta was, was coming to the aid of their general; hereupon captain Sawkins, who had changed his canoe, and was gone into the periaugue, left the admiral to us four canoes (for his own was quite diſabled) and met the ſaid Peralta: between him and captain Sawkins the diſpute was very hot,

lying

lying aboard each other, and both giving and receiving death as faſt as they could charge. While we were thus engaged, the firſt ſhip tacked about, and came up to relieve the admiral; but we perceiving it, and foreſeeing how hard it would go with us, if we ſhould be beaten from the admiral's ſtern, determined to prevent his deſign: hereupon two of our canoes, to wit, captain Springer's and my own, ſtood off to meet him: he made up directly towards the admiral, who ſtood upon the quarter-deck, waving unto him with a handkerchief ſo to do; but we engaged him ſo cloſely in the middle of his way, that had he not given us the helm, and made away from us, we had certainly been on board him: we killed ſo many of the men, that the veſſel had ſcarce men enough left alive, or unwounded, to carry her off; yet the wind now blowing freſh, they made ſhift to get away from us, and ſave their lives.

The veſſel which was to relieve the admiral being thus put to flight, we came about again upon the admiral, and all together gave a loud halloo, which was anſwered by our men in the periaugue, though at a diſtance from us. At that time we came ſo cloſe under the ſtern of the admiral, that we wedged up the rudder; and withal killed both the admiral himſelf and the chief pilot of his ſhip; ſo that now they were almoſt quite diſabled and diſheartened likewiſe, ſeeing what a bloody maſſacre we had made among them with our ſhot. Hereupon, two thirds of his men being killed, and many others wounded, they cried for quarter, which had ſeveral times been offered them, and as ſtoutly denied till then. Captain Coxon boarded the admiral, and took with him captain Harris, who had been ſhot through both his legs as he boldly adventured up along the ſide of the ſhip. This veſſel being thus taken, we put on

7 board

Digitized by Google

board her all our wounded men, and inſtantly manned two of our canoes to go and aid captain Sawkins, who now had been three times beaten from on board Peralta, ſuch valiant defence had he made: and indeed, to give our enemies their due, no men in the world did ever act more bravely than theſe Spaniards.

Thus coming up cloſe under Peralta's ſide, we gave him a full volley of ſhot, and expected to have the like return from him again; but on a ſudden we ſaw his men blown up that were abaft the maſt, ſome of them falling on the deck, and others into the ſea. This diſaſter was ſoon perceived by their valiant captain Peralta; but he leaped overboard, and, in ſpite of all our ſhot, got ſeveral of them into the ſhip again, though he was much burnt in both his hands himſelf. But as one misfortune ſeldom cometh alone, meanwhile he was recovering theſe men, to reinforce his ſhip withall, and renew the fight, another jar of powder took fire forward, and blew up ſeveral others upon the forecaſtle. Among this ſmoak, and under the opportunity thereof, captain Sawkins laid them on board, and took the ſhip. Soon after they were taken, I went on board captain Peralta, to ſee what condition they were in; and indeed ſuch a miſerable ſight I never ſaw in my life; for there was not a man, but was either killed, deſperately wounded, or horribly burnt with powder; inſomuch, that their black ſkins were turned white in ſeveral places, the powder having torn it from their fleſh and bones. Having compaſſionated their miſery, I went afterwards on board the admiral, to obſerve likewiſe the condition of his ſhip and men: here I ſaw what did aſtoniſh me, and will ſcarcely be believed by any, but ourſelves who ſaw it: there we found on board this ſhip but twenty-five men alive, whoſe number before the fight had been fourſcore and

and ſix, as was ſaid above; ſo that threeſcore and one, out of ſo ſmall a number, were deſtroyed in the battle: but, what is more, of theſe twenty-five men, only eight of them were able to bear arms, all the reſt being deſperately wounded, and by their wounds totally diſabled to make any reſiſtance, or defend themſelves. Their blood ran down the decks in whole ſtreams, and ſcarce one place in the ſhip was found that was free from blood.

Having poſſeſſed ourſelves of theſe two armadilla veſſels, or little men of war, captain Sawkins aſked the priſoners, how many men there might be on board the greateſt ſhip that we could ſee from thence, lying in the harbour of the iſland of Perico abovementioned, as alſo in the others that were ſomething ſmaller. Captain Peralta hearing theſe queſtions, diſſuaded him as much as he could from attempting them; ſaying, that in the biggeſt alone, there were three hundred and fifty men, and that he would find the reſt too well provided for defence againſt his ſmall number. But one of his men, who lay dying upon deck, contradicted him as he was ſpeaking, and told captain Sawkins, there was not one man on board any of thoſe ſhips that were in view; for they had all been taken out of them to fight us, in theſe three veſſels called the armadilla, or little fleet. Unto this relation we gave credit, as proceeding from a dying man; and ſteering our courſe to the iſland, we went on board them, and found, as he had ſaid, not one perſon there. The biggeſt of theſe ſhips, which was called La Santiſſima Trinidad, or the Bleſſed Trinity, they had ſet on fire, made a hole in her, and looſened her fore-ſail. But we quenched the fire with all ſpeed, and ſtopped the leak. This being done, we put our wounded men on board her, and made her for the preſent our hoſpital.

Having

Digitized by Google

Having ſurveyed our own loſs, we found eighteen of our men were killed in the fight, and twenty-two wounded. Theſe three captains againſt whom we fought were eſteemed by the Spaniards the valianteſt in all the South-ſeas: neither was their reputation undeſerved, as may eaſily be inferred from the relation we have given of this bloody engagement. As the third ſhip was running away from the fight, ſhe met with two more coming out to their aſſiſtance; but withal, gave them ſo little encouragement, that they returned back, and dared not engage us. We began the fight about half an hour after ſun-riſe, and by noon had finiſhed the battle, and quite overcome them. Captain Peralta, while he was our priſoner, would often break out into admirations of our valour, and ſay, 'Surely, we Engliſhmen were the valianteſt 'men in the whole world, who deſigned always to 'fight open, whilſt all other nations invented all 'the ways imaginable to barricade themſelves, and 'fight as cloſe as they could.' And yet notwithſtanding, we killed more of our enemies than they of us.

Two days after our engagement, we buried captain Peter Harris, a brave and ſtout ſoldier, and a valiant Engliſhman, born in the county of Kent, whoſe death we very much lamented: he died of the wounds he received in battle; and beſides him only one man; all the reſt of our wounded men recovered. Being now come before Panama, I enquired of Don Franciſco de Peralta, our priſoner, many things concerning the ſtate and condition of this city, and the neighbouring country; and he ſatisfied me in manner following.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VIII.

Deſcription of the ſtate and condition of Panama, and the parts adjacent. What veſſels they took while they blocked up the ſaid port. Captain Coxon with ſeventy more returns home. Sawkins is choſen in chief.

THE famous city of Panama is ſituate in the latitude of nine degrees north. It ſtands in a deep bay, in the South-ſea. It is round in form, excepting only that part where it runs along the ſea-ſide. Formerly it ſtood four miles more eaſterly, when it was taken by ſir Henry Morgan; but being then burnt, and three times more ſince that accident, they removed it to the place where it now ſtands. Notwithſtanding there are ſome poor people ſtill inhabiting the old town; and the cathedral church is ſtill there, which makes a fair ſhew at a diſtance, not unlike that of St. Paul's at London. This new city of which I now ſpeak, is much bigger than the old one was, and is built for the moſt part of brick, the reſt being built of ſtone and tiled. As for the churches belonging thereto, they are not as yet finiſhed; they are eight in number, the chief whereof is called Santa Maria. This city is better than a mile and a half in length, and above a mile in breadth: the houſes for the moſt part are three ſtories high. It hath two gates belonging to it, and is well walled round, except only where a creek cometh into the city, which at high-water letteth in barks, to furniſh the inhabitants with all ſorts of proviſions and other neceſſaries. Here are always three hundred of the king's ſoldiers in garriſon; beſides which number, their militia of all colours are 1100. But when we arrived there, moſt of their ſoldiers were out of town;

Digitized by Google

inſomuch that our coming put the reſt into great conſternation, they having had but one night's notice of our being in thoſe ſeas. Hence we were induced to believe, that had we gone aſhore inſtead of fighting their ſhips, we had certainly rendered ourſelves maſters of the place; eſpecially conſidering that all their chief men were on board the admiral; I mean ſuch as were undoubtedly the beſt ſoldiers. Round about the city, for the ſpace of ſeven leagues, or thereabouts, all the adjacent country is Savanna, as they call it in the Spaniſh language, that is to ſay plain and level ground, as ſmooth as a ſheet; only here and there is to be ſeen a ſmall ſpot of woody land. This level ground is full of Vacadas, or Beef Stations, where whole droves of cows and oxen are kept, which ſerve as ſo many look-outs, or watch-towers, to deſcry if an enemy is approaching by land. The ground whereon the city now ſtands, is very damp and moiſt, which renders the place unhealthful. The water is alſo full of worms, which are very prejudicial to ſhipping; and this is the cauſe that the king's ſhips lie always at Lima, the capital of Peru, unleſs when they come down to Panama to bring the king's plate; which is only at ſuch times as the fleet of galleons come from Old Spain to fetch and convoy it thither. Here, in one hour after our arrival, we found worms of three quarters of an inch in length, both in our bed-clothes and other apparel.

At the iſlands of Perico above-mentioned, we ſeized in all five ſhips: of theſe, the firſt and biggeſt was named, as was ſaid before, the Trinidad, and was a great ſhip, of the burden of 400 tons: her lading conſiſting of wine, ſugar, ſweetmeats (whereof the Spaniards in thoſe hot countries make infinite uſe) ſkins, and ſoap. The ſecond ſhip was about 300 tons burden, and not above half laden with bars of iron, which is one of the richeſt commodi-

Digitized by Google

ties that are brought into the South-Sea. This veſſel we burned with the lading in her, becauſe the Spaniards pretended not to want that commodity, and therefore would not redeem it. The third was laden with ſugar, being of the burden of 180 tons, or thereabouts. This veſſel was given to captain Cook. The fourth was an old ſhip of 60 tons, laden with flour or meal. This ſhip we likewiſe burnt with her lading, eſteeming both bottom and cargo at that time to be uſeleſs to us. The fifth was a ſhip of 50 tons, which, with a periaugue, captain Coxon took along with him when he left us.

Within two or three days after our arrival at Panama, captain Coxon being much diſſatisfied with ſome reflections caſt upon him by our company, determined to leave us, and return back to our ſhips in the northern ſeas, by the ſame way he came; and perſuaded ſeveral of our company, who ſided moſt with him, and had had the chief hand in his election, to fall off from us, and bear him company in his journey, or march over land. The main cauſe of thoſe reflections was his backwardneſs in the laſt engagement with the Armadilla; concerning which point ſome ſtuck not to brand him for a coward. He drew off with him to the number of 70 of our men, who all returned back with him in the ſhip and periaugue above-mentioned, towards the mouth of the river of Santa Maria. In his company went alſo back the Indian king, captain Antonio, and don Andræas, who, being old, deſired to be excuſed from ſtaying any longer with us. However, the king deſired we would not be leſs vigorous in annoying their enemy and ours, the Spaniards, than if he were perſonally preſent with us. And to the intent we might ſee how faithfully he did intend to deal with us, he at the ſame time recommended both his ſon and nephew to the care of captain Sawkins,

Digitized by Google

kins, who was now our newly choſen general, or commander in chief, in the abſence of captain Sharp. The two Armadilla ſhips, which we took in the engagement, we burnt alſo, ſaving nothing of either of them, but their rigging and ſails. With them alſo we burnt a bark that came into the port laden with fowls and poultry.

On Sunday, April the 25th, captain Sharp with his bark and company came in and joined us again. His abſence was occaſioned by want of water, which forced him to bear up to the king's iſlands. Being there, he found a new bark, which he preſently took, and burnt his old one. This veſſel ſailed excellently well. Within a day or two after the arrival of captain Sharp, came in likewiſe the people of captain Harris. Theſe had alſo taken another bark, and cut down the maſts of their old one by the board; and thus without maſts or ſails turned away the priſoners they had taken in her. The next day we took another bark, that came from Nata, being laden with fowls as before. In this bark we turned away all the meaneſt priſoners we had on board us.

Having continued before Panama for the ſpace of ten days, being employed in the affairs before-mentioned, on May the 2d, we weighed from the iſland of Perico, and ſtood off to another iſland, diſtant two leagues farther from thence, called Tavoga. On this iſland ſtands a town which bears the ſame name, and conſiſts of a hundred houſes, or thereabouts. The people of the town were all fled, ſeeing our veſſels arrive. While we were here, ſome of our men being drunk aſhore, happened to ſet fire to one of the houſes, the which conſumed twelve houſes more before any could get aſhore to quench it. To this iſland came ſeveral Spaniſh merchants from Panama, and ſold us what commodities we

Digitized by Google

needed, buying alſo of us much of the goods we had taken in their own veſſels: they gave us likewiſe 200 pieces of eight for each negro we could ſpare them, of ſuch as were our priſoners. From this iſland we could eaſily ſee all the veſſels that went out, or came into the port of Panama; and here we took likewiſe ſeveral barks that were laden with fowls.

Eight days after our arrival at Tavoga, we took a ſhip that was coming from Truxillo, and bound for Panama. In this veſſel we found 2000 jars of wine, 50 jars of gunpowder, and 51,000 pieces of eight. This money had been ſent from that city to pay the ſoldiers belonging to the garriſon of Panama. From the ſaid prize we had information given that there was another ſhip coming from Lima with 100,000 pieces of eight more; which ſhip was to ſail ten or twelve days after them, and which they ſaid could not be long before ſhe arrived at Panama. Within two days after this intelligence we took alſo another ſhip laden with flour from Truxillo, belonging to certain Indians, inhabitants of the ſame place, or thereabouts. This prize confirmed what the firſt had told us of that rich ſhip, and ſaid, as the others had done before, that ſhe would be there in the ſpace of eight or ten days.

While we lay at Tavoga, the preſident, or governor of Panama, ſent a meſſage by ſome merchants to us, to know what we came for into thoſe parts? To this meſſage captain Sawkins made anſwer, "That we came to aſſiſt the king of Darien, who "was the true lord of Panama, and all the country "thereabouts: and that ſince we were come ſo far, "it was no reaſon but that we ſhould have ſome "ſatisfaction. So that if he pleaſed to ſend us "500 pieces of eight for each man, and one thou- "ſand for each commander, and not any farther "to annoy the Indians, but ſuffer them to uſe their "own

" own power and liberty, as became the true and " natural lords of the country, that then we would " deſiſt from farther hoſtilities, and go away peace- " ably; otherwiſe that we ſhould ſtay there, and " get what we could, cauſing them what damage " was poſſible." By the merchants alſo that went and came to Panama, we underſtood there lived then as biſhop of Panama, one who had formerly been biſhop of Santa Martha, and who was priſoner to captain Sawkins, when he took the ſaid place about four or five years paſt. The captain having received this intelligence, ſent two loaves of ſugar to the biſhop as a preſent. The next day the merchant who carried them, returning to Tavoga, brought the captain a gold ring for a retaliation of his ſaid preſent. And withal, he brought a meſſage to captain Sawkins from the preſident abovementioned, to know farther of him, ſince we were Engliſhmen, " From whom we had our commiſſion, " and to whom he ought to complain for the da- " mages we had already done them?" To this meſſage captain Sawkins ſent back for an anſwer, " That as yet all his company were not come to- " gether; but that when they were come up, we " would come and viſit him at Panama, and bring " our commiſſions on the muzzles of our guns, at " which time he ſhould read them as plain as the " flame of gunpowder could make them."

At this iſland of Tavoga, captain Sawkins would fain have ſtaid longer to wait for the rich ſhip abovementioned that was coming from Peru; but our men were ſo importunate for freſh victuals, that no reaſon could rule them, nor their own intereſt perſuade them to any thing that might conduce to this purpoſe. Hereupon, May the 15th, we weighed anchor, and ſailed from thence to the iſland of

Digitized by Google

Otoque. Being arrived there, we lay by it, while our boat went aſhore, and fetched off fowls, hogs, and other things neceſſary for ſuſtenance. Here I finiſhed a draught, comprehending from point Garachine, to the bay of Panama, &c.

From Otoque we ſailed to the iſland of Cayboa, which is a place very famous for the fiſhery of pearl thereabouts, and is at the diſtance of eight leagues from another place called Puebla Nueba, on the Main. In our way to this iſland we loſt two of our barks, one whereof had fifteen men in her, and the other ſeven. Being arrived, we caſt anchor at the ſaid iſland.

CHAP. IX.

Captain Sawkins, chief commander of the Bucaniers, is killed before Puebla Nueba. They are repulſed from the place. Captain Sharp choſen to be their leader. Many more of their company leave them, and return home over land.

WHILE we lay at anchor before Cayboa, our two chief commanders captain Sawkins and captain Sharp, taking with them 60 men or thereabouts, went in captain Cook's ſhip to the mouth of the river, where Puebla Nueba is ſituated. The day of this action, as I find it quoted in my journal, was May 22d, 1680. When they came to the river's mouth, they put themſelves into canoes, and were pilotted up the river towards the town by a negro, who was one of our priſoners. I was choſen to be concerned in this action, but happened not to land, being commanded to remain in captain Cook's ſhip,

Digitized by Google

ſhip, while they went up to aſſault the town. But here the inhabitants were too well provided for the reception of our party: for at the diſtance of a mile below the town, they had cut down great trees, and laid them croſs the river, with deſign to hinder the coming up of any boats. In like manner, on ſhore before the town itſelf, they had raiſed three ſtrong breaſt-works, and made other things for their defence. Here therefore captain Sawkins running up to the breaſt-works at the head of a few men, was killed: a man who was as valiant and courageous as any could be, and likewiſe, next to captain Sharp, the beſt beloved of all our company, or the moſt part thereof. Neither was this love undeſerved by him; for we ought juſtly to attribute to him the greateſt honour we gained in our engagement before Panama with the Spaniſh Armadilla. Eſpecially, conſidering that, as hath been ſaid above, captain Sharp was by accident abſent at the time of that great and bloody fight.

We that remained behind on board the ſhip of captain Cook, carried her within the mouth of the river Puebla Nueba, and entered cloſe by the Eaſt ſhore, which is crowned with a round hill. Within two ſtone's caſt of ſhore, we had four fathom water. Within the point opens a very fine and large river, which falls from a ſandy bay, at a ſmall diſtance from thence. But as we were getting in, being ſtrangers to the place, we unwittingly ran our ſhip on ground near a rock which lies on the weſtward ſhore; for the true channel of the ſaid river is nearer to the Eaſt than the Weſt ſhore. With captain Sawkins, in the unfortunate aſſault of this place, there died two men more, and three were wounded in the retreat, which they performed to the canoes in pretty good order. In their way down the river, captain Sharp took a ſhip, whoſe lading conſiſted of

Digitized by Google

indigo, otto, manteco, or butter and pitch; and likewiſe burnt two veſſels more, as being of no value. With this he returned on board our ſhips, being much troubled in his mind, and grieved for the loſs of ſo bold and brave a partner in his adventures, as Sawkins had conſtantly ſhewed himſelf to be. His death was much lamented, and occaſioned another party of our own men to mutiny, and leave us, returning over land, as captain Coxon and his company had done before.

Three days after the death of captain Sawkins, captain Sharp, who was now commander in chief, gave the ſhip which he had taken in the river of Puebla Nueba, and which was of the burden of 100 tons, or thereabouts, to captain Cook to command and ſail in; ordering withal, that the old veſſel which he had, ſhould go with thoſe men that deſigned to leave us; their mutiny, and our diſtraction being now grown very high. Hereupon captain Sharp coming on board la Trinidad, the greateſt of our ſhips, aſked our men in full council, who of them were willing to go, or ſtay and proſecute the deſign captain Sawkins had undertaken, which was to remain in the South-ſea, and there to make a complete voyage; after which he intended to go home round about America, through the Streights of Magellan. He added withal, that he did not as yet fear or doubt in the leaſt, but to make each man who ſhould ſtay with him, worth 1000 pounds, by the fruits he hoped to reap of that voyage. All thoſe who had remained after the departure of captain Coxon, for love of captain Sawkins, and only to be in his company, and under his conduct, thinking thereby to make their fortunes, would ſtay no longer, but preſſed to depart. Among this number I acknowledge myſelf to have been one, as being totally deſirous in my mind to quit thoſe hazardous adventures,

Digitized by Google

adventures, and return homewards in company of thoſe who were now going to leave us; yet being much afraid and averſe to truſt myſelf among wild Indians any farther, I choſe rather to ſtay, though unwillingly, and venture on that long and dangerous voyage. Beſides the danger of which Indians, I conſidered that the rains were now already up, and it would be hard paſſing ſo many gullies, which of neceſſity would then be full of water, and conſequently create more than one ſingle peril to the undertakers of that journey; yet notwithſtanding, 63 men of our company were reſolved to encounter all theſe hardſhips, and to leave us. Hereupon they took their leave of us, and returned homewards, taking with them the Indian king's ſon, and the reſt of the Indians for their guides over land. They had, as was ſaid above, the ſhip wherein captain Cook ſailed, to carry them: and out of our proviſion as much as would ſerve for treble their number.

On the laſt day of May they left us employed in taking in water and cutting down wood, at the iſland of Cayboa before-mentioned, where this mutiny happened. Here we caught very good tortoiſe, and red deer: we killed alſo alligators of a very large ſize, ſome of them being above twenty feet in length. But we could not find but that they were very fearful of a man, and would fly from us very haſtily when we hunted them. This iſland lieth South-ſouth-eaſt from the mouth of the river above-mentioned. On the South-eaſt ſide of the iſland is a ſhoal or ſpit of ſand, which ſtretched itſelf the ſpace of quarter of a league into the ſea. Here therefore juſt within this ſhoal, we anchored in the depth of fourteen fathom water. The iſland on this ſide thereof maketh two great bays, in the firſt of which we watered, at a certain pond not diſtant above the caſt of a ſtone up from the bay. In this pond as I

was

Digitized by Google

was waſhing myſelf, and ſtanding under a Manzanilla tree, a ſmall ſhower of rain happened to fall on the tree, and from thence dropped on my ſkin: theſe drops cauſed me to break out all over my body into red ſpots, of which I was not well for the ſpace of a week after. Here I eat very large oyſters, the biggeſt that ever I eat in my life; inſomuch, that I was forced to cut them into four pieces, each quarter of them being a good mouthful.

Three days after the departure of the mutineers, captain Sharp ordered us to burn the ſhip that I had hitherto ſailed in, only out of deſign to make uſe of the iron-work belonging to the ſaid veſſel. Withal we put all the flour that was her lading into the laſt prize taken in the river of Puebla Nueba; and captain Cook, as was ſaid before, was ordered to command her; but the men belonging to his company would not ſail any longer under his command. Hereupon he quitted his veſſel, and came on board our admiral, the great ſhip above-mentioned, called La Trinidad, determining to rule over ſuch unruly company no longer. In his place was put John Cox, an inhabitant of New England, who forced kindred, as was thought, on captain Sharp, out of old acquaintance, in this conjuncture of time, only to advance himſelf: thus he was made, as it were, vice-admiral to captain Sharp. The next day three of our priſoners, viz. an Indian, who was captain of a ſhip, and two mulattos, ran away from us, and made their eſcape.

After this it was thought convenient to ſend captain Peralta priſoner in the admiral, on board Mr. Cox's ſhip: this was done to the intent he might not hinder the endeavours of captain Juan, who was commander of the money-ſhip we took, mentioned at the iſland of Tavoga; for this man had promiſed to do great things for us, by piloting and conducting

Digitized by Google

ing us to ſeveral places of great riches; but more eſpecially to Guayaquil, where, he ſaid, we might lay down our ſilver, and lade our veſſel with gold. This deſign was undertaken by captain Sawkins, and had not the headſtrongneſs of his men brought him to the iſland of Cayboa, where he loſt his life, he had certainly effected it before now. That night we had ſuch thunder and lightnings, as I never heard before in all my life: our priſoners told us, that in theſe parts it very often cauſed great damages, both by ſea and land; and my opinion gave me to believe, that our main-maſt received ſome damage on this occaſion. The rainy ſeaſon being now entered, the wind for the moſt part was at N. W. though not without ſome calms.

CHAP. X.

They depart from the iſland of Cayboa to the iſle of Gorgona, where they careen their veſſels. Deſcription of this iſle. They reſolve to go and plunder Arica, leaving their deſign of Guayaquil.

HAVING got in all things neceſſary for ſailing, we were now in a readineſs to depart, on Sunday June 6th, 1680. That day we had ſome rain fell, which now was very frequent in all thoſe places. About five o'clock in the evening we ſet ſail for the iſland of Cayboa, with a ſmall breeze, the wind being at S. S. W. Our courſe was E. S. by E. and S. E. After ſailing two days, with little or no wind, on the third, about ſun riſing, we deſcried Quicara, which at that time bore N. W. by W. from us, at the diſtance of five leagues, or thereabouts.

Theſe are two ſeveral iſlands, whereof the leaſt is to the ſouthward of the other. The land is a low

Digitized by Google

low table land; they are above three leagues in length.

Thurſday, June 10th, we ſaw many tortoiſes floating upon the ſea; hereupon we hoiſted out our boat, and came to one of them, who offered not to ſtir until ſhe was ſtruck, and even then not to ſink to the bottom, but rather to ſwim away: the ſea hereabouts is very full of ſeveral ſorts of fiſh, as dolphins, bonites, albicores, mullets, and old wives, &c. which came ſwimming about our ſhip in whole ſhoals. The next day, which was Friday, our Spaniſh priſoners informed us, we muſt not expect any ſettled wind until we came within the latitude of three degrees: for all along the weſtern ſhore of theſe ſeas, there is little wind; which is the cauſe that thoſe ſhips that go from Acapulco to the iſlands called de las Philippinas, do coaſt along the ſhore of California, until they get into the height of forty-five degrees; yea, ſometimes of fifty degrees latitude. As the wind varied, ſo we tacked ſeveral times, thereby to make the beſt of our way that was poſſible to the ſouthward.

As our priſoners had informed us, ſo we found it by experience: for ſailing two days with ſmall wind, and much rain, June 17th, about five in the morning we deſcried land, which appeared all along to be very low, and likewiſe full of creeks and bays; our pilot not knowing what land it was, we called Mr. Cox on board us, who brought captain Peralta with him; this gentleman being aſked, preſently told us, the land we ſaw was the land of Barbacoa, being almoſt a wild country all over: withal, he informed us, that to the leeward of us, at the diſtance of ten leagues, or thereabouts, did lie an iſland called by the name of Gorgona; the which iſland, he ſaid, the Spaniards did ſhun, and very ſeldom came near it, by reaſon of the inceſſant and continual

Digitized by Google

tinual rains there falling, ſcarce one day in the year being dry at that place. Captain Sharp having heard this information of captain Peralta, judged the ſaid iſland might be the fitteſt place for our company to careen at; conſidering that if the Spaniards did not frequent it, we might in all probability lie there undeſcried, and our enemies the Spaniards, in the mean time, might think we were gone out of thoſe ſeas. At this time it was, that I ſeriouſly repented my ſtaying in the South-Seas, and that I did not return homewards in company of them that went before us: for I knew and could eaſily perceive that by theſe delays the Spaniards would gain time, and be able to ſend advice of our coming to every port all along the coaſt, ſo that we ſhould be prevented in all, or moſt of our attempts and deſigns whereſoever we came. But thoſe of our company, who had got money by the former prizes of this voyage, overſwayed the others who had loſt all their booty at gaming. Thus we bore away for the iſland aforeſaid of Gorgona.

On the main land over againſt this iſland of Gorgona, we were told by our priſoners, that up a great lake is an Indian town, where they have a large quantity of ſand grains of gold: moreover, that five days ſail up a river belonging to the ſaid lake dwell four Spaniſh ſuperintendants, who have each of them the charge of overſeeing fifty or ſixty Indians who are employed in gathering the gold which ſlippeth from the chief collectors, or finders thereof: theſe are at leaſt threeſcore and ten, or fourſcore Spaniards, with a great number of ſlaves belonging to them, who dwell higher up than theſe four ſuperintendants, at the diſtance of twenty-five or thirty days ſailing on the ſaid river. That once every year at a certain ſeaſon, there comes a veſſel from Lima, the capital city of Peru, to fetch the gold that is gathered

Digitized by Google

thered here; and withal, to bring theſe people ſuch neceſſaries as they want: by land it is full ſix weeks travel from thence to Lima. The main land to windward of this iſland is very low and full of rivers; all along the coaſt it rains extremely: the iſland is diſtant from the continent only four leagues.

Captain Sharp gave this iſland the name of Sharp's Iſle, by reaſon we careened at this place. We anchored on the South-ſide of it, at the mouth of a very fine river, which there diſgorgeth itſelf into the ſea: there belong to this iſland about thirty rivers and rivulets, all which fall from the rocks on the ſeveral ſides of the iſland: the whole circumference thereof is about three leagues and a half, being all high and mountainous land, excepting only on that ſide where we caſt anchor. Here therefore we moored our ſhip in the depth of eighteen or twenty fathom water, and began to unrig the veſſel: but we were four or five days ſpace before we could get our ſails dry, ſo as to be able to take them from the yards, there falling a ſhower of rain almoſt every hour, day and night: the main land to the eaſt of the iſland, and ſo ſtretching northwards, is extreme high and towering, and withal perpetually clouded, excepting only at the riſing of the ſun, when the tops of thoſe hills are clear. From the South-ſide of this iſland where we anchored, we could ſee the low land of the main, at leaſt a point thereof, which lieth neareſt to the iſland: the appearance it maketh, is, as if it were trees growing out of the water.

Friday, July 2d, as we were heaving down our ſhip, our mainmaſt happened to crack; hereupon our carpenters were obliged to cut out large fiſhes and fiſh it, as they term it.

The next day after the miſchance of our mainmaſt, we killed a ſnake fourteen inches thick, and eleven feet long. About the diſtance of a league from this iſland

Digitized by Google

iſland runs a ledge of rocks, over which the water continually breaks; the ledge being about two miles, or thereabouts, in length. Had we but anchored but half a mile more northerly, we had rid in much ſmoother water; for here the wind came in upon us in violent guſts. While we were there, from 13th, to July 3d, we had dry weather, which was eſteemed as a rarity by the Spaniards, our priſoners. Every day we ſaw whales and grampuſſes, who would often come and dive under our ſhip; we fired at them ſeveral times, but our bullets rebounded from their bodies. Our choice and beſt proviſions here were Indian conies, monkeys, ſnakes, oyſters, concks, periwinkles, with ſome other ſorts of good fiſh, and a few ſmall turtle. Here we alſo caught a ſloath, a beaſt well deſerving that name, given it by the Spaniards, by whom it is called Pereza, from the Latin word Pigritia.

At this iſland died Joſeph Gabriel, a Spaniard, born in Chili, who was to have been our pilot to Panama; he was the ſame man who had ſtolen and married the Indian king's daughter, as was mentioned above: he had all along been very true and faithful to us, in diſcovering ſeveral plots and conſpiracies of our priſoners, either to get away, or deſtroy us. His death was occaſioned by a calenture, or malignant fever, which killed him after three days ſickneſs, having lain two days ſenſeleſs. During the time of our ſtay at this iſland, we lengthened our top-ſail yards, and got up top-gallant maſts; we made two ſtay-ſails, and refitted our ſhip very well; but we wanted proviſions extremely, as having nothing conſiderable of any ſort, but flour and water. Being almoſt ready to depart, captain Sharp our commander gave us to underſtand, he had changed his reſolution, concerning the deſign of going to Guayaquil, for he thought it would be in vain to go thither, conſider-

ing

Digitized by Google

ing that in all this time we muſt of neceſſity have been deſcried: yet, notwithſtanding he himſelf before had perſuaded us to ſtay. Being very doubtful among ourſelves what courſe we ſhould take, a certain old man who had a long time ſailed among the Spaniards, told us he could carry us to a place called Arica, to which town, he ſaid, all the plate was brought down from Potoſi, Chuquiſaca, and ſeveral other places within land, where it was digged out of the mines; and that he doubted not but we might get there at leaſt two thouſand pound a man, by way of booty; for all the plate of the South-ſea lay there, as it were in ſtore, being depoſited at the ſaid place till ſuch time as the ſhips fetched it away. Being moved with theſe reaſons, and having deliberated thereupon, we reſolved in the end to go to the ſaid place. At this iſland of Gorgona aforementioned, we likewiſe took down our round-houſe coach, and all the high carved work belonging to the ſtern of the ſhip: for when we took her from the Spaniards before Panama, ſhe was as high as any third-rate ſhip in England.

CHAP. XI.

The Bucaniers depart from the iſle of Gorgona, with deſign to plunder Arica. They loſe one another by the way. They touch at the iſle of Plate or Drake's Iſle, where they meet again: deſcription of this iſle. Some memoirs of Sir Francis Drake. They ſail as far in a fortnight, as the Spaniards uſually do in three Months.

ON Sunday, July 25, in the afternoon, all things being now in a readineſs for our departure, we ſet ſail, and ſtood away from the iſland of Gorgona, or Sharp's Iſle, with a ſmall breeze which ſerved us

at

Digitized by Google

at N. W. but as the ſun went down, our breeze leſſened by degrees into a perfect calm; yet we could perceive that our ſhip began to ſail much better ſince the taking down her round-houſe, and and the other alterations which we made in her.

Next day about two o'clock in the morning, we had a land breeze to help us, which laſted for the ſpace of ſix hours; and again in the evening we had another. This day the Spaniards, our priſoners, told us, in common diſcourſe, that in moſt parts of this low-land coaſt they find threeſcore fathom water. The third night, about ten o'clock, captain Sharp ordered me to ſpeak to captain Cox, to go about and ſtand off from the ſhore, for he feared he would come too near it: but he replied, he knew well, that he might ſtand in till two o'clock. The next morning early, being cloudy and quite calm, we ſaw him not, and notwithſtanding at eight o'clock it cleared up, neither then could we get ſight of him; from hence we concluded, and ſo it proved, that we had loſt him in the dark, through his obſtinacy in ſtanding in too long, and not coming about when we ſpoke to him. Thus our admiral's ſhip was left alone, and we had not the company of captain Cox again, till we arrived at the Iſle of Plate, where we had the good fortune to find him again, as ſhall be mentioned hereafter. The weather being clear this morning, we could ſee Gorgona, at the diſtance of at leaſt fifteen or ſixteen leagues to the eaſt-north-eaſt.

Thurſday, July 29, 1680, about four in the afternoon we came within ſight of the iſland del Gallo, which I gueſſed to be nigh twenty-eight leagues diſtant from that of Gorgona, the place of our departure, S. W.

The next day, being July 30, the wind blew very freſh and briſk, inſomuch that we were in ſome fear

fear for the heads of our low maſts, as being very ſenſible that they were but weak: about three or four in the afternoon we ſaw another iſland, ſix or ſeven leagues diſtant from Gallo, called Gorgonilla. All the main land hereabouts lieth very low and flat, and is in very many places overflown and drowned every high water. This day, and the night before it, we loſt by our computation three leagues of our way, which I believe happened by reaſon we ſtood out too far from the land, as having ſtood off all night long.

Auguſt the firſt, which was Sunday, we had a very freſh wind, at W. S. W. with ſeveral ſmall ſhowers of rain. Mean while we got pretty well to windward, by making ſmall trips to and fro: which we performed moſt commonly by ſtanding in three glaſſes, and as many out.

The next day, Auguſt the 2d, in the morning, we came up to the high land of San Iago, where beginneth the high land of this coaſt. We kept at the diſtance of ten leagues from it, making continual ſhort trips, as was mentioned before.

Wedneſday, Auguſt the 4th, we continued ſtill running in the wind's eye, as we had done for two days before. In the afternoon we diſcovered three hills at E. N. E. of our ſhip, which make the land of San Matteo. That evening alſo we ſaw the Cape of San Franciſco.

Thurſday, Auguſt the 5th, we being then about the Cape, it looked very like Beachy-head in England: it is full of white cliffs on all ſides. The land turneth off here to the eaſtward of the ſouth, and maketh a large and deep bay, the circumference whereof is full of pleaſant hills. In the bite of the bay are two high and rocky iſlands, which repreſent exactly two ſhips with their ſails full. We were now come out of the rainy countries into a pleaſant

Digitized by Google

pleaſant and fair region, where we had for the moſt part a clear ſky, and dry weather; only now and then a ſmall miſt, which would ſoon vaniſh. Mean while a great dew uſed to fall every night, which ſupplied the defect of rain.

On Sunday, Auguſt the 8th, we came cloſe under a wild and mountainous country, and ſaw Cape Paſſao, at the diſtance of ten leagues, or thereabouts, to windward of us. Ever ſince we came on this ſide Mangrove Point, we obſerved a windward current did run along as we ſailed. Under ſhore and lower towards the pitch of the Cape, the land is full of white cliffs and groves.

The next day we had both a fair day, and a freſh wind to help us on our voyage. We obſerved that Cape Paſſao maketh three points, between which are two buoys. The leewardmoſt of the two is three leagues long, and the other four. Adjoining to the bay is a pleaſant valley. Our priſoners informed us, that northward of theſe Capes live certain Indians who ſell maize and other proviſions to any ſhips that happen to come in there. The Cape itſelf is a continued cliff, covered with ſeveral ſorts of ſhrubs and low buſhes. Under theſe cliffs lies a ſandy bay forty feet deep. The Spaniards ſay that the wind is always here between the S. S. W. and W. S. W.

Tueſday, Auguſt the 10th. This morning the ſky was ſo thick and hazy, that we could not ſee the high land, though it were juſt before us; but as ſoon as it cleared up, we ſtood in towards the land, till we came within a mile of the ſhore.

Auguſt the 11th. We found ourſelves N. N. W. from Monte de Chriſto, being a very high and round hill. From thence to windward is ſeen a very pleaſant country, with ſpots here and there of woody land; which cauſes the country all over to look

look like ſo many encloſures of ripe corn-fields. To leeward of the ſaid hill, the land is all high and hilly, with white cliffs at the ſea ſide. The coaſt runs S. W. till it reaches a point of land, within which is the port of Manta. This port is a ſettlement of the Spaniards and Indians together, where ſhips that want proviſions put in, and are furniſhed with ſeveral neceſſaries. About ſix or ſeven leagues to windward of this port is Cape St. Lawrence, butting out into the ſea, in form of the top of a church. As we ſailed we ſaw multitudes of grampuſſes every day, as alſo water ſnakes of divers colours. Both the Spaniards and Indians are very fearful of theſe ſnakes, as believing there is no cure for their bitings.

This day before night we came within ſight of Manta. Here we ſaw the houſes of the town belonging to the port, which were not above twenty or thirty Indian houſes, lying under the windward and the mount. We were not willing to be deſcried by the inhabitants of the place, and hereupon we ſtood off to ſea again.

On Thurſday, Auguſt the 12th, in the morning, we ſaw the iſland of Plate at S. W. at the diſtance of five leagues or thereabouts: it appeared to us to be a plain country. Having made this iſland, we reſolved to go thither and refit our rigging, and get ſome goats which there run wild up and down the country. For, as was ſaid before, at this time we had no other proviſion but flour and water. This day ſeveral great whales came up to us, and dived under our ſhip. One of theſe whales followed our ſhip from two in the afternoon till dark night.

The next morning very early, about ſix of the clock, we came under the aforeſaid iſle of Plate; and here unexpectedly, to our great joy, we found at anchor the ſhip of captain Cox, with his whole company

Digitized by Google

company (whom we had loſt at ſea for the ſpace of a whole fortnight before) who had arrived there four days before us, and were juſt ready to ſail thence. About ſeven we came to an anchor, and then the other veſſel ſent us a live tortoiſe and a goat to feaſt upon that day; telling us withal of great ſtore of tortoiſes to be found aſhore upon the bays, and of much fiſh to be caught hereabouts. The iſland is very ſteep on all ſides; inſomuch that there is no landing, but only at the N. E. ſide thereof; where is a gully, near which we anchored in twelve fathom water. Here, at the diſtance of a furlong, or little more from the ſhore, is a croſs ſtill ſtanding, erected at the firſt diſcovery of it by the Spaniards. No trees are to be found on the whole iſland, only low ſhrubs, on which the goats feed, which are here very numerous. The ſhore is bold and hard, neither is there any water to be found upon it, ſave only the S. W. ſide, where it cannot be come at, being ſo inviroined by the rocks, and too great a ſea hindering the approach by boats.

This iſland received its name from Sir Francis Drake, and his famous actions. For it is reported that he here made the dividend of that vaſt quantity of plate, which he took in the Armada of this ſea, diſtributing to each man of his company by whole bowls full. The Spaniards affirm to this day, that he took at that time twelveſcore tons of plate, and ſixteen bowls of coined money a man; his number being then forty-five men in all; inſomuch that they were forced to heave much of it overboard, becauſe his ſhip could not carry it all. Hence this iſland was called by the Spaniards the Iſle of Plate, from this great dividend, and by us Drake's-Iſle.

All along as we ſailed, we found the Spaniſh pilot to be very ignorant of the coaſts. But they plead in excuſe for their ignorance, that the merchants

Digitized by Google

chants either of Mexico, Lima, Panama, or other parts, who employ them, will not intruſt one penny-worth of goods on that man's veſſel that corks her, for fear ſhe ſhould miſcarry. Here our priſoners told us likewiſe, that in the time of Oliver Cromwell, or the Commonwealth of England, a certain ſhip was fitted out of Lima with ſeventy braſs guns, having on board her no leſs than thirty millions of dollars, or pieces of eight. All which vaſt ſum of money was given by the merchants of Lima, and ſent as a preſent to our gracious king (or rather his father) who now reigneth, to ſupply him in his exile and diſtreſs. But that this great and rich ſhip was loſt by keeping along the ſhore in the bay of Manta above-mentioned, or thereabouts. The truth whereof is much to be queſtioned.

At this iſland we took out of Mr. Cox's ſhip, the old Moor who pretended he would be our pilot to Arica. This was done leſt we ſhould have the misfortune of loſing the company of Cox's veſſel, as we had done before, our ſhip being the biggeſt in burden, and having the greateſt number of men. Captain Peralta oftentimes admired that we were gotten ſo far to the windward in ſo little ſpace of time; whereas they had been, he ſaid, many times three or four months in reaching to this diſtance from our departure: but their long and tedious voyages, he added, were occaſioned by their keeping at too great a diſtance from the ſhore. Moreover he told us, that had we gone to the iſlands of Galapagos, as we were once determined to do, we had met with many calms and currents, in which many ſhips have been loſt, and never heard of more. This iſland of Plate is about two leagues in length, and very full of deep and dangerous bays, as alſo ſuch as we call Gullies in theſe parts.

We

Digitized by Google

We caught at this iſland, and ſalted a good number of goats and tortoiſes. One man ſtanding here on a little bay, in one day turned ſeventeen tortoiſes; beſides which number, our Muſqueto ſtrikers brought us in ſeveral more. Captain Sharp our commander ſhewed himſelf very ingenious in ſtriking them, he performing it as well as the tortoiſe-ſtrikers themſelves. For theſe creatures have ſo little ſenſe of fear, that they offer not to ſink from the fiſhermen, but lie ſtill till they are ſtruck. But we found that the tortoiſes on this ſide were not ſo large nor ſo ſweet to the taſte, as thoſe on the north-ſide of the iſland. Of goats we have taken, killed, and ſalted above a hundred in a day, and that with eaſe. While we ſtayed here we made a ſquare main-top-ſail yard. We cut alſo ſix feet of our boltſprit, and three feet more of our head. Moſt of the time we remained here we had hazy weather; only now and then the ſun would happen to break out, and then ſhine ſo hot, that it burnt the ſkin off the necks of ſeveral of our men; as for me, my lips were burnt ſo that they were not well in a whole week after.

CHAP. XII.

Captain Sharp and his company depart from the iſland of Plate, in proſecution of their voyage towards Arica. They take two Spaniſh veſſels by the way, and get intelligence from the enemy. Eight of their company deſtroyed at the iſle of Gallo. Tediouſneſs of this voyage, and great hardſhip they endured.

HAving taken in proviſions and other neceſſaries we could get at the iſle of Plate, we ſet ſail from thence, Tueſday the 17th of Auguſt, 1680, in

in profecution of our voyage and deſigns above-mentioned, to take and plunder the vaſtly rich town of Arica. This day we ſailed ſo well, as we did likewiſe ſeveral days after, that we were forced to lie by ſeveral times, beſides preſſing our topſails, to keep our other ſhip company, leſt we ſhould loſe her again.

Next morning, about break of day, we found ourſelves at the diſtance of ſeven or eight leagues to the weſtward of the iſland, from whence we departed, ſtanding W. by S. with a S. by W. wind. We were ſeveral times this day forced to ſtay for the other veſſel belonging to our company.

The day following we continued likewiſe a weſt courſe all the day long. Hereabouts we obſerved very great riplings of the ſea.

Auguſt the 20th. We found ſtill that we gained very much of the ſmall ſhip, which did not a little both perplex and hinder us in our courſe.

The next day I finiſhed two quadrants; each of which were two feet and a half radius. Here we had in like manner, as hath been mentioned on other days of our ſailings, very many dolphins, and other ſorts of fiſh ſwimming about our ſhip.

On the morning following we ſaw again the iſland of Plate at N. E.

The ſame day, at the diſtance of ſix leagues, or thereabouts, from the ſaid iſland, we ſaw another iſland called Solango. This iſle lies cloſe in by the main land. This day likewiſe we found that our leſſer ſhip was ſtill a great hindrance to our ſailing, as being forced to lie by, and ſtay for her two or three hours every day. We found likewiſe, that the farther from ſhore we were, the leſs wind we had all along; and that under the ſhore we were always ſure of a freſh gale, though not ſo favourable as we could have wiſhed. Hitherto we had uſed to ſtand off

Digitized by Google

off forty leagues, and yet notwithſtanding, in the ſpace of ſix days, we had not got above ten leagues on our voyage from the place of our departure.

Auguſt the 23d. This day, at S. by W. and about ſix leagues diſtance from us, we deſcried a long and even hill; I took it to be an iſland, and conjectured it might be at leaſt eight leagues diſtant from the continent; but afterwards we found it was a point of land adjoining to the main, and is called Point St. Helen, being continued by a piece of land which lieth low, and in ſeveral places is almoſt drowned from the ſight, ſo that it cannot be ſeen two leagues diſtance. In this low land the Spaniards have convenience for making pitch, tar, ſalt, and ſome other things, for which purpoſe they have ſeveral houſes here, and a friar who ſerveth them as their chaplain. From Solango to this place are reckoned eleven leagues, or thereabouts. The land is hereabouts indifferent high, and is likewiſe full of bays. We had this day very little wind to help us in our voyage, except now and then a blaſt; Theſe ſometimes would prove pretty fair to us, and allow us for ſome little while a ſouth courſe; but our chiefeſt courſe was S. E. by S.

Here we found no great current of the ſea to move any way. At the iſle of Plata before deſcribed, the ſea ebbs and flows nigh thirteen feet perpendicular. About four leagues to leeward of this point St. Helen is a deep bay, having a key at the mouth of it, which takes up the better part of its wideneſs. In the deepeſt part of the bay on ſhore, we ſaw a great ſmoke, which was at a village belonging to the bay; to which place the people were removed from the point above-mentioned. Hereabouts it is all along a very bold ſhore. At three of the clock in the afternoon, we tacked about to clear ourſelves of the point. Being now

a little way without the point, we ſpied a ſail, which we conceived to be a bark; hereupon we hoiſted out our canoe, and ſent it in purſuit of her, which made directly for the ſhore. But the ſail proved to be nothing but a pair of bark-logs, which arriving on ſhore, the men ſpread their ſails on the ſand of the bay to dry. At the ſame time there came down upon the ſhore an Indian on horſeback, who hallowed to our canoe which had followed the logs. But our men fearing to diſcover who we were, in caſe they went too near the ſhore, left the deſign, and returned back to us. In thoſe parts the Indians have no canoes, nor any wood fit to make them of. Had we been deſcried by theſe poor people, they would in all probability have been very fearful of us: but they offered not to ſtir, which gave us to underſtand, they knew us not. We could perceive from the ſhip a great path leading to the hills. So that we believed this place to be a look-out, or watch place, for the ſecurity of Guayaquil. Between four and five we doubled the point, and then we deſcried the point Chonday, at the diſtance of ſix leagues S. S. E. from this point.

Tueſday, Auguſt 24th, at noon we took the other ſhip wherein captain Cox ſailed into a tow, ſhe being every day a greater hindrance than another to our voyage. Thus about three in the afternoon we loſt ſight of land, in ſtanding over for Cape Blanco: here we found a ſtrong current move to the S. W. the wind was at S. W. by S. our courſe being S. by E. At the upper end of this gulf, which is framed by the two capes above-mentioned, ſtands the city of Guayaquil, being a very rich place, and the embarcadero, or ſea-port to the great city of Quito. To this place likewiſe many of the merchants of Lima uſually ſend the money they deſign for Old Spain in barks, and by that means

Digitized by Google

means ſave the cuſtom that otherwiſe they ſhould pay to the king, by carrying it on board the fleet. Hither comes much gold from Quito; and very good, and ſtrong broad-cloth, together with images for the uſe of churches, and ſeveral other things of conſiderable value: but more eſpecially cocoa-nut, whereof chocolate is made, which is ſuppoſed here to be the beſt in the whole univerſe. The town of Guayaquil conſiſts of about one hundred and fifty great houſes, and twice as many little ones: this was the town to which captain Sawkins intended to make his voyage, as was mentioned above. When ſhips of greater burthen come into this gulf, they anchor without Lapina, and then put their lading into leſſer veſſels to carry it to town. Towards the evening of this day a ſmall breeze ſprung up, varying from point to point: after which, about nine o'clock at night we tacked about, and ſtood off at ſea, W. by N.

As ſoon as we had tacked, we happened to ſpy a ſail N. N. E. from us: hereupon we inſtantly caſt off our veſſel which we had in tow, and ſtood round about after them: we came very near the veſſel before they ſaw us, by reaſon of the darkneſs of the night: as ſoon as they eſpyed us they immediately clapt on a wind, and ſailed very well before us; inſomuch, that it was a pretty while before we could come up with them, and within call: we haled them in Spaniſh, by means of an Indian priſoner, and commanded them to lower their top-ſails. They anſwered, they would ſoon make us to lower our own. Hereupon we fired ſeveral guns at them, and they as thick at us again with their harquebuſſes: thus they fought for the ſpace of half an hour, or more, and would have done it longer, had we not killed the man at the helm; after whom, none of the reſt dared to be ſo hardy

as to take his place. With another of our ſhot we cut in pieces and diſabled their main-top hallards; hereupon they cried out for quarter, which we gave them, and entered their ſhip. Being poſſeſſed of the veſſel, we found in her five-and-thirty men, of which number twenty-four were natives of Old Spain: they had one-and-thirty fire arms on board the ſhip for their defence. They had not fought us, as they declared afterwards, but only out of a bravado, having promiſed on ſhore ſo to do, in caſe they met us at ſea. The captain of this veſſel was a perſon of quality, and his brother, ſince the death of don Jacinto de Barahona, killed in the engagement before Panama, was now made admiral of the ſea armada: with him we took alſo, in this bark, five or ſix other perſons of quality. They did us, in this fight, though ſhort, very great damage in our rigging, by cutting it in pieces. Beſides which, they wounded two of our men: and a third man was wounded by the negligence of one of our own men, occaſioned by a piſtol, which went off unadviſedly. About eleven o'clock this night we ſtood off to the weſt.

The next morning, about break of day, we hoiſted out our canoe, and went aboard the bark which we had taken the night before: we put on board our own ſhip more of the priſoners taken in the ſame veſſel, and began to examine them, to get what intelligence we could from them. The captain of the veſſel, who was a very civil and meek gentleman, ſatisfied our deſires in this point very exactly, ſaying, 'Gentlemen, I am now your priſoner of war by the over-ruling providence of fortune; and moreover, am very well ſatisfied that no money whatſoever can procure my ranſom, at leaſt for the preſent, at your hands: hence I am perſuaded, it is not my intereſt to tell you a lye;

lye; which if I do, I desire you to punish me as severely as you shall think fit. We heard of your taking and destroying our armadilla, and other ships of Panama, about six weeks after that engagement, by two several barks which arrived here from thence; but they could not inform us whether you designed to come any farther to the southward; but rather, desired we would send them speedily all the help by sea that we could: hereupon, we sent the noise and rumour of your being in these seas to Lima, desiring they would expedite what succours they could send to join with ours: we had at that time in our harbour two or three great ships, but all of them very unfit to sail; for this reason, at Lima, the vice-roy of Peru pressed three great merchant ships, into the biggest of which he put fourteen brass guns; into the second ten; and in the other six: unto these he added two barks, and put seven hundred and fifty soldiers on board them all: of this number of men, they landed eight-score at Point St. Helen; all the rest being carried down to Panama, with design to fight you there: besides these forces, two other men of war, bigger than the afore-mentioned, are still lying at Lima, and fitting out there with all speed to follow and pursue you: one of these men of war is equipped with thirty-six brass guns, and the other with thirty. These ships, besides their complement of seamen, have four hundred soldiers added to them by the vice-roy. Another man of war belonging to this number, and lesser than the afore-mentioned, is called the Patache; this ship carries twenty-four guns, and was sent to Arica to fetch the king's plate from thence; but the vice-roy having received intelligence of your exploits at Panama, sent

Digitized by Google

'for this ſhip back from thence in ſuch haſte, that 'they came away and left the money behind them: 'hence the Patache now lies at the port of Callao, 'ready to ſail on the firſt occaſion, or news of your 'arrival thereabouts; they having for this purpoſe 'ſent to all parts very ſtrict orders to keep a good 'look-out on all ſides, and all places along the 'coaſt: ſince this, from Manta they ſent us word, 'that they had ſeen two ſhips at ſea paſs by that 'place: and from the Goat-Key alſo we heard, that 'the Indians had ſeen you, and that they were aſ-'ſured, that one of your veſſels was the ſhip called 'La Trinidad, which you had taken before Panama, 'as being a ſhip very well known in theſe ſeas: 'from hence we concluded that your deſign was to 'ply and make your voyage thereabouts: now this 'bark wherein you took us priſoners, being bound 'for Panama, the governor of Guayaquil ſent us out 'before her departure, if poſſible, to diſcover you; 'which if we did, we were to run the bark on ſhore 'and get away, or elſe to fight you with theſe ſol-'diers and fire arms that you ſee. As ſoon as we 'heard of your being in theſe ſeas, we built two 'forts, the one of ſix guns, and the other of four, 'for the defence of the town. At the laſt muſter 'taken in the town of Guayaquil, we had there 'eight hundred and fifty men, of all colours; but 'when we came out, we left only two hundred 'and fifty men that were actually under arms.'

Thus ended the relation of that worthy gentleman. About noon that day we unrigged the bark which we had taken, and then ſunk her. Then we ſtood S. S. E. and afterwards S. by W. and S. S. W. That evening we ſaw Point St. Helen at the north half eaſt, at the diſtance of nine leagues or thereabouts.

The

Digitized by Google

The next day, being Auguſt 26th, in the morning we ſtood ſouth. The next day we reckoned up all our pillage, and found it amounted to 3276 pieces of eight, which was accordingly divided into ſhares amongſt us. We alſo puniſhed a friar, who was chaplain to the bark afore-mentioned, and ſhot him upon the deck, caſting him over-board before he was dead: ſuch cruelties, though I abhorred very much in my heart, yet here was I forced to hold my tongue and not contradict them, as having no authority to overſway them. About ten o'clock this morning we ſaw land again, and the pilot ſaid we were ſixteen leagues to leeward of Cabo Blanco: Hereupon we ſtood off and in, cloſe under the ſhore, which appeared to be all barren land.

The morning following we had very little wind; ſo that we advanced but ſlowly all that day: to windward of us we could perceive the continent to be all high land, being whitiſh clay, full of white cliffs. This morning, in common diſcourſe, our priſoners acknowledged they had deſtroyed one of our little barks, which we loſt in our way to the iſland of Cayboa. They ſtood away, as it appeared by their information, for the Goat-Key, thinking to find us there, as having heard captain Sawkins ſay, that he would go thither. On their way they happened to fall in with the iſland of Gallo, and underſtanding its weakneſs by their Indian pilot, they ventured on ſhore, and took the place, carrying away three white women in their company. But after a ſmall time of cruiſing, they returned again to the afore-mentioned iſland, where they ſtayed the ſpace of two or three days; after which they went to ſea again. Within three or four days they came to a little key four leagues diſtant from this iſle. But while they had been out and in thus ſeveral times, one of their priſoners made his eſcape

Digitized by Google

to the main, and brought off from thence fifty men with fire-arms. Theſe placing themſelves in ambuſcade, at the firſt volley of their ſhot killed ſix of the ſeven men that belonged to the bark. The other man that was left took quarter of the enemy; and he it was that diſcovered our deſign upon the town of Guayaquil. By an obſervation which was made this day, we found ourſelves to be in the latitude of 3 D. 50 S. At this time our priſoners told us, there was an embargo laid on all the Spaniſh ſhips, commanding them not to ſtir out of the ports, for fear of falling into our hands.

Saturday, Auguſt the 28th. This morning we took out all the water, and moſt part of the flour that was in captain Cox's veſſel: having done this, we made a hole in the veſſel, and left her to ſink, with a ſmall old canoe at her ſtern. To leeward of Manta, a league from ſhore, in eighteen fathom water, there runs a great current outwards. About eleven in the forenoon we weighed anchor, with wind at W. N. W. turning it out. Our number was now 140 men and boys, and 55 priſoners, all now in one and the ſame bottom. This day we got ſix or ſeven leagues in the wind's eye.

All the day following we had a very ſtrong S. S. W. wind, inſomuch that we were forced to ſail with two riffs in our main-top-ſail, and one alſo in our fore-top-ſail. Here captain Peralta told us, that the firſt place which the Spaniards ſettled in theſe parts, after Panama, was Tumbes, now to leeward of us; that there a prieſt went aſhore with a croſs in his hand, while ten thouſand Indians gazed at him; being landed, there came two lions out of the woods, and after them two tygers, on the backs of whom the prieſt having gently laid the croſs, they fell down and worſhipped it; which gave ſuch a teſtimony to the truth of the chriſtian religion, that the Indians

Digitized by Google

Indians soon embraced the same. About four in the evening we came abreast the cape (Cape-Blanco) which is the highest part of all. The land thereabouts appeareth to be barren and rocky.

Were it not for a windward current which runs under the shore hereabouts, it were totally impossible for any ships to get about this cape, there being such a great current to the leeward in the offing. In the last bark which we took, of which we spoke in this chapter, we made prisoner one Nicholas Moreno, a Spaniard by birth, and who was esteemed to be a very good pilot of the South-Sea. He was continually praising the sailing of our ship, which he said was especially occasioned by the alterations we made in her. As we went along, we observed many bays between this cape and point Parina, of which we shall make mention hereafter.

In the night the wind came about to S. S. E. and we had a very stiff gale; so that by break of day we found ourselves about five leagues to windward of the cape afore-mentioned.

The next day likewise, being the last of August, the wind still continued S. S. E. as it had done the whole day before. This day we thought it convenient to stand farther out to sea, for fear of being descried at Paita, which now was not very far distant from us. The morning proved hazy. But about eleven we spied a sail, which stood then just as we did, E. by S. Coming nearer by degrees, we found her to be nothing but a pair of bark-logs under sail. Our pilot advised us not to meddle with, or take any notice of them, for it was very doubtful whether we should be able to come up with them or not; and then by giving chace to them, we should easily be descried and known to be English pirates, as they called us. These bark-logs sail excellently well for the most part, and some

of them are ſo big as to carry two hundred and fifty pecks of meal from the vallies to Panama, without wetting any of it. This day, by an obſervation made, we found ourſelves in 4 degrees 55 minutes latitude ſouth: we ſaw point Parina at N. E. by E. and at the diſtance of ſix leagues, or thereabouts.

At the ſame time La Silla de Paita bore from us S. E. by E. being diſtant only ſeven or eight leagues.

The town of Paita is ſituated in a deep bay about two leagues to the leeward of this hill. It ſerves for an embarcadero, or port town, to another great place which is diſtant from thence about thirteen leagues higher in the country, and is called Piura, ſeated in a very barren country.

On Wedneſday the firſt of September our courſe was S. by W. The midnight before there ſprung up a land wind.

That night as we ſailed we ſaw ſomething that appeared to us like a light; and the next morning we ſpied a ſail, from whence we judged the light had come. The veſſel was ſix leagues from us in the wind's eye, and thereupon we gave her chace. She ſtood to windward as we did. This day we had an obſervation, which gave us latitude 5 degrees 30 ſeconds. At night we were about four leagues to leeward of her, but ſo great a miſt fell, that we ſuddenly loſt ſight of her. At this time the weather was as cold with us as in England in November. Every time we went about with our ſhip, the other did the like. Our pilot told us, that this ſhip ſet forth from Guayaquil eleven days before they were taken; and that ſhe was laden with rigging, woollen, and cotton cloth, and other manufactures made at Quito. Moreover, that he heard that they had ſpent a maſt, and had put into Paita to refit it.

The

The night following they ſhewed us ſeveral lights through their negligence, which they ought not to have done, for by that means we ſteered directly after them: the next morning ſhe was above three leagues in the wind's eye from us. Had they ſuſpected us, it could not be doubted, but they would have made towards the land; but they ſeemed not to fly nor ſtir for our chace. The land here all along is level, and not very high. The weather was hazy, ſo that about eleven that morning we loſt ſight of her. At this time we had been a whole week, at an allowance of only two draughts of water a day, ſo ſcarce were proviſions with us. That afternoon we ſaw the veſſel again, and at night we were not full two leagues from her, and not above half a league to the leeward. We made ſhort trips all that night.

On Saturday, September the fourth, about break of day, we ſaw the ſhip again at the diſtance of a league, or thereabouts, and not above a mile to windward of us. They ſtood out as ſoon as they eſpied us, and we ſtood directly after them. Having purſued them for ſeveral hours, about four in the afternoon we came up within half-ſhot of our ſmall arms to windward of them. Hereupon they perceiving who we were, preſently lowered all their ſails at once, and we caſt dice among ourſelves for the firſt entrance. The lot fell to larboard; ſo that twenty men belonging to that watch entered her. In the veſſel were found fifty packs of cocoa-nut, ſuch as chocolate is made of, many packs of raw-ſilk, Indian cloth, and thread-ſtockings; theſe things being the principal part of her cargo. We ſtood out S.W. by S. all the night following.

Next day we put on board our ſhip the chief part of her lading. In her hold we found ſome rigging, as Nicholas Moreno, our pilot, taken in the former veſſel

veſſel of Guayaquil, told us; but the greateſt part of it was full of timber. We took out of her alſo ſome oſenbriggs, of which we made top-gallant ſails, as ſhall be ſaid hereafter. It was now nineteen days, as they told us, ſince they had ſet ſail from Guayaquil; and then they had only heard there of our exploits before Panama, but did not ſo much as think of our coming ſo far to the ſouthward, which did not give them the leaſt ſuſpicion of us, though they had ſeen us for the ſpace of two or three days before at ſea, and always ſteering after them; otherwiſe they had made for the land, and endeavoured to eſcape our hands.

Next morning likewiſe we continued to take in the remaining part of what goods we deſired out of our prize. When we had done, we ſent moſt of our priſoners on board the ſaid veſſel, and left only their fore-maſt ſtanding, all the reſt being cut down by the board. We gave them a fore-ſail to ſail withal, all their own water, and ſome of our flour to ſerve them for proviſion; and thus we turned them away, as not caring to be troubled or encumbered with their company. Notwithſtanding we detained ſtill ſeveral of the chief of our priſoners. Such were don Thomas de Argandona, who was commander of the veſſel taken before Guayaquil; don Chriſtoval, and don Baltazar, both gentlemen of quality taken with him; captain Peralta, captain Juan Moreno the pilot, and twelve ſlaves, of whom we intended to make good uſe, to do the drugery of our ſhip. At this time I reckoned we were about the diſtance of thirty-five leagues, or thereabouts, from land. By an obſervation made this day, we found latitude 7 degrees 1 ſecond. Our plunder being over, and our prize turned away, we ſold both cheſts, boxes, and ſeveral other things at the maſt by the voice of a cryer.

The

Digitized by Google

The day following we ſtood S. S. W. and S. W. by S. all day long. This day one of our company died, named Robert Montgomery, being the ſame man that was ſhot by the negligence of one or two of our men with a piſtol through the leg, at the taking of the veſſel before Guayaquil, as was mentioned above. We had an obſervation alſo this day, by which we now found latitude 7 degrees 26 ſeconds. On the ſame day likewiſe we made a dividend, and ſhared all the booty taken in the laſt prize. This being done, we hoiſted into our ſhip the launch which we had taken in her, as being uſeful to us. For ſeveral days paſt, it was obſerved that we had every morning a dark cloud in the ſky; which in the North-ſea would certainly foretel ſtorm, but here it always blew over.

Wedneſday, September the eighth, in the morning, we threw our dead man above-mentioned into the ſea, and gave him three French vollies for his funeral ceremony. The night before we ſaw a light belonging to ſome veſſel at ſea. But we ſtood away from it, as not deſiring to ſee any more ſails to hinder us in our voyage towards Arica, whither now we were deſigned. This light was undoubtedly from ſome ſhip to leeward of us; but next morning we ſaw it not. Here I judged we had made a S. W. by S. way from Paita, and by an obſervation found 8 degrees S.

CHAP.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XIII.

A continuation of their long and tedious voyage to Arica, with a deſcription of the ſailings thereunto. Great hardſhip for want of water and other proviſion. They are deſcried at Arica, and dared not land, the country being all in arms before them. They retire from thence, and go to Puerto de Hilo, cloſe by Arica. Here they land, take the town with little or no loſs on their ſide: refreſh themſelves with proviſions; but in the end are cheated by the Spaniards, and forced ſhamefully to retreat from thence.

SEptember the ninth, we continued ſtill to make a S. W. by S. way as we had done the day before. By a clear and exact obſervation taken the ſame day we found now latitude 8 degrees 12 ſeconds. All the twenty-four hours laſt paſt afforded us but little on our voyage, and we were forced to tack about four or five hours.

Next day, by another obſervation taken, we found then latitude 9 degrees. Now the weather was much warmer than before; and with this warmth we had ſmall and miſty rains that frequently fell. That evening a ſtrong breeze came up at South-eaſt by Eaſt.

The night following likewiſe there fell a very great dew, and a freſh wind continued to blow. At this time we were all hard at work to make ſmall ſails of the ozenbrigs we had taken in the laſt prize, as being much more convenient for its lightneſs. The next morning, being Saturday September the eleventh, we lay by to mend our rigging. Theſe laſt twenty-four hours we had made a South-weſt by Weſt way. And now we had an obſervation that gave us latitude

10

Digitized by Google

10 degrees 9 ſeconds. I ſuppoſed this day we were Weſt from Coſmey about the diſtance of eighty-nine leagues and a half.

September the twelfth. This day we reckoned a S. S. W. way, and that we had made thirty-four leagues and three quarters or thereabouts; alſo that all our weſting from Paita was eighty-four leagues. We ſuppoſed ourſelves now to be in latitude 11 degrees 40 ſeconds; but the weather being hazy, no obſervation could be made.

September the thirteenth. Yeſterday in the afternoon we had a great eclipſe of the ſun, which laſted from one of the clock till three after dinner. From this eclipſe I then took the true judgment of our longitude from the Canary Iſlands, and found myſelf to be 285 degrees 35 in latitude 11 degrees 45 ſeconds. The wind was now ſo freſh, that we took in our top-ſails, making a great way under our courſes and ſprit-ſail.

September the fourteenth. We had a cloudy morning, which continued ſo all the firſt part thereof, about eight it cleared up, and then we ſet our fore-top-ſail; and, about noon, our main-top-ſail likewiſe. This was obſervable, that all this great wind precedent did not make any thing of a great ſea. We reckoned this day that we had run by a S. W. by W. way twenty-ſix leagues, and two thirds.

The next day we had cloſe weather, as we had the morning before. Our reckoning was twenty-four leagues and two thirds, by a S. W. by W. way. But by obſervation made, I found myſelf to be 23 degrees South of my reckoning, as being in the latitude of 15 degrees 17 ſeconds.

On the ſixteenth we had but ſmall and variable winds: for the twenty-four hours laſt paſt, we reckoned twenty-four leagues and two thirds, by a S. W. by S. way. By obſervation we had latitude 16 degrees

Digitized by Google

41 ſeconds. That evening we had a gale at E. S. E. which forced us to hand our top-ſails.

The ſeventeenth likewiſe we had many guſts of wind at ſeveral times, forcing us to hand our top-ſails often. But in the forenoon we ſet them with a freſh gale at E. S. E. My reckoning this day was thirty-one leagues by a S. S. W. way. All day long we ſtood by our top-ſails.

The eighteenth. We made a S. by W. way. We reckoned ourſelves to be in latitude 19 degrees 32 ſeconds S. The weather was hazy, and the wind began to ceaſe by degrees.

The next day being the nineteenth, we had a very ſmall wind. I reckoned thirteen leagues and a half, by a S. W. by S. way: and our whole weſting from Paita to be 164 leagues in latitude 20 degrees 6 ſouth. All the afternoon we had a calm with drizling rain.

Monday, September the twentieth. Laſt night we ſaw the Magellan clouds ſo famous among mariners in the South-ſeas. The leaſt of theſe clouds was about the bigneſs of a man's hat. After this ſight the morning was very clear. We had run at noon at E. S. E. thirteen leagues and a half: and by an obſervation then made, we found latitude 20 degrees 15 ſeconds South. This day the wind began to freſhen at W. by S. yet we had a very ſmooth ſea.

Next morning the wind came about to S. W. yet ſlackened by degrees. At four this morning it came to S. by E. and at ten the ſame day to S. E. by S. We had this day a clear obſervation, and by it latitude 20 degrees 25 ſeconds. We ſtood now E. by N. with the wind at S. E.

September the twenty-ſecond. This morning the wind was at E. S. E. By a clear obſervation we found latitude 19 degrees 30 S. Likewiſe on a N. E.

Digitized by Google

N. E. by E. way,—and two leagues and two thirds.

September the twenty-third. We had a freſh wind and a high ſea. This morning early, the wind was at E. and about ten at E. N. E. From a clear obſervation we found our latitude 20 degrees 25 ſeconds. The way we made was S. by W. That morning we happened to ſplit our ſprit-ſail.

Next morning the wind was variable and inconſtant, and the weather but hazy. We reckoned a S. by E. way. This day we bent a new main-top-ſail, the old one ſerving for a fore-top-ſail. In the afternoon we had but little wind, whereupon we lowered our main-top-ſails, being a very ſmooth ſea.

The following day being likewiſe calm and warm, we ſet up our ſhrouds both fore and aft. An obſervation taken this day afforded us latitude 21 degrees 57 S. That evening we bent a ſprit-ſail.

September the twenty-ſixth. An obſervation gave us latitude 22 degrees 57 S. At noon we had a breeze at N. N. E. our courſe being E. S. E. In the afternoon we ſet up a larboard top-ſail ſtudden-ſail, in the evening the wind came about at north pretty freſh.

Next day we had a ſmooth ſea, and took in four ſtudden-ſails. For the day before, in the afternoon, we had put out, beſides that abovementioned, another ſtudden-ſail, and two main ſtudden-ſails more. This day we had by obſervation 22 degrees 45 ſeconds, having made by an E. S. E. way, thirty-five leagues and a half. Our whole meridian difference was ſixty-eight leagues and a half.

September the twenty-eighth. All the forenoon we had very little wind, and yet withal a great ſouthern

ern ſea. By obſervation we had latitude 22 degrees 40 ſeconds.

September the twenty-ninth. All the night paſt we had much wind, with three or four ſmart ſhowers of rain. This was the firſt that we could call rain, ever ſince we left Cape Franciſco above-mentioned. This day our allowance was ſhortened, and reduced to three pints and a half of water for a day, and one cake of boiled bread to each man for a day. An obſervation this day gave us latitude 21 degrees 59 S. by a N. E. by E. way.

September the thirtieth. We had a cloudy day, and the wind very variable, the morning being freſh. Our way was N. E. half N. wherein we made eighteen leagues.

October the firſt. All the night paſt, and this day we had a cloudy ſky, and not much wind. We made a N. E. by E. way, and by it ſeventeen leagues and two miles. This day we began at two pints and a half of water for a day.

The ſecond, we made an E. N. E. way, and by it twenty-ſix leagues or thereabouts. Our obſervation this day gave us latitude 20 degrees 29 ſeconds. I reckoned now that we were ten leagues and a half to eaſt of our meridian, the port of Paita; ſo that henceforward our departure was eaſtward. The wind was this day at S. E. by S.

The third, we had both a cloudy morning, a high ſea, and drizling weather. An obſervation which we had this day, gave us latitude 19 degrees 45 ſeconds. In the afternoon the wind blew ſo freſh, that we were forced to hand our top-ſails and ſprit-ſail.

The fourth likewiſe we had a high ſea, and cold wind. At break of day we ſet our top-ſails: an obſervation made afforded us latitude 19 degrees

45

Digitized by Google

45 ſeconds. Here we ſuppoſed ourſelves fifty-nine leagues D. M.

The fifth we had ſtill a great ſea, and ſharp and cold wind, forcing us to our low ſails. By a N. E. by E. way, we reckoned this day twenty-ſix leagues and a half.

But on the ſixth we had great guſts of wind, inſomuch that this morning our ring-bolts gave way which held our main ſtay, and had like to have brought our main-maſt by the board. Hereupon we ran three or four glaſſes weſt before the wind. By an obſervation we found latitude 19 degrees 4 ſeconds.

The ſeventh of October the wind was ſomething fallen. We had both a cloudy day and variable winds.

The eighth of the ſaid month we had again a ſmooth ſea, and ſmall whiffling winds. This morning we ſaw a huge ſhoal of fiſh, two or three water ſnakes, and ſeveral ſeals.

Next day we had likewiſe a very ſmooth ſea, and a cloudy day. Our courſe was eaſt.

October the tenth we had alſo a cloudy day, with ſmall and variable winds, and, as a conſequent thereof, a ſmoth ſea. Our way was S. by E. This day we ſpied floating upon the ſea ſeveral tufts of ſea-graſs, which gave us good hopes that we were not far from ſhore. In the afternoon we had a S. E. by E. wind that ſprang up: the night was very cold and cloudy.

The eleventh we had a freſh wind at S. E. and E. S. E. together with a cloudy day; ſuch as we had experimented for ſeveral days before: we reckoned this day thirty-two leagues by a N. E. by E. way. Our pilot told us, the ſky is always hazy near the ſhore on theſe coaſts.

October

October the twelfth. We had a clear day, and a North-east way.

The thirteenth. We had but little wind: this day we saw a whale, which we took for an infallible token that we were not far distant from land, which now we hoped to see in a few days. We made an E. S. E. way, and by it we reckoned nineteen leagues, all the evening was very calm.

Thursday, October the fourteenth. We had both a calm and close day till afternoon, then the weather became very hot and clear. This day we saw several land-fowls, being but a small bird; concerning which our pilot said, that they use to appear about one or two days sail from the land. Our reckoning was eleven leagues by an E. S. E. way. In the evening we thought we had seen land, but it proved to be nothing but a foggy bank.

October the fifteenth. Both the night past, and this day, was very clear: we made an observation this day, which gave us latitude 18 degrees South.

The sixteenth. Last night and this day were contrary to the former, both cloudy. Our way was N. E. by E. whereof we reckoned thirteen leagues.

Sunday, October the seventeenth. The wind blew very fresh, our course being E. N. E. About five that morning we saw land; but the weather was so hazy, that at first we could scarce perceive whether it was land or not. It was distant from us about eight leagues, and appeared as a high and round hill, being in form like a sugar-loaf. We saw land afterwards all along to the S. E. by E. from it: in the evening, we being then within five leagues of the shore, the land appeared very high and steep.

October

Digitized by Google

October the eighteenth. All the night laſt paſt we ſtood off to ſea with a freſh wind. This morning we could juſt ſee land at N. N. E. We reckoned a S. E. by E. way; and by obſervation we found latitude 17 degrees 17 S.

Tueſday, October the nineteenth. We had very cloudy weather, finding what our pilot had told us to be very true, concerning the hazineſs of this ſhore. We ſaw all along as we went very high land, covered with clouds, inſomuch that we could not ſee its top.

Wedneſday, October the twentieth. We had likewiſe cloudy weather, and for the moſt part calm, which continued ſo the day next.

Friday, October twenty-ſecond. This morning we ſaw land before us. Our pilot being aſked what land that was, anſwered, It was the point of Hilo.

There is every morning and evening a brightneſs over the point which laſts for two or three hours, being cauſed by the reflection of the ſun on the barren land, as is ſuppoſed. This day we had but little wind, and the great want of water, we were now under, occaſioned much diſturbance among our men. As for my part, I muſt acknowledge, I could not ſleep all night long through the greatneſs of my drought. We could willingly have landed here to ſeek for water; but the fear of being diſcovered, and making ourſelves known, hindered us from ſo doing. Thus we unanimouſly reſolved to endure our thirſt a little longer. Hereabouts is a ſmall current that runs under the ſhore. This morning we had but little wind at ſouth, our courſe being E. S. E.

Our wind continued to blow not above ſix hours each day. We reckoned the difference of our meridian to be this day one hundred and eighty leagues. We were

were now hard put to it for want of water, having but half a pint a day to our allowance.

October the twenty-third. This day we were forced to ſpare one meaſure of water, thereby to make it hold out the longer; ſo ſcarce it became with us.

About nine a clock at night we had a land wind, and with it we ſtood S. E. by S. But all the night after we had but little wind.

October the twenty-fourth. All the night paſt we had very cloudy and dark weather, with mizling rain. The morning being come, cleared up; but all the land appeared covered with clouds.

This day we reſolved 112 men ſhould go aſhore. And about eight this evening we ſent our launch and four canoes, with 89 men, to take three or four fiſhermen at a certain river cloſe by *Mora de Sama*, called *el Rio de Juan Diaz*, with intent to gain what intelligence we could how affairs ſtood at preſent on the coaſt and country thereabouts.

Monday, October the twenty-fifth. Laſt night being about the diſtance of one league and a half from the ſhore, we founded, and found forty-five fathom water, with hard ground at the bottom. This morning our people and canoes that were ſent to take the fiſhermen returned, not being able to find either their houſes, or the river: they reported withall, they had had a very freſh wind all the night long under ſhore, whereas we had not one breath of wind all night on board.

Tueſday, October the twenty-ſixth. The evening before, about ſix o' clock, we left the ſhip to go to take Arica, reſolving to land about the diſtance of a league to windward of the town. We were about ſix leagues from the town when we left the ſhip, whereby we were forced to row all night, that

we

we might reach before day the place of our landing. Towards morning the canoes left the launch, which they had all night in a tow, and wherein I was; and made all the ſpeed they poſſibly could for the ſhore, with deſign to land before the launch could arrive. But being come near the place we deſigned to land at, we found, to our great diſappointment, we were diſcovered, and that, all along the ſhore, and through the country, they had certain news of our arrival. Notwithſtanding we would have landed, if we could by any means have found a place to do it in; but the ſea ran ſo high, and with ſuch a force againſt the rocks, that our boats muſt needs have been ſtaved in a thouſand pieces, and we in great danger of wetting our arms, if we ſhould venture aſhore. The bay all round was poſſeſſed by ſeveral parties of horſe, and likewiſe the the tops of the hills; which ſeemed to be gathered there, by a general alarm through the whole country, and that they waited only for our landing, with a deſign to make a ſtrong oppoſition againſt us. They fired a gun at us, but we made them no anſwer, returning to our ſhip, till a fairer opportunity. The hill of Arica is very white, occaſioned by the dung of the abundance of fowls that build their neſts in the hollow thereof. To leeward of the ſaid hill lies a ſmall iſland at about a mile from the ſhore: about half a league from that iſland, we could perceive ſix ſhips at anchor; four of which had their yards taken down from their maſts, but the other two ſeemed ready to ſail. We aſked our pilot concerning theſe ſhips, and he told us, that one of them was mounted with ſix guns, and the other with only four. Being diſappointed of our expectations at Arica, we now reſolved to bear away from thence to the village of Hilo, there to take in water and other proviſions; as alſo to learn what intelligence we

could obtain. All that night we lay under a calm.

October twenty-ſeven. In the morning we found ourſelves about a league to windward of Mora da Sama, notwithſtanding the weather was quite calm, and we only drove with the current at leeward. The land between Hilo and Mora da Sama forms two ſeveral bays, and the coaſt runs along N. W. and S. E. as may appear by the following demonſtration. Over the land we could ſee from our ſhip, as we drove, the coming or riſing of a very high land, at a great diſtance far up in the country.

October twenty-eight. The night before we ſent away our four canoes with fifty men in them, to ſeize and plunder the town of Hilo. All this day was very calm, as the day before.

The next morning about break of day, we had a fair breeze ſprung up, with which we lay right in with the port. About one in the afternoon we anchored.

We caſt anchor at the diſtance of two miles from the village; and then we perceived two flags which our men had put out, having taken the town, and ſet up our Engliſh colours. The Spaniards were retreated to the hills, and there had done the ſame. Being come to an anchor, our commander, captain Sharp, ſent a canoe on board of us, and ordered that all the men our ſhip could ſpare, ſhould come aſhore. Withal they told us, that thoſe of our party that landed the morning before, were met by ſome horſemen on the ſhore, who only exchanged ſome few vollies of ſhot with our men, but were ſoon put to flight; that hereupon our forces had marched directly to the town, where the Spaniards expecting we ſhould have landed at firſt, made a breaſt-work thirty paces long of clay and banks of ſand. Here in a ſmall ſkirmiſh we happened to kill an Indian, who told us before he

Digitized by Google

he died, that they had received news of our coming nine days ago, from Lima, and but one day before from Arica. Having taken the town, we found therein great quantity of pitch, tar, oil, wine, and flour, with several other sorts of provisions. We endeavoured to keep as good a watch as the Spaniards did on the hills, fearing lest they should suddenly make any attempt to destroy us.

Next day, being October the thirtieth, we chose out threescore of our men who were fittest to march, and ordered them to go up and search the valley belonging to the town. We found it very pleasant, being all overset with fig-trees, olive-trees, orange, lemon, and lime-trees, with many other agreeable fruits: about four miles up the valley we came to a sugar-work, or Ingenio de azucar, as it is called by the Spaniards, where we found great store of oil and melasses; but most of the sugar the owners had hidden from us in the cane itself. As we marched up the valley, the Spaniards marched along the hills, and observed our motion: from the tops of the hills they often tumbled great stones upon us, but with great care we endeavoured to escape those dangers, and the report of one gun would make them all to hide their heads immediately: from this house, I mean the sugar-work above-mentioned, Mr. Cox's, myself, and one Cannis a Dutchman (who was our interpreter) went to the Spaniards with a flag of truce. They met us very civily, and promised to give us fourscore of beeves for the ransom of the sugar-work, upon condition that it should not be spoiled nor demolished. With them we agreed, that they should be delivered to us at the port the next day at noon: hereupon captain Sharp in the evening sent down to the port twenty men, with strict orders that our forces should offer no violence in the least to those that brought down the beeves.

Digitized by Google

Sunday, October thirty-one. This day being employed in casting up some accounts belonging to our navigation, I reckoned that Hilo was the eastward of Paita, one hundred and eighty-seven leagues. This morning the captain of the Spaniards came to our commander captain Sharp with a flag of truce, and told him, that sixteen beeves were already sent down to the port, and that the rest should certainly be there the next morning. Hereupon we were ordered to prepare ourselves to retreat, and march back to the port, and there embark ourselves on board our ship. My advice was to the contrary, that we should rather leave twenty men behind to keep the house of the sugar-work, and that others should possess themselves of the hills, thereby to clear them of the Spaniards and their look-out. But my counsel not being regarded, each man took away what burthen of sugar he pleased, and thus we returned to our vessel. Being come there, we found no beeves had been brought down at all, which made us suspect some trick in the enemy.

The next morning, being November the first, our captain went to the top of the hills before-mentioned, and spoke with the Spaniards themselves concerning the performance of their agreement. The Spaniards made answer, that the cattle would certainly come down this night; but in case they did not, that the master or owner of the sugar-work was now returned from Potosi, and we might go up and treat with him, and make, if we pleased, a new bargain for the preservation of his house and goods; whose interest it was more than theirs to save it from being demolished. With this answer our men returned, and we concluded to wait till the next day for the delivery of the beeves.

The day following, about eight in the morning, there came in to us a flag of truce from the enemy, telling

Digitized by Google

telling us, that the winds were ſo high, that they could not drive the cattle, otherwiſe they had been delivered before now; but withal, that by noon we ſhould in no manner fail to have them brought to us. Noon being come, and no cattle appearing, we now having filled our water, and finiſhed other concerns, reſolved to be revenged on the enemy, and do them what miſchief we could; at leaſt by ſetting fire on the ſugar-work. Hereupon, threeſcore men of us marched up the valley, and burnt both the houſe, the canes, and the mill belonging to the Ingenio; we broke likewiſe the coppers, coggs, and multitudes of great jars of oil that we found in the houſe: this being done, we brought away more ſugar, and returned to the port over the hills and mountains; the which we found very pleaſant, ſmooth, and level, after once we had aſcended them. It fell out very fortunately to us that we returned back this way we did; for otherwiſe our men at the ſea-ſide had inevitably been cut off, and torn in pieces by the enemy, they being at that time diſperſed, and ſtraggling up and down by two and three in a party. For from the hills we ſpied coming from the northward of the bay, above three hundred horſemen, all riding at full ſpeed towards our men, who had not as yet deſcried them, and little thought of any ſuch danger from the enemy ſo nigh at hand. Being alarmed with this ſight, we threw down what ſugar we had, and ran incontinently to meet them, thereby to give our other men time to rally, and put themſelves into a poſture of defence. We being in good rank and order, fairly proffered them battle upon the bay; but as we advanced to meet them, they retired and rid towards the mountains to ſurround us and take the rocks from us if poſſibly they could. Hereupon, perceiving their intention, we returned back and poſſeſſed ourſelves of the ſaid rocks, and alſo of the lower town; as the Spaniards themſelves did of the upper town (at the diſtance of half a mile

mile from the lower) the hills and the woods adjoining thereunto. The horſemen being now in poſſeſſion of theſe quarters, we could perceive, as far as we could ſee, more and more men reſort to them, ſo that their forces increaſed hourly to conſiderable numbers. We fired one at another as long as we could reach, and the day would permit. But in the mean while we obſerved, that ſeveral of them rid to the watch-hill, and looked out often to the ſea-board. This gave us occaſion to fear, that they had more ſtrength and forces coming that way, which they expected every minute. Hereupon, leſt we ſhould ſpeed worſe than we had done before, we reſolved to embark ſilently in the dark of the night, and go off from that coaſt where the enemy was ſo well provided for us. We carried off a great cheſt of ſugar, whereof we ſhared ſeven pounds weight and a half each man; thirty jars of oil, and great plenty of all ſorts of garden herbs, roots, and moſt excellent fruit.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

Digitized by Google

THE HISTORY OF THE BUCANIERS OF AMERICA.

CONTAINING,

I. The Exploits and Adventures of LE GRAND, LOLONOIS, ROCHE BRASILIANO, BAT the Portugueſe, Sir H. MORGAN, &c.

II. The dangerous Voyage and bold Attempts of Capt. SHARP, WATLIN, SAWKINS, COXON, and others, in the South Sea.

III. A Journal of a Voyage into the South Sea by the Free-booters of America, from 1684 to 1689.

IV. A Relation of a Voyage of the Sieur DE MONTAUBAN, Captain of the Free-booters, in Guinea, in the Year 1695.

EXHIBITING

A particular Account and Deſcription of PORTO BELLO, CHAGRE, PANAMA, CUBA, HAVANNA, and moſt of the Spaniſh Poſſeſſions on the Coaſts of the Weſt Indies, and alſo all along the Coaſts of the South Sea; with the Manner in which they have been invaded, attempted, or taken by theſe Adventurers.

The Whole written in ſeveral Languages by Perſons preſent at the Tranſactions.

VOL. II.

THE FIFTH EDITION.

LONDON:

Printed for T. EVANS, in King-ſtreet, Covent Garden; and RICHARDSON and URQUHART, under the Royal Exchange. M,DCC,LXXI.

Digitized by Google

3386.12

Digitized by Google

THE HISTORY OF THE BUCANIERS, &c. IN AMERICA.

PART II. CHAP. XIV.

The Bucaniers depart from the port of Hilo, and ſail to that of Coquimbo: they are deſcribed before their arrival; notwithſtanding they land: are encountered by the Spaniards, and put them to flight. They take, plunder, and fire the city of la Sarena: a deſcription thereof. A ſtratagem of the Spaniards, in endeavouring to fire their ſhip, diſcovered and prevented. They are deceived again by the Spaniards, and forced to retire from Coquimbo without any ranſom for the city, or conſiderable pillage. They releaſe ſeveral of their chiefeſt priſoners.

THE next morning, being Wedneſday, November the 3d, 1680, about ſeven o'clock we ſet ſail from Hilo, ſtanding directly off to ſea, with a ſmall land wind. Upon the ſhore we could not diſcover this morning above fifty men of our enemies forces, which cauſed us to ſuſpect the

Digitized by Google

reſt were run away from their colours, and had deſerted in the dark of the night. If this were ſo, we were equally afraid of each other, and as we quitted the land, being jealous of their multitudes, ſo they abandoned their ſtations for fear of our encounters. All the while we lay in the port of Hilo, we had a freſh wind; but being come out thence, we found it almoſt ſtark calm. All along this coaſt runs a great ſea, as we experimented at Arica, inſomuch that there is no landing, except under the favour of ſome rock or other.

November the 4th, in the morning, we ſaw the port of Hilo at E. N. E. at the diſtance of nine leagues or thereabouts from land. The white ſand gives a bright reflection over the land; which we could ſee after we had loſt the ſight of the land itſelf.

The day following we had an indifferent freſh wind at S. S. E. We reckoned a S. W. half weſt way, and by it that we had made twenty leagues: the day was very fair and ſun-ſhiny, and the ſea very ſmooth.

November the 6th, we had a clear night the laſt paſt, and the day proved very fair and clear, like the former; we reckoned by a S. W. by W. way, about twenty-one leagues. In the afternoon it was almoſt quite calm.

The day following we had no more than the laſt twenty-four hours. We were about this time many of us troubled with the ſcurvy; it proceeded, as we judged, from the great hardſhip and want of proviſions which we had endured for ſeveral months paſt, as having only bread and water (as was mentioned above) only at Hilo we killed a mule, which was looked upon by thoſe that eat of it to be very good victuals, the Spaniards having ſwept away with them all other proviſions of fleſh: but we got

Digitized by Google

got there as plunder a ſmall quantity of good chocolate, which the Spaniards have in great eſteem: ſo now we had each morning a diſh of pleaſant liquor containing almoſt a pint.

Next day likewiſe we had very little wind, as before; we made an obſervation this day, and found lat. 20 deg. 5 S.

November the 9th, we had ſtill very little wind, and that variable. We took almoſt every hour an obſervation, and found ourſelves to be in lat. 20 deg. 18 S.

The 10th, we had in like manner but little wind; we obſerved an E. S. E. current, or pretty near it, run hereabouts. This day we ſaw the homing of a very high land, which much ſurprized us, for at this time I conceived we could not be leſs than thirty-five or forty leagues from land; we ſuppoſed it to be Mora Tarapaca. That day we ſet up our ſhrouds.

Upon the 11th, an indifferent gale of wind ſprang up at S. W. by S. by which we made twenty-five leagues and one third: we had now a great S. S. W. ſea: in the night the wind (as we experimented) came one or two points from the land: this morning we ſaw the like homing of land, whereby we were made ſenſible it was no land we had ſeen the day before.

On the 12th, we had ſeveral miſts of rain, with windy weather; we made by a S. S. W. half S. way, twenty-five leagues and one third; we had likewiſe a great and rolling S. S. W. ſea, as the day before.

The 13th, we had both cloudy and miſty weather; we made a S. S. W. and one quarter S. way, by which we ran fifty leagues.

But the next day, fair and clear weather came about again: we had likewiſe an eaſy gale of wind,

Digitized by Google

by which we made a S. W. way, and advanced twenty-two leagues and a half.

On the 15th of November, we had alſo clear weather, and an indifferent gale of wind. Our way was S. W. by W. by which we reckoned eighteen leagues; likewiſe at our weſting from Hilo, from whence we ſet forth, was 114 leagues and one third: our latitude by obſervation, we found to be 23 deg. 25 S. I took now the declination table uſed and made by the coſmographer at Lima.

Tueſday, November the 16th. In the night laſt paſt we had a ſhower or two of rain: this day we made an obſervation, by which we found lat. 23 deg. 35 S.

The 17th, we made a S. W. by W. half S. way. By obſervation we found lat. 23 deg. 46 S. with very little wind.

The 18th, upon a S. W. by W. way, we made twenty-one leagues. By obſervation we found lat. 23 deg. 20 S.

Friday, November the 19th, 1680. This morning about an hour before day, we obſerved a comet to appear a degree N. from the bright ſtar in Libra; the body thereof ſeemed dull, and its tail extended itſelf eighteen or twenty degrees in length, being of a pale colour, and pointed directly N. N. W. Our priſoners hereupon told us that the Spaniards had ſeen very ſtrange ſights both at Lima, the capital city of Peru, Guayaquil, and other places, much about the time of our coming into the South Seas. I reckon this day we had run twenty leagues by a S. W. way.

The day following the appearance of the comet we had many ſtorms of wind at S. S. E. and E. S. E. Our reckoning by a S. W. way was twenty-two leagues.

Sunday, November 21ſt, likewiſe many guſts of wind, ſuch as the day before, with frequent ſhowers

Digitized by Google

ers of rain: the wind varied to and fro according as the clouds drew it here and there. We reckoned a S. S. W. way, and by it twenty-one leagues and a half; in all, weſt from Hilo, we judged ourſelves to be 178 leagues and two thirds. We had this day a great S. W. ſea, and cloudy weather: I ſuppoſed our lat. to be 26 deg. 53 S.

November the 22d, we had in like manner cloudy weather, and now but little wind: we reckoned a S. way, and fifty one leagues.

The 23d, we had very little wind, and all ſtorm after the appearance of the comet, being now quite allayed, we reckoned we had made a S. E. by E. way, and found our latitude by obſervation to bear 27 deg. 46 S.

Wedneſday, November the 24th. For twenty-four hours paſt we had a N. W. Wind. Our way was S. E. half S. by which we reckoned thirty-one leagues and one third.

The 25th. Laſt night the wind blew at W. S. W. but this morning it came about again at N. weſt, as the day before: our reckoning this day was a S. E. and one quarter E. way twenty-nine leagues and one third: our latitude now by obſervation made this day, was 39 deg. 57 S. our difference of meridian $135\frac{1}{3}$.

November the 26th. In the night the wind ſtarted to S. S. W. but this day at noon we had little better than a calm. I reckoned an E. S. E. half E. way, and by it twenty-three leagues.

Saturday the 27th. Yeſterday in the evening the wind came to S. I reckoned an eaſt, and ſomething ſoutherly way, and by that twenty-three leagues as the day before.

November the 28th. For twenty-four hours paſt we had a freſh wind at S. S. E. having a high S. W. ſea. Our reckoning was an E. by N. and half N. way, and withal twenty-four leagues. By obſerva-

Digitized by Google

tion, we found latitude 30 deg. 16 S. and meridian diſtance eighty-eight leagues. At noon the wind came at S. half E.

On the 29th, we had a very great S. W. ſea, and withal cloudy weather. My reckoning was an E. one third S. way, twenty leagues and one-third. This day we happened to ſee two or three great fowls flying in the air, which our pilot told us uſed to appear ſeventy or eighty leagues off from the iſland, called the iſland of Juan Fernandez. The day before this, captain Peralta, our priſoner, was taken very frantic, his diſtemper being occaſioned (as we thought) through too much hardſhip and melancholy; notwithſtanding this day he was indifferently well again.

The following day we had likewiſe cloudy weather. We made according to our account, an E. half N. way, and by it ſixteen leagues and two thirds. Our meridian difference fifty-two leagues.

The 1ſt of December we had hazy weather, and withal an indifferent good wind at S. yea, ſometimes S. by W. Our way was E. by S. by which we reckoned twenty-two leagues. The night before we ſailed over white water-like banks of a mile in length, or more; but theſe banks upon examination we found to be only great ſhoals of anchovies.

December 2d, very early in the morning we ſpied land, which appeared to be very high. About noon this day we were at ſix leagues diſtance from it. All the preceding night we had ſo much wind that we were forced to make uſe only of a pair of courſes. By an obſervation made this day we found latitude 30 deg. 35 S. We went away largely, driving better than 9 leagues every watch. With this wind we made all the ſail we poſſibly could, deſigning by this means to get to Coquimbo, upon which coaſt we now were before night: but the wind was ſo high, that ſometimes we were forced to lower all our ſails, it blowing now a mere fret of wind.

Towards

Digitized by Google

Towards evening it abated by degrees, insomuch that at midnight it was quite calm again; then we hoisted out our launch and canoes, and putting into them one hundred men, we rowed away from the ship, with design to take by surprizal a considerable city near the coast, called by the Spaniards, *la cividad de la Serena*.

Friday, December the 3d, 1680. When we departed from the ship, we had about two leagues to row to the shore; but as it happened, the launch wherein I was rowed so heavy (in comparison of the canoes) that we could not keep pace with them; for this reason it was broad day before we got to a certain storehouse situate upon the shore, our men having passed by it in the dark of the night without perceiving it. They being landed, immediately marched away from their canoes towards the city before-mentioned of la Serena. But we had not proceeded far on our march, when we found, to the great sorrow and chagrin of us all, that we were timely discovered here also, as we had been at the other two places before, Arica and Hilo: for as they marched in a body together, being but thirty-five men in all, who were all those that were landed out of the canoes, they were suddenly encountered and engaged by a whole troop of a hundred Spanish horse. We that were behind hearing the noise of the dispute, followed them at their heels, and made all the haste we possibly could to come up to their relief; but before we could reach the place of the battle, they had already routed the Spaniards, and forced them to fly towards the town.

No withstanding this rout, they rallied again at the distance of about a mile from the place, and seemed as if they waited for us, and would engage us anew. But as soon as all our forces were come together, which were in all eighty-four, the rest being left to guard the boats, we marched towards

Digitized by Google

them and offered them battle. As we came near unto them, we found plainly they deſigned no ſuch thing, for they inſtantly retired and rid away before us, keeping out of the reach of our guns. We followed them as they rid, being led by them deſignedly clear out of the road that went to the town, that we might not reach nor find it ſo ſoon. In this engagement with the horſe, our company had killed three of their chiefeſt men, and wounded four more, killing alſo four of their horſes. When we found that we had been led by this ſtratagem of the enemy out of the way of the town, we left the bay, and croſſed over the green fields to find it, wading oftentimes over ſeveral branches of water, which there ſerve to encloſe each plat of ground. Upon this march we came to ſeveral houſes, but found them all empty, and ſwept clean, both of inhabitants and proviſions: we ſaw likewiſe ſeveral horſes and other heads of cattle in the fields as we went along towards the city. This place of la Serena our pilot had reported to us to be but a ſmall town, but being arrived there, we found in it no fewer than ſeven great churches and one chapel: four of theſe churches were monaſteries or convents, and each church had its organs for the performance of divine ſervice. Several of the houſes had their orchards of fruit and gardens belonging to them; both houſes and gardens being as well and as neatly furniſhed as thoſe in England; in theſe gardens we found ſtrawberries as big as walnuts and thoſe very delicious to the taſte; in a word, every thing in this city of la Serena was moſt excellent and delicate, and far beyond what we could expect in ſo remote a place. The town was inhabited by all ſorts of tradeſmen, and beſides them, had its merchants, ſome of which were accounted very rich.

The inhabitants of la Serena upon our approach fled, carrying with them the beſt of their goods and jewels;

Digitized by Google

jewels; and what they could not carry away that was of value they buried, having had time enough to do so from the advice they received of our coming from Arica and other places. Notwithſtanding, we took in the town one friar, and two Chilenos, or Spaniards, natives of the kingdom of Chili, which adjoins to that of Peru, towards the ſtreight of Magellan. Theſe priſoners told us, that the Spaniards, when they heard of our coming, had killed moſt of their Chilian ſlaves, fearing they ſhould revolt from them to us. Moreover, that we had been deſcribed from their coaſts four days before our landing; all which time they had employed in carrying away their plate and goods. To this information they added, that for their defence they had received a ſupply of ſixty men from Arica. Having taken poſſeſſion of the town, that evening there came a negro to us, running away from the Spaniards; he informed us, that when we were before Panama, we had taken a negro who was eſteemed the beſt pilot in all the South-Sea; but more eſpecially for this place, and the coaſts of Coquimbo: and further, that if the Spaniards had not ſent all the negroes belonging to this city farther up into the country, out of our reach and communication, they would all undoubtedly have revolted to us.

That night about twelve our boatſwain, accompanied by forty men, with a Chilian for their guide, went out of the town ſome miles into the country with a deſign to find out the places where the Spaniards lay concealed, and had hid their goods and plate; but before they came, the Spaniards had got intelligence thereof from ſome ſecret ſpies they had in the town, and both the men and their women were all fled to places that were more occult and remote. So that by this ſearch they only found an old Indian woman and three children, but no gold

ner plate. This morning our ship came to an anchor by the storehouse above-mentioned, named Tortuga, at the distance of a furlong from shore in the depth of seven fathom water.

Next morning, being Saturday, December the 4th, came into the town a flag of truce from the enemy. Their message was to proffer a ransom for the town to preserve it from burning; for now they began to fear we would set fire to it, as having found no considerable booty nor pillage therein. The chief commanders on both sides met about this point, and agreed betwixt them for the sum of 95,000 pieces of eight for the whole ransom. In the afternoon I was sent down to the bay of Coquimbo, with a party of twenty men, to carry thither some goods we had taken in the town, as also provisions for the ship. It is two leagues and a half from the town to the port; one league on the bay, the rest being a very great road, which leads from the bay to the city. The Spaniards promised that the ransom should be collected and paid in by the next day. This day also there died one of our negroes slaves on board the ship.

The day following in the morning I came back to the town with the men I had brought down the day [illegible] six of them I left behind, to look after the canoes at the end of the bay. When I came to the city, I found that the Spaniards had broken their promise, and had not brought in the ransom they had agreed for; but had begged time till to-morrow at eight in the forenoon. This evening another party of our men went down to the ship to carry such goods as we had pillaged in the town. That night, about nine of the clock happened an earthquake, the which we were very sensible of as we were all together in the church of San Juan, where our chief rendezvous and corps du guard was

Digitized by Google

was kept. In the night the Spaniards opened a ſluice, and let the water run in ſtreams about the town, with intent either to overflow it, and thereby force us out of the place, or at leaſt that they might the eaſier quench the flame in caſe we ſhould fire the town.

Next morning we ſet fire to the town, perceiving it to be overflown, and that the Spaniards had not performed, or rather that they never deſigned to perform their promiſe. We fired as nigh as we could every houſe in the whole town, to the end that it might be totally reduced to aſhes. Thus we left la Serena, carrying with us what plunder we could find, having ſent two parties before loaded with goods to the ſhip, as was mentioned above. As we marched down to the bay, we beat up an ambuſcade of 250 horſe which lay hid in the way, with an intent to fall on our men in caſe we had ſent down any other party with goods to the ſhip. We received advice that the Spaniards had endeavoured by an unuſual ſtratagem to burn our ſhip and thereby deſtroy us all. They blew up a horſe's hide like a bladder, and upon this float a man ventured to ſwim from ſhore, and come under the ſtern of our ſhip; being arrived there, he crammed okeham and brimſtone, and other combuſtible matter between the rudder and the ſtern-poſt: having done this, he fired it with a match, ſo that in a ſmall time our rudder was on fire, and all the ſhip in a ſmoke. Our men, both alarmed and amazed with this ſmoke, ran up and down the ſhip, ſuſpecting the priſoners to have fired the veſſel, thereby to get their liberty and deſtroy us. At laſt they found out where the fire was, and had the good fortune to quench it before its going too far. As ſoon as they had put it out, they ſent the boat aſhore, and found both the hide before-mentioned, and the match burning at both

Digitized by Google

ends, whereby they diſcovered the whole matter. When we came to the ſtorehouſe on the ſhore ſide, we ſet at liberty the friar our priſoner, and another gentleman, who was become our hoſtage for the performance of the ranſom. And when we came aboard, we likewiſe ſet at liberty captain Peralta, don Thomas de Argandona, don Baltazar, don Chriſteval, captain Juan the pilot's mate, the old moor, and ſeveral other of our chief priſoners. To this releaſement of our priſoners we were moved, partly becauſe we knew not well what to do with them, and partly becauſe we feared that by the example of this ſtratagem, they might be able to effect what the other had attempted with ſo much likelihood of ſucceſs.

CHAP. XV.

The Bucaniers ſet ſail from Coquimbo for the iſle of Juan Fernandez. An exact account of this voyage. Miſery they endure, and great dangers they eſcape there. They mutiny among themſelves and chooſe Watling to be their chief commander. Deſcription of the iſland. Three Spaniſh men of war meet with the Bucaniers at the ſaid iſland; with what happened thereupon.

BEING all embarked again (as was mentioned in the precedent chapter) the next morning, which was Tueſday, December the 7th, twenty of us were ſent aſhore to obſerve the motions of the enemy. We went to the look-out, or watch-hill, but could learn nothing from thence; hereupon, about noon we returned on board the ſhip, and at two in the afternoon we weighed anchor and ſet ſail, directing our courſe for the iſland of Juan Fernandez, not far from the coaſt of Coquimbo.

At

Digitized by Google

At night we were five leagues diſtant from thence at N. W. by N. The ſouthermoſt iſland of thoſe which are called de los Paxaros, or Iſland of Birds, was then N. N. W. from us. Before our departure, I took a draught of the bay of Coquimbo, and of the city of la Serena.

December the 8th, we had but very little wind, and a leeward current here, which we could perceive heaved us to the northward. The aforementioned iſland de los Paxaros, at three in the afternoon bore N. E. of us at the diſtance of three leagues or threabouts.

It is four leagues diſtant from the main continent, and from the next iſland of the ſame name about two. The main is extream high and mountainous hereabouts. At evening we were weſt from the ſaid iſland five leagues. About eight or nine leagues to the windward of Coquimbo are certain white cliffs, which appear from the ſhore to thoſe that are off at ſea.

December 9, we had likewiſe but little wind, as the day before. I ſuppoſed myſelf this day to be about thirteen leagues weſt from the iſland abovementioned. The weather was cloudy, with miſling rain, ſo that no obſervation could be taken. However, this day it was thought convenient to come to an allowance of water; for we had taken in little or none at Coquimbo. The ſame weather, or very like it, we had the next day, being the 10th; that is to ſay, quite calm and cloudy.

December the 11th, we had ſome ſmall rain the fore part of the day; but in the afternoon it cleared up, ſo that the weather was very hot. We had ſtill but little wind.

The next day, December the 12th, we had very fair weather, and by a clear obſervation made this day, we found lat. 30 deg. 6. S.

December

Digitized by Google

December the 13th, by a W. S. W. way, we made forty-two leagues. By obſervation we found lat. 30 deg. 45 S. D. M. four leagues and two thirds.

The 14th in the morning, we had a handſome ſhower of rain, which continued for ſome time; then about eight a clock there ſprung up a S. S. W. breeze. My reckoning was by an E. S. E. way fourteen leagues; and by obſervation, we found this day 30 deg. 30 S. In the afternoon died one of our men, whoſe name was William Cammock: his diſeaſe was occaſioned by a ſurfeit got by too much drinking on ſhore at la Serena, which produced a calenture, or malignant fever, and an hiccough. In the evening we buried him in the ſea, according to the uſual cuſtom of mariners, giving him three French vollies for his funeral.

The day following we had an indifferent freſh wind on both tacks. Our way was W. S. W. and by it we reckoned thirty-four leagues. So likewiſe by an obſervation we had lat. 30 deg. 42 S. All the afternoon blew a S. by W. wind very freſh, with a ſhort topping S W. ſea.

But the next day we had no ſmall breezes, but rather hard guſts of wind; theſe grew ſo high, that they forced us to take in our top-ſails. We made a S. W. half S. way, and forty-five leagues.

On the 17th, we had likewiſe high winds, and withal a S W. ſea. Our way was W by S. By an obſervation taken this day, we found lat. 30 deg. 51 S. In the afternoon we had a S. S. E. wind, our courſe being S. W.

December the 18th. This day we had the ſame high winds as before, at S. S. E. We reckoned by a W. S. W. way forty-five leagues. At noon the wind was ſomething fallen, and then we had ſome rain.

The

Digitized by Google

The 19th, we had both cloudy and windy weather. My reckoning was a S. W. by S. way, and hereupon fifty-eight miles. Yeſterday we were aſſured by our pilot, that we were now in the meridian of Juan Fernandez, whither our courſe was directed for the preſent. That which occaſioned him to be ſo poſitive in this aſſertion, was the ſeeing of thoſe great birds, of which we made mention in the foregoing chapter.

On the 20th, we had cloudy weather in the morning on both tacks. We made a S. W. and half S. way, and by it fifty-two leagues. By an obſervation we found this day lat. 32 deg. 30 S. difference of meridian was now 132 leagues.

The next day likewiſe we had cloudy weather; yet by an obſervation we found a W. way. On the 22d, by obſervation we found an E. way proved.

Thurſday, December the 23d. All the night paſt we had a freſh wind; but in the morning, from the top-maſt-head, we deſcried a hammock of land; in the evening we ſaw it again. We found afterwards that what we had ſeen, was the weſtermoſt iſland of Juan Fernandez; which is nothing but a mere rock, there being no riding, nor ſcarce landing near it.

Friday, December the 24th. This morning we could deſcry the iſland itſelf of Juan Fernandez, S. by E. it being at ſixteen leagues diſtance when we ſaw it the day before; at ſeven this morning the iſland ſtood E. the wind being at N. W. by N.

Here my obſervation was, that I could neither ſee fowl nor fiſh near this iſland; both which are uſual about other iſlands. Having told my obſervation to our pilot, he anſwered me, that he had made many voyages by this iſland, and yet never ſaw either fowl or fiſh. Our reckoning this day was

Digitized by Google

was an E. S. E. way, and hereby thirty-six leagues. Our latitude by observation was found to be 33 deg. 30 S.

Saturday, December the 25th. The 24th, at three o'clock, we saw the other island, making two or three hammocks of land: this morning we were about eight leagues from it, the island bearing E. S. E. from us. At eight the same morning we were right a breast with it. Here therefore are two islands together, the biggest whereof is three leagues and a half in length, nearest N. W. and S. E. The other, and lesser, is almost one league in circumference. At ten o'clock we sent off from the ship one of our canoes, to seek for the best landing and anchoring for our vessel: as we approached, both islands seemed to us but one entire heap of rocks: that which lies more to the north is the highest, though we could not see the tops thereof, for the clouds covered it; in most places it is so steep, that it becomes almost perpendicular.

This day, being Christmas-day, we gave in the morning early three vollies of shot, for solemnization of that great festival. I reckoned an E. by S. way. By a clear observation from the middle of the island, I found here lat. 33 deg. 45 S. and M. D. to be ninety-nine leagues: in the evening we came to an anchor at the south-end of the island, in a stately bay, but which lies open to the south, and to the south-east winds: we anchored in the depth of eleven fathom water, and at the distance of only one furlong from the shore. Here we saw multitudes of seals covering the bay every where, insomuch, that we were forced to kill them, before we could set foot on shore.

Sunday, December the 26th. This day we sent a canoe to see if we could find any riding secure from the southerly winds; these being the most constant winds

Digitized by Google

winds that blow on theſe coaſts: the cance being gone, our commander ſent likewiſe what men we could ſpare on ſhore, to drive goats, whereof there is great plenty in this iſland. They caught and killed that day to the number of threeſcore, or thereabouts. The canoe returning to the ſhip made report that there was good riding in another bay, ſituate on the north ſide of the iſland, in fourteen fathom water, and not above one quarter of a mile from the ſhore, and that there was much wood to be had; whereas, in the place where we firſt anchored, not one ſtick of wood, nor tuft of graſs was to be found.

The next day, being the 27th, between two and four in the morning, we had a tempeſt of violent winds, and fierce ſhowers of rain; the ſame day we got in two hundred jars of water, bringing them a full league from the place of our riding: mean while others were employed to catch goats, as they had done the day before.

On the 28th of the ſaid month, in the morning, I went with ten more of our company, and two canoes, to fetch water from the land: being come thither, and having filled our jars, we could not get back to the ſhip, by reaſon of a ſoutherly wind that blew from off the ocean, and hindered our return. Thus we were forced to lie ſtill in a water-hole, and wait till the wind was over for a ſafer opportunity. While the violence of the wind increaſed, our ſhip was forced to get under ſail, and make away, not without danger of being forced aſhore. Hereupon, we ſailed out of the harbour, to ſeek another place of anchoring: at noon I ventured out, to try if I could follow the ſhip, but was forced in again by the wind and raging ſea; thus we lay ſtill for ſome while longer, till the evening came on: this being come, we ventured out again

again, both canoes together; but the winds were then so high, that we were forced to throw all our jars of water over-board to lighten our boats, otherwise we had inevitably perished. I ought to bless almighty God for this deliverance; for in all human reason, the least wave of that tempest might have sunk us: notwithstanding, we came that night to our place of harbour, where we expected to have found our ship (called False wild Harbour) but found her not; hereupon, not knowing what to do, we went ashore, and hauled up our canoes dry. Having done this, we went higher up into the island, along a gully, for the space of half a mile, there to clear ourselves of the noise and company of the seals, which were very troublesome on the shore. Here we kindled a fire, and dried our clothes, and rested ourselves all night, though with extreme hungry bellies, as having eaten very little or nothing all the day before. In the sides of the hill, under which we lay, we observed many holes like coney-holes: these holes are the nests and roosting places of multitudes of birds that breed in this island, called by the Spaniards Pardelas. One of these birds, as we lay drying and warming ourselves, fell down into our fire.

The next morning being come, very early before sun-rise, we went farther to the northward, to seek for our ship, which we feared we had lost; but we were not gone far, when we espied her at sea. Hereupon we passed a point of land, and entered a certain bay, which was about a mile deep, and not above half a league over: in this bay we put, and instantly made a fire, thereby to shew the ship whereabouts we were. Here we found good watering and wooding close to the shore. In this bay we also saw another sort of amphibious animal, which I imagined to be the same, that by some authors

Digitized by Google

thors is called a ſea-lion: theſe animals are ſix times bigger than ſeals; their heads are like that of a lion, and they have four fins not unlike a tortoiſe: the hinder parts of theſe creatures are much like fins, but are drawn after them, as being uſeleſs upon the ſhore: they roared as if they had been lions, and were full of a ſhort thick hair, of a mouſe-colour; but that of the young ones was ſomething lighter: the old ones are between twelve and fourteen feet long, and about eleven or twelve feet in thickneſs or circumference. A ſeal is very eaſily killed, as we often experimented; but two of our men with great ſtones could not kill one of theſe animals.

That day in the afternoon there came a canoe from on board the ſhip, with proviſions for us, they fearing leſt we ſhould be ſtarved: alſo the launch came with men to cut wood. They told us that the ſhip came to an anchor in the other bay, but that within half an hour the cable broke, and they were forced to leave their anchor behind them, and get out to ſea again: night being come, we made our beds of fern, whereof there is great plenty upon this iſland; together with great multitudes of trees like Engliſh box, the which bore a ſort of green berries, ſmelling like pimento or pepper. All this day the ſhip was forced to ply off at ſea, not being able to get in.

December the 30th. The morning of this day we employed in filling water, and cutting down wood: but in the afternoon, eight of us eleven went aboard the ſhip, all in one and the ſame canoe, ſending her aſhore again with proviſions for the men that were there. This day in like manner we could not get into the harbour, for no ſooner came the ſhip within land, but the wind coming out of the bay, blew us clear out again: thus we were

Digitized by Google

were forced to ply out all that night, and great part of the following day.

Next day, having overcome all difficulties and many dangers, we came to an anchor in the afternoon, in fifteen fathom water, at the distance of a cable's length from shore. Here it was observable, that we were forced to keep men ashore on purpose to beat off the seals, while our men filled water, at high water mark, because the seals covet greatly to lie in fresh water. About this island fish is so plentiful, that in less than an hour's time two men caught enough for our whole company.

Saturday, January 1st, 1680. This day we put up a new main top, larger than the old one; and we caught craw-fish that were bigger than our English lobsters.

The next day, being January the 2d, died a chief man of our company, whose name was John Hilliard: this man, till our weighing anchor from the port of Coquimbo, had been our master all the space of this voyage; but from that time we chose John Cox for the star-board, and John Fall for the lar-board watch: he died of the dropsy. That evening we buried our dead companion, and gave him a volley for his funeral, according to the usual custom.

January the 3d, we had terrible gusts of wind from the shore every hour: this day our pilot told us, that many years ago a certain ship was cast away upon this island, and only one man saved, who lived alone upon this island five years before any ship came this way to carry him off. The island has excellent land in many valleys belonging thereto: this day likewise we fetched our anchor which we left in the other bay, when the ship broke her cable.

Tuesday, January the 4th, 1680. This day we had such terrible flaws of wind, that the cable of our ship

Digitized by Google

ſhip broke, and we had undoubtedly been on ſhore, had not the other held us faſt: at laſt it came home, and we drove outwards: by the way it caught hold of a rock, and held ſome time, but at laſt we hauled it up, and the wind came with ſo much violence, that the waves flew as high as our main-top, and made all the water of a foam.

January the 5th. Notwithſtanding theſe great guſts of wind had continued all the night paſt, yet this day at noon it was brave and calm. But in the morning the anchor of our ſhip gave way again, and we drove to the eaſtward more than half a mile, till at laſt we happened to faſten again in the depth of ſixty fathom water. In this bay, where we rid at anchor, ran a violent current, ſometimes into, and at other times out of the bay; ſo that all was uncertain with us: but our greateſt diſcomfort was, that our men were all in mutiny againſt each other, and much divided among themſelves: ſome of them being for going home towards England, or our foreign plantations, and that round about America through the ſtreights of Magellan, as captain Sawkins had deſigned to do; others of them being for ſtaying longer, and ſearching farther into thoſe ſeas, till ſuch time as they had got more money. This day at noon our anchor drove again; whereupon, to ſecure us from that dangerous place, we ſailed into the weſt bay, and anchored there in twenty-five fathom water, and moored our ſhip a quarter of a mile from ſhore.

Thurſday, January the 6th. Our diſſenſions being now grown to a great height, the mutineers made a new election of a perſon to be our chief captain and commander, by virtue whereof they depoſed captain Sharp, whom they proteſted they would obey no longer: they choſe therefore one of our company, whoſe name was John Watling, to command

Digitized by Google

command in chief, he having been an old privateer, and gained the eſteem of being a ſtout ſeaman. The election being made, all the reſt were forced to give their aſſent to it, and captain Sharp gave over his command, whereupon they immediately made articles with Watling, and ſigned them.

The day following, being the 7th, we burnt and tallowed the ſtar-board ſide of our ſhip. In this bay we found a croſs cut in the bark of a tree, and ſeveral letters beſides: hereupon, in another tree up the gully, I engraved the two firſt letters of my name, with a croſs over them. This day likewiſe William Cook, ſervant to captain Edmund Cook, confeſſed that his maſter had oftentimes buggered him in England, leaving his wife and coming to bed to him; that he had alſo done the ſame in Jamaica; and once in theſe ſeas before Panama. Searching his writings, we found a paper with all our names in it, which it was ſuſpected he deſigned to have given to the Spaniſh priſoners: for theſe reaſons, this evening our captain thought it convenient to put him in irons, which was accordingly done. January the 8th, we finiſhed the other ſide of our ſhip.

Sunday, January the 9th. This was the firſt Sunday that ever we kept by command and common conſent, ſince the loſs and death of our valiant commander captain Sawkins, who would throw the dice over-board, if he found them in uſe on that day.

January the 10th, the weather was very clear and ſettled again: we caught every day, in this bay, great plenty of fiſh; and I ſaw this day a ſhoal of fiſh a mile and more long.

Next day, being the 11th, we filled our water, and carried our wood on board the ſhip. Our two canoes went to the other ſide of the iſland to catch

Digitized by Google

catch goats; for on the barren ſide thereof are found and caught the beſt: and by land it is impoſſible to go from one ſide of the iſland to the other.

Wedneſday, January the 12th. This morning our canoes returned from catching of goats, firing of guns as they came towards us to give us warning: being come on board, they told us they had eſpied three ſail of ſhips, which they conceived to be men of war coming about the iſland. Within half an hour after this notice given by our boats, the ſhips came in ſight to leeward of the iſland; hereupon we immediately ſlipt our cables, and put to ſea taking all our men on board that were aſhore at that time; only one William, a Moſquito Indian, was then left behind upon the iſland, becauſe he could not be found at this our ſudden departure. Upon the iſland of Juan Fernandez grow certain trees called bilby-trees; the tops of theſe trees we uſed as we do cabbage in England: here fiſh abounds in ſuch quantities, that on the ſurface of the water, I have taken fiſh with a bare hook: abundance of fiſh is taken here of 20 pounds weight; the ſmalleſt that is taken being almoſt two pounds: very good timber for building of houſes, and other uſes, is likewiſe found upon this iſland. It is diſtant from the main continent the ſpace of ninety five leagues, or thereabouts, being ſituate in 33 deg. 40 S. The plats of the iſlands lie N. W. and S. E.

Being got out of the bay, we ſtood off to ſea, and kept to windward as cloſe as we could. The biggeſt of theſe Spaniſh men of war, for ſuch they proved to be, was of the burthen of 800 tons, and was called El Santo Chriſto, being mounted with 12 guns: the ſecond, named San Franciſco, carried 600 tons, and 10 guns: the third carried 350 tons,

Digitized by Google

tons, whoſe name I have forgot. As ſoon as they ſaw us, they inſtantly put out their bloody flags; and we, to ſhew them that we were not as yet daunted, did the ſame with ours: we kept cloſe under the wind, and were, to confeſs the truth, very unwilling to fight them, by reaſon they kept all in a knot together, and we could not ſingle out any one of them from the reſt; eſpecially conſidering, that our preſent commander Watling had ſhewed himſelf at their appearance to be faint-hearted. As for the Spaniards themſelves, they might have eaſily come to us, by reaſon we lay by ſeveral times; but undoubtedly they were cowardly given, and peradventure as unwilling to engage us, as we were to engage them.

The day following, being January the 13th, in the morning, we could ſee one of the afore-mentioned men of war, under the leeward ſide of the iſland; and we believed that the reſt were at anchor thereabouts.

At noon that day we ſtood in towards the iſland, making as if we intended to be with them; but in the afternoon our commander propounded the queſtion to us, Whether we were willing, now that they fleet was to windward, to bear away from them? to this we all agreed with one conſent: and hereupon, night being come, with a freſh wind at S. S. E we ſtood away N. E. by N. and gave them handſomely the ſhip, after having out braved them that day, and the day before.

CHAP.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XVI.

The Bucaniers depart from the iſle of Juan Fernandez to that of Yqueque. They take ſeveral priſoners, and get intelligence of the poſture of affairs at Arica. Cruelty to one of the priſoners, who had rightly informed them. They attempt Arica a ſecond time, and take the town, but are beaten out of it again without plunder, and with a great loſs of men, many of them being killed, wounded, or taken priſoners. Captain Watling their chief commander is killed in this attack, and captain Sharp preſently choſen again, who leads them off, and through many difficulties makes a bold retreat to the ſhip.

HAVING bid our enemies adieu, as was ſaid in the precedent chapter, the next morning being January the 14th, we bore N. E. We reckoned this day a N. N. E. one quarter S. way, and by it, thirty leagues. We were four leagues eaſtward from the iſle of Juan Fernandez, when I took our departure.

Saturday, January the 15th, we had hazy weather: this day we made by a N. E. by N. way, eleven leagues. The ſame hazy weather continued the 16th; but about ten in the morning we had a perfect calm: our reckoning was a N. E. by N. way, and thirty-ſix leagues.

On the 17th, we had a ſoft gale, and a clear obſervation; we found by it lat. 28 deg. 47 S. eaſting ſeventy leagues. The next day we had likewiſe a clear day, and we reckoned by a N. E. by N. way, thirty-one leagues; by obſervation lat. 27 deg. 29 S.

Wedneſday, January the 19th, we had a clear

Digitized by Google

day, as before, and reckoned a N E. by N. way, and thirty-five leagues and two thirds; by obſervation we took lat. 25 deg. o S This day we put up our top-gallant maſts and ſails, which we had taken at the iſland of Juan Fernandez, when we thought to have gone directly from thence for the ſtreights of Magellan. But now our reſolutions were changed, and our courſe was bent for Arica, that rich place, the ſecond time, to try what good we could do upon it by another attempt, in order to the making our fortunes there: in the evening we ſaw land at a great diſtance.

January the 20th. About midnight paſt we had a ſmall land wind that ſprang up and reached us; at break of day we could deſcry land again, at the diſtance of about nine or ten leagues. This day was very hot and calm, eaſting ninety-two leagues.

On the 21ſt, we had very little wind, and all along as we went we could deſcry a barren high land. We ſailed N. by E. and N. N. E. along the coaſt of the continent.

Saturday the 22d, we had very hot weather: this day we ſailed N. and N. by E. and looked out continually for the iſland of Yqueque, which our pilot told us was hereabouts: we kept a juſt diſtance from the land, for fear of being deſcried by the enemy.

The day following, Sunday the 23d, we ſailed in like manner N. N. E. along the coaſt, which ſeems to be very full of bays hereabouts. By obſervation this day we took lat. 21 deg. 49 S.

Monday, January the 24th. This day we had an indifferent gale of wind, and we ſtood N. and by E. the wind being S. S. E. We found latitude by obſervation 21 deg. 2 S. our whole eaſting being nine-two leagues and an half. In the afternoon captain Watling our commander, and twenty-five men

Digitized by Google

men more, departed from the ſhip in two canoes, with deſign to ſeek for and take the iſland of Yqueque, and there to get intelligence of the poſture of affairs at Arica: we were at the diſtance of twelve leagues from ſhore, when they went from the ſhip.

The next day, by a clear obſervation, we found lat. 20 deg. 40 S. At four in the afternoon returned one of our canoes, bringing word that they could not find the iſland, though they had ſearched for it very diligently. At night came the other, being brought back by a wrong ſign given us by the firſt canoe. This ſecond canoe had landed upon the continent, and there found a track, the which they followed for ſome ſpace: here we found a dead whale, with whoſe bones the ſpaniards had built a hut, and ſet up a croſs; there lay alſo many pieces of broken jars. They obſerved likewiſe, that hereabouts, upon the coaſts, are many bays, good landing and anchoring for ſhips. That evening, about ſeven o'clock, a freſh gang went from the ſhip to ſeek the ſame iſland; mean while we lay becalmed all night, driving about a league to leeward.

Wedneſday, January the 26th, we had extreme hot weather: this day the Spaniſh pilot told us, that on the continent over againſt us, a very little way within the land, are very rich mines of ſilver; but that the Spaniards dared not open them, for fear of an invaſion from the enemy. We ſailed north, at the diſtance of about two leagues from ſhore: at noon we had an obſervation, and found lat. 20 deg. 21 S. At four o'clock we ſaw a ſmoke made by our our men, cloſe by a white cliff, which proved to be the iſland. Hereupon, we immediately ſent away another canoe with more men, to ſupply them in their attempts: but in the mean while the firſt ca-

noe, which left us in the evening before, came aboard, bringing with them four priſoners, two old white men, and two Indians.

The other canoe, which ſet out laſt, brought back molaſſes, fiſh, and two jars of wine. To windward of the ſaid iſland is a ſmall village of eighteen or twenty houſes, having a ſmall chapel near it, built of ſtone, and for ornament ſake, it is ſtuck full of hides, or ſkins of ſeals. They found about fifty people in this hamlet, but the greateſt part of them made their eſcape at the arrival of the canoe. To this iſland barks frequently come from Arica (which is but at a little diſtance) to fetch clay, of which they have already carried away a conſiderable quantity. The poor Indians, natives of this iſland, are forced to bring all the freſh water they uſe full eleven leagues from thence, that is, from a river named Camarones, to leeward of the iſland. The bark wherein they uſed to bring it, was then gone for water, when our men landed upon the place. The ſurface of this iſland is all over white, but the bowels are of a reddiſh ſort of earth. From the ſhore is ſeen a great path leading over the mountains into the country. The Indians of this iſland love to eat a ſort of leaves that are in taſte much like our bay leaves in England; inſomuch that their teeth are died of a green colour, by the continual uſe thereof. The inhabitants go ſtark naked, and are a very robuſt and ſtrong people; notwithſtanding they live more like beaſts than men.

Thurſday, January the 27th. This morning, on board the ſhip, we examined one of the old men who were taken priſoners upon the iſland the day before; but finding him in many lyes, as we thought, concerning Arica, our commander ordered him to be ſhot to death, which was accordingly done.

Digitized by Google

done. Our old commander, captain Sharp, was much troubled in his mind, and diſſatisfied at this cruelty and raſh proceeding; whereupon he oppoſed it as much as he could; but ſeeing he could not prevail, he took water and waſhed his hands, ſaying, 'Gentlemen, I am clear of the blood of this 'old man; and I will warrant you a hot day for this 'piece of cruelty, whenever we come to fight at 'Arica'; which fell out accordingly, as you will ſee hereafter.

The other old man being under examination, informed us, that the iſland of Yqueque before-mentioned belonged to the governor of Arica, who was proprietor thereof; and that he allowed theſe men a little wine, and other neceſſaries, to live upon for their ſuſtenance. That he himſelf had the ſuperintendance of forty or fifty of the governor's ſlaves, who caught fiſh and dried it, for the profit of the ſaid governor; and he ſold it afterwards to the inland towns, and reaped a conſiderable benefit thereby. That by a letter received from Arica, eight days ago, they underſtood there was then in the harbour of Arica three ſhips from Chili, and one bark. That they had raiſed there a fortification mounted with twelve copper guns; but that when we were there before, they had conveyed out of the town to the neighbouring ſtations, all their plate, gold, and jewels, burying it in the ground, and otherwiſe concealing it; which, whether it were now brought again or not, he could not tell. That there were two great places, the one at ten, the other at twenty-five leagues diſtance from Arica, where lay all their ſtrength and treaſure. That the day before had paſſed a poſt to declare our having been at Coquimbo. That the embargo laid on all veſſels going to the northward was now taken off; ſo that a free paſſage was allowed them. That by

Digitized by Google

land it was impoſſible to go from hence to Arica in leſs than four or five days, foraſmuch as they muſt carry water for themſelves and horſes for the whole journey. Laſtly, that thoſe arms that were brought from Lima to Arica, as was mentioned above, were now carried from thence to Buenos Ayres. All theſe things pleaſed us mighty well. But however, captain Sharp was ſtill much diſſatisfied at our ſhooting the old man: for he had given us a very true information, namely, that Arica was very well fortified, and much better than before; but our misfortune was, that we looked upon his information as a trick only.

The leaves of which we made mention above, are brought down to this iſland in whole bales, and then diſtributed to the Indians by a ſhort allowance given to each man. This day we had very hot weather and a S. W. ſea. By obſervation we found latitude 20 deg. 13 S. Beſides the things above-mentioned, our priſoners informed us, that at Arica the Spaniards had built a breaſt-work round about the town, and one alſo in every ſtreet, that in caſe one end of it were taken, they might be able to defend the other. We ſtood off and in for the greateſt part of the day. In the afternoon we were eight leagues and a half from ſhore, with a freſh wind. That morning we took the bark that was at the river of Camarones to fill water for the iſland.

Friday, January the 28th. Laſt night about midnight we left the ſhip, and put ourſelves aboard the bark before-mentioned, the launch, and four canoes with deſign to take Arica by ſurprizal. We rowed and ſailed all night, making in for the ſhore.

Saturday, January the 29th. About break of day we got under ſhore, and there hid ourſelves among the rocks all day, fearing leſt we ſhould be deſcried by the enemy before we came to Arica. At this time

Digitized by Google

time we were about five leagues to ſouthward of it, near Quebrada de San Vitor. Night being come, we rowed away from thence.

Sunday, January the 30th, 1680. This day, in the morning about ſun-riſe, we landed amongſt ſome rocks, at the diſtance of four miles, or thereabout, to the ſouthward from Arica. We put on ſhore in all ninety-two men, the reſt remaining in the boats to keep and defend them from being ſurprized by the enemy, to the intent we might leave behind us a ſafe retreat in caſe of neceſſity. With theſe men we left ſtrict orders, that if we made one ſmoke from the town or adjoining fields, they ſhould come after us towards the harbour of Arica with one canoe; but in caſe we made two, that they ſhould bring all away, leaving only fifteen men in the boats. As we marched from our landing place towards the town, we mounted a very ſteep hill, and ſaw from thence no men, nor forces of the enemy; which cauſed us to hope we were not as yet deſcried, and that we ſhould wholly ſurprize them. But when we were come about half way to the town, we ſpied three horſemen, who mounted the Look-out hill; and ſeeing us upon our march, they rid down full ſpeed to the city, to give notice of our approach. Our commander, Watling, choſe out forty of our number to attack the fort, and ſent us away firſt thitherwards, the reſt being deſigned for the town. We that were appointed for the fort had ten hand-granadoes among us, when we gave the aſſault, and with them, as well as with our other arms, we attacked the caſtle, and exchanged ſeveral ſhot with our enemies. But at laſt, ſeeing our main body in danger of being over-borne with the number of our enemies, we gave over that attempt on the fort, and ran down in all haſte to the valley to help and aſſiſt

Digitized by Google

them in the fight. Here the battle was very deſperate, and they killed three, and wounded two more of our men from their outworks before we could gain upon them. But our rage increaſing with our wounds, we ſtill advanced, and at laſt beat the enemy out of all, and filled every ſtreet in the city with dead bodies. The enemy made ſeveral retreats to ſeveral places, from one breaſt-work to another, and we had not a ſufficient number of men wherewithal to man all places taken. Inſomuch, that we had no ſooner beat them out of one place, but they came another way, and manned it again with new forces and freſh men.

We took in every place where we vanquiſhed the enemy, a great number of priſoners, more indeed, than peradventure we ought to have done, or we knew well what to do withal; they being too many for ſuch a ſmall body as ours was to manage. Theſe priſoners informed us, that we had been deſcried no leſs than three days before from the iſland of Yqueque, whereby they were in expectation of our arrival every hour, knowing we had ſtill a deſign to make a ſecond attempt upon that place. That into the city were come 400 ſoldiers from Lima, the which, beſides their own, had brought 700 arms for the uſe of the country people, and that in the town they had 600 armed men, and in the fort 300.

Being now in poſſeſſion of the city, or the greateſt part thereof, we ſent to the fort, commanding them to ſurrender: but they would not ſend us any anſwer. Hereupon we advanced towards it, and gave it a ſecond attack, wherein we perſiſted very vigorouſly for a long time. Being not able to carry it, we got upon the top of a houſe that ſtood near it, and from thence fired down into the fort, killing many of their men, and wounding them at our eaſe and pleaſure. But while we were buſied in this attack, the reſt

Digitized by Google

reſt of the enemy's forces had taken again ſeveral poſts of the town, and began to ſurround us in great numbers, with deſign to cut us off. Hereupon we were conſtrained to deſiſt the ſecond time, as before, from aſſaulting the fort, and make head againſt them. This we had no ſooner done, but their numbers and vigour increaſing every moment, we found ourſelves to be overpowered, and conſequently we thought it convenient to retreat to the place where our wounded men were under the hands of our ſurgeons, that is to ſay, our hoſpital. At this time our new commander, captain Watling, both our quarter-maſters, and a great many more of our men were killed, beſides thoſe that were wounded and diſabled from fighting. So that now the enemy rallying againſt us, and beating us from place to place, we were in a very diſtracted condition, and in more likelihood to periſh every man than eſcape the bloodineſs of that day. Now we found the words of captain Sharp true, being all very ſenſible that we had a day too hot for us, after that cruel heat in killing and murdering in cold blood the old Meſtiſo Indian, whom we had taken priſoner at Yqueque, as we mentioned before.

Being ſurrounded with difficulties on all ſides, and in great diſorder, having no body to give orders what was to be done, we were glad to have our eyes upon our good old commander, captain Bartholomew Sharp, and beg of him very earneſtly to commiſerate our condition, and carry us off. It was a great while before he would take any notice of our requeſt; ſo much was he diſpleaſed with the former mutiny of our people againſt him, all which had been occaſioned by the inſtigation of Mr. Cook. But Sharp is a man of an undaunted courage, and excellent conduct, not fearing the leaſt to look an inſulting enemy in the face, and a perſon that knows

both the theory and practice of navigation as well as moſt do. Hereupon at our earneſt requeſt and petition he took upon him the command in chief again, and began to diſtribute his orders for our ſafety. He would have brought off our ſurgeons, but they having been drinking while we aſſaulted the fort, would not come with us when they were called. They killed and took of our number twenty eight men, beſides eighteen that we brought off, who were deſperately wounded. At this time we were all extreme faint for want of water and victuals, whereof we had none all that day; we were likewiſe almoſt choaked with the duſt of the town, being ſo much raiſed by the work that their guns had made, that we could ſcarce ſee each other. They beat us out of the town, and then followed us into the Savanhas, or open fields, ſtill charging as faſt as they could. But when they ſaw that we rallied again, reſolved to die one by another, they ran from us into the town, and ſheltered themſelves under their breaſt-works. Thus we retreated in as good order as we poſſibly could obſerve in that confuſion. But their horſemen followed us as we retired, and fired at us all the way, though they would not come within the reach of our guns, for theirs reached farther than ours, and out-ſhot us above one third. We took the ſea ſide for our greater ſecurity; which when the enemy ſaw, they betook themſelves to the hills, rolling down great ſtones, and whole rocks to deſtroy us. Mean while thoſe of the town examined our ſurgeons, and other men whom they had made priſoners. Theſe gave them our ſigns that we had left to our boats that were behind us, ſo that they immediately blew up two fires, which were perceived by the canoes. This was the greateſt of our dangers. For had we not come at that inſtant that we did to the ſea ſide, our boats had been gone, they being already under ſail,

Digitized by Google

ſail, and we had inevitably periſhed every man. Thus we put off from the ſhore, and got on board about ten at night, having been involved in a bloody fight with the enemy all that day.

CHAP. XVII.

A deſcription of the bay of Arica. They ſail from hence to the port of Guaſco, where they get proviſions. Deſcription of the ſaid port. They land again at Hilo to revenge the former affronts, and took what they could find.

OUR attempt at Arica being over, January ult. we plied to and fro in the ſight of the port, to ſee if they would ſend out the three ſhips we had ſeen in the harbour to fight us: for upon them we hoped to revenge the defeat and diſappointment we had received at the town the day before. But our expectations in this point alſo were fruſtrated, for not one of thoſe veſſels offered to ſtir.

The houſes of this town of Arica are not above eleven feet high, as being built of earth, and not of brick or timber. The town itſelf is four-ſquare, and at one corner ſtands the caſtle, which may eaſily be commanded, even with ſmall arms, from the hill which lies cloſe to it. This place is the embarcadero, or port-town of all the mineral towns that lie hereabouts, and hence is fetched all the plate that is carried to Lima, the head city of Peru.

On Tueſday, February the 1ſt, we had a clear obſervation, and by it we found lat. 19 deg. 6 S. This day we ſhared the old remains of our plate taken in ſome of our former booties. Our ſhares amounted only to thirty-ſeven pieces of eight each man.

Digitized by Google

N. B. *Here I would have my reader to take notice, that from this day forwards I kept no conſtant* Diary *or* Journal, *as I had done before, at leaſt for ſome conſiderable ſpace of time, as you ſhall ſee hereafter: my diſeaſe and ſickneſs at ſea being the occaſion of intermitting what I had never failed to do in all the courſe of this voyage till now; only ſome few* memorandums, *as my weakneſs gave leave, I now and then committed to paper, the which I ſhall give you as I find them, towards the continuance of this hiſtory, Thus:*

Monday, February the 14th. This night, between eleven and twelve o'clock, William Cook died on board our ſhip, who was ſervant to captain Edmund Cook, of whom mention hath been made in this journal: he deſiſted not, even at his laſt, to accuſe his maſter of buggering him, as before was related: moreover, that his maſter ſhould ſay, 'It was no 'ſin to ſteal from us, who thought it none to rob the 'Spaniards.'

February the 16th, 1680. This day we found ourſelves in lat. 27 deg. 30 ſouth. We had a conſtant breeze at S. E. and S. S. E. till we got about 200 leagues from land; then at the eclipſe of the moon, we had a calm for two or three days, and then a breeze at north for two days, after which we had a calm again for two or three days more.

March the 1ſt, we found latitude by obſervation 34 deg. 1 ſouth. At this time begins the dirty weather in theſe ſeas. We lay under a pair of courſes, the wind being at S. E. and E. S. E. with a very great ſea at S. S. E.

March the 3d, all hands were called up, and a council held; wherein, conſidering it was now dirty weather, and late in the year, we bore up the helm, and reſolved to go to the main for water, and thence to leeward, and ſo march over land towards home, or at leaſt to the north ſea: but God diverted us from

Digitized by Google

from following this reſolution, as you ſhall hear hereafter: we being thus determined that day, we ſtood N. E. with a ſtrong wind at S. E. and E. S. E.

March the 5th, died our Coquimbo Indian. The 7th we had a weſt wind, our courſe being E. by N. The 8th of the ſaid month we were put to an allowance, having only one cake of bread a day. March the 10th, we had a ſtrong ſouth wind.

March the 12th, we fell in with the main land; ſomething to leeward of Coquimbo, within the iſland of Paxaros, are double lands, in whoſe valleys are fires for melting of copper, with which metal theſe hills abound. Off to ſea board is a rocky land, and within ſandy. About the diſtance of eight leagues to leeward is a rocky point, with ſeveral keys or rocks about it: about half a mile to leeward of this point turns in the port of Guaſco; right againſt the anchoring are three rocks cloſe under the ſhore.

Being arrived here, we landed threeſcore men of our company, with deſign to get proviſions, or any thing we could purchaſe. The people of the country ran all away as ſoon as they ſaw us. There was building on the ſhore, in this port, a fire-bark of ſixteen or eighteen tons burthen, with a cock-boat belonging to it. We took one Indian priſoner, and with him went up the ſpace of ſix or ſeven miles into the country, to an Indian town of three or fourſcore houſes; from thence we came back to the church, which is about four miles from the ſea ſide, and lodged there all night. Here are multitudes of good ſheep and goats in the country adjoining to this port, and it is watered with an excellent freſh water river; but the getting of water is very difficult, the banks being very high, or otherwiſe inacceſſible: however, we made a ſhift to get in five hundred jars of water; furthermore, we brought away one hundred

Digitized by Google

dred-and-twenty sheep, and fourscore goats, with which stock we victualled our vessel for a while: as for oxen, they had driven them away farther up into the country. The jurisdiction of Guasco itself is governed by a teniente or deputy governor, and a friar, and is in subjection to the city of la Serena above-mentioned, as having a dependence thereupon: here grows both corn, pease, beans, and several other sorts of grain; and for fruits, this place is not inferior to Coquimbo. Here we found likewise a mill to grind corn, and about two hundred bushels thereof ready ground, the which we conveyed on board our ship. Every house of any account hath branches of water running through their yards or courts. The inhabitants had hid their wine, and the best of their goods, as plate and jewels, having descried us at sea before our landing; so that our booty here, besides provisions, was inconsiderable: however, we caught some few fowls, and eat five or six sheep, and likewise a great hog which tasted very like our English pork. The hills are all barren, so that the country that beareth fruit, is only an excellent valley, being four times as broad as that of Hilo above-mentioned. These people of Guasco serve the town of Coquimbo with many sorts of provisions. We gave the Indian, whom we had taken, his liberty, and I took the port of Guasco thus.

Tuesday, March the 15th, 1680. This morning we departed from the port of Guasco afore-mentioned, with very little wind, having done nothing considerable there, except only the taking in the few provisions above related: we were bent therefore to seek greater matters, having met with ill success in most of our attempts hitherto.

We had now very dark weather all along the coast. March the 21st, we were west from the bay of Mexellones:

Digitized by Google

Mexellones: the point of this bay, one league upwards, repreſents a ſuger-loaf exactly.

March the 22d. This day our boats and canoes went from the ſhip, being well manned, to find the river Loa; they went alſo about two leagues to leeward of it, to a fiſhing village, but could find no place fit for landing, whereupon they returned without doing any thing: the next day another canoe of our company went out upon the ſame exploit, but found the ſame ſucceſs: notwithſtanding, here Sir Francis Drake watered, and built a church, as we were told by our pilot. This church is now ſtanding on the ſea-ſide by the river, whoſe mouth is now dry. There are ſeveral huts to the windward of it; and from the ſaid church or chapel goes a great path up the hills, which lead to Pica.

Thurſday, March the 24th, we found latitude by obſervation 20 deg. 10 ſouth. This day alſo we ſaw land at about eighteen leagues diſtance.

Sunday, March the 27th, we ſaw Mora de Santa and La Cumba at ſome diſtance. The ſame day we had an obſervation, and found it lat. 18 deg. 17 ſouth. That evening we parted from the ſhip with our boats and canoes towards the coaſt of Hilo, upon which we now were: we landed and took the village of Hilo undeſcried, they ſcarce ſuſpecting we could have any deſign upon that place a ſecond time: we caught the friar who was chaplain to the town, and moſt of the inhabitants aſleep, making them priſoners of war. Here we heard a flying report, as if five thouſand Engliſh had taken Panama a ſecond time, and were in poſſeſſion of it. But this rumour proved to be a falſity, as it then ſeemed. At this time the river came out, and was overflown, it being near the time of the freſhes. Here the priſoners told us, that in Arica ten of our men were ſtill alive, whereof three were ſurgeons, all the reſt being dead of

Digitized by Google

of their wounds. The Spaniards ſent word to Hilo, that we had killed them ſeventy men, and wounded three times as many of their forces. But here the inhabitants ſaid, that of forty-five men ſent to the relief of Arica from hence, there came home only two alive. We filled what water we pleaſed here; but a ſmall boat that we brought from Guaſco broke looſe from us, and was ſtaved to pieces on the rocks. Here we took eighteen jars of wine, and good ſtore of new figs. On Tueſday following we went up to the ſugar-work mentioned in our former expedition againſt Hilo, and found all the fruits juſt ripe, and fit for eating: there we landed ſeven mules downwards with molaſſes and ſugar. The inhabitants told us further, that thoſe men who came to fight us when we were here the firſt time, were moſt of them boys, and had only fifty fire arms amongſt them: they being commanded by an Engliſh gentleman, who is married to Arequiqua. Likewiſe that the owner of the ſugar-work before-mentioned was now engaged in a ſuit of law againſt the town of Hilo, pretending it was not the Engliſh who robbed him, and ſpoiled his ingenio, when we were there before, but the townſmen themſelves. This day in the evening we ſailed for Hilo with dark weather, and little wind, which continued for ſeveral days afterwards.

CHAP.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XVIII.

They depart from the port of Hilo to the gulf of Nicoya, where they take down their decks, and mend the sailing of their ship. Forty-seven of their companions leave them, and go home over land. A description of the gulf of Nicoya; they take two barks and some prisoners there. Several other remarks belonging to this voyage.

FROM the time that we set sail from the port of Hilo, till Sunday, April the 10th, 1681, nothing happened to us that might be accounted remarkable; neither did I take any notes all this while, by reason of my indisposition afore-mentioned. This day we could hear distinctly the breaking of the seas upon the shore, but could see no land, the weather being extreme dark and hazy. Notwithstanding about noon it cleared up, and we found ourselves to be in the bay called de Malabrigo: the land in this bay runs due east and west. By an observation made this day, we found 6 deg. 35 south. We saw from hence the leeward island of Labos, or Seals, being nothing but a rocky scraggy place. On the S. W. side thereof is a red hill, much frequented by the Indian fishermen. It is situate in lat. 6 deg. 15 S. This day likewise in the evening we saw the point called Aguja.

On Saturday, April the 16th, we came within a league distance of the west end of the island of Plate above described. The next day, being Sunday, April the 17th, 1681, our mutineers broke out again into an open dissension, they having been much dissatisfied all along this voyage, but more especially since our unfortunate fight at Arica, and never entirely reconciled to us since they chose

Captain

captain Watling, and depoſed Sharp at the iſle of Juan Fernandez, as was related above. Nothing now could appeaſe them, nor ſerve their turn, but a ſeparation from the reſt of the company, and leaving us. Hereupon, this day they left the ſhip, to the number of forty-ſeven men, all in company together, with deſign to go over land, by the ſame way they came into thoſe ſeas. The reſt, who remained behind, did fully reſolve, and faithfully promiſe to each other, that they would ſtick cloſe together. They took five ſlaves in their company, to guide and do them other ſervice in that journey. This day we had 1 deg. 30 minutes ſouthern latitude. We ſailed N. N. W. before the wind.

Next day after their departure, April the 18th, we began to work about taking down one of our upper decks, thereby to cauſe our ſhip ſtill to mend her ſailing. We now made a N. W. by N. way; and had lat. by obſervation 25 north, the wind being at S. W.

April the 19th, we made a N. W. by N. way. This day our obſervation was lat. 2 deg. 45 north. In the afternoon we had cloudy weather. The following day likewiſe we made the ſame way, and by it ſeventy miles, according to my reckoning.

The 21ſt in the morning we had ſome ſmall ſhowers of rain, and but little wind. We ſaw ſome turtle upon the ſurface of the water, and great quantity of fiſh. We caught twenty-ſix ſmall dolphins. By a N. W. by N. way, we reckoned this day forty miles.

April 22d. This day we caught ſeven large dolphins, and one bonito. We ſaw likewiſe whole multitudes of turtles ſwimming upon the water, and took five of them. We had an obſervation that gave us lat. 5 deg. 28 N. Hereabouts runs a great ſtrong current. This day we lowered the quarter

Digitized by Google

quarter deck of our ſhip, and made it even with the upper deck.

The day following we had but ſmall wind, and yet great ſhowers of rain; hereupon every man ſaved water for himſelf; and a great quantity was ſaved for the whole company. In the morning we caught eight bonito's, and in the evening ten more.

April the 24th, we had both cloudy and rainy weather. By an obſervation we had lat. 7 deg. 37 N. Meridian difference was ninety-two leagues. This morning we caught forty bonito's, and in the evening thirty more. In the afternoon we ſtood north, the wind being at S. W. by S.

Monday, April the 25th. All the night before we had large guſts of wind and rain. At break of day we were cloſe in with land, which, upon examination, proved to be the iſland of Cano. To weſtward thereof is very high land. About noon this day it cleared up, and we had lat. 8 deg. 34 N. In the evening we ſent a canoe to ſearch the iſland: in it they found good water, and even ground, but withal an open road. At night we ſtood off the firſt watch, and the laſt we had a land wind.

The day following, at day-light, we ſtood in, and about noon we came to an anchor at the eaſt ſide of the iſland afore-mentioned, which is not above one league over. In the afternoon we removed from our former anchoring-place, and anchored again within ſhot of the N. E. point of the iſland. All over this iſle grow abundance of cocoa-trees. On the north ſide thereof are many rivulets of good water to be found in ſandy bays. We ſaw ſome good hogs on ſhore, whereof we killed one, and two pigs. Here are great numbers of turtle-doves, and huge ſtore of fiſh, but withal very ſhy to be caught.

April

Digitized by Google

April the 27th, we had ſome rain and wind the fore-part of the day; but the afternoon was fair. The next day, in like manner, we had great quantity of rain. On Saturday the 30th, about ſeven o'clock in the morning, we weighed from the aforeſaid iſland with little wind, and ſtood N. W. That day fell much rain, with great thunder and lightning.

Monday, May the 2d. This day we obſerved and found lat. 9 deg. N. The coaſt all along appeared to us very high and mountainous, and ſcarce ſix hours did paſs but we had thunder, lightning, and rain. The like continued for the two days following.

May the 5th, we had an indifferent fair day; and at evening we were right off the gulf of Nicoya.

Friday, May the 6th. This morning we ſaw the cape very plain before us: N. by E. from it, are certain keys at eight leagues diſtance, cloſe under the main. We ſteered N. N. W. towards the biggeſt of them; at whoſe E. S. E. ſide are two or three ſmall rocks. The main eaſtward is fine ſavanna, or plain and even land, through which goes a very great road, which is to be ſeen off at ſea. At noon the port of Caldero, commonly called Puerto Caldero, bore N. from us; at which time the ebb forced us to ſound in the middle of the gulf, where we found fourteen fathom water: after this we anchored nearer the eaſtern keys, in the depth of nineteen fathom, where we had oozy ground.

Saturday, May the 7th. The night before was very fair all night long; in the morning we went in a canoe, being ſeveral in company, to ſeek for a place to lay our ſhip in: amongſt the iſlands along the ſhore we found many brave holes, but little or no water in them, and therefore not for our purpoſe. On one of the ſaid iſlands we found a hat, and many jars of water, by which we knew that people had lately been there: about eight in the evening our

Digitized by Google

our ſhip weighed anchor at young flood, and about three in the afternoon we anchored again in five fathom water.

Saturday, May the 8th, 1681. The night before we had much rain, with thunder and lightning. The morning being come, our commander, captain Sharp, left the ſhip in two canoes, with twenty-two men in his company, out of deſign to ſurprize any veſſels or people they could meet hereabouts. Mean while, in the evening we drove up with the tide there being no wind, in the ſhip, two or three leagues higher, till we found but three fathom high water; here we backed a-ſtern. At this time we ſaw one of our canoes coming off from the iſland that was at head of us (which was named Chira) calling for more men and arms, ſaying, there were two ſail of ſhips higher up the gulf. Hereupon, eight of us went with them aſhore, whereof two joined the party afore-mentioned, and the ſix remaining were appointed to guard the priſoners they had taken: to theſe we ſhewed ourſelves very kind, as finding they were ſenſible of the cruelties of the Spaniards towards them and their whole nation. Here we found to the number of eight or nine houſes, and a ſmall chapel ſtanding: theſe people have been in former times a conſiderable and great nation, but are now almoſt deſtroyed and extinguiſhed by the Spaniards. We aſcended a league up a creek of the ſea, or thereabouts, and took by ſurprizal two barks, which were the two ſail they had told us of before: one of theſe barks was the ſame we had taken before at Panama, of which I made mention at the beginning of this hiſtory.

The Monday following we weighed anchor with our barks, and drove down the creek, with the tide at ebb towards our ſhip. The priſoners we had taken here, informed us, that when we were to weſtward

Digitized by Google

weſtward in theſe ſeas before, there lay 100 men at the port of Santa Maria: that our men, who left us at the iſland Cayboa, as was mentioned above, met the other bark that we loſt at ſea, as we were ſailing thither, and ſo went all over land together: that in the north ſeas, near Puerto Velo, they had taken a good ſhip, to be revenged of the Spaniards, who ſtop up the mouth of Santa Maria, with deſign to hinder others from paſſing that way. At night our captain with twenty-four men went from the ſhip in another creek, and there took ſeveral priſoners, among whom was a ſhipwright and his men, who were judged able to do us good ſervice in the altering our ſhip; thoſe carpenters being actually building two great ſhips for the Spaniards. Having taken theſe men, they made a float of timber, to bring down the tools and inſtruments they were working withal: they alſo put ſeveral tools, and a conſiderable quantity of iron-work into a doree, to be conveyed down the river, which ſunk by the way, as being overladen with iron; and one of our company, named John Alexander, a Scotſman, was unfortunately drowned in her.

Thurſday following, May the 12th, we ſent a canoe from the ſhip, and found the doree that was drowned: that evening likewiſe drove down the body of our drowned man afore-mentioned; hereupon we took him up, and on Friday morning following threw him overboard, giving him three French vollies for his cuſtomary ceremony. Both this day and the day before, we fetched water from a point near the houſes, on the iſland of Chira aforementioned: from the ſhip alſo we ſent away a Spaniſh merchant, whom we had taken among the priſoners, to fetch a certain number of beeves, that might ſerve for a ranſom of the new bark taken here.

Digitized by Google

here. This day the weather was fair, but on Sunday following it rained from morning till night.

Monday, May the 16th, we began to work all on our ship. Tuesday, an Indian boy, named Peter, ran away from us; he belonged to captain Sawkins, and waited upon him as a servant. Wednesday died an Indian slave, whose name was Salvador. Thursday we heard thirty or forty guns fired on the main, which made us think these would also turn to Hilo beeves. Friday, we caught cockles, which were as large as both our fists: at night there fell such dreadful rain, with thunder, lightning, and wind, that for the space of two hours the air was as light as day; the thunder not ceasing all the while.

Saturday night, we had more thunder, lightning, and rain. Sunday, we continued our work.

Wednesday, May the 25th. This day we finished our great piece of work, viz. the taking down the deck of our ship: besides which, the length of every mast was shortened, and all our work finished; insomuch, that it would seem incredible should I here give an account how much work we did in a fortnight or less. The same day likewise we set at liberty our Spanish carpenters, who had been very serviceable to us all this while; the old pilot, the old Spaniard taken at the isle of Yqueque, and several other of our Spanish prisoners and slaves. To these people, but chiefly to the Spanish carpenters, as a reward of their good service, we gave the new bark which we had taken at this place; but the old bark we thought fit to keep, and sail her in our company, as we did, putting into her for this purpose six of our own men and two slaves. The next day we fell down as low as Vanero, a place so called hereabouts, and would have sailed away again that very evening; but that our tackle gave way in hoisting our anchor, which made us lie still. In

Digitized by Google

the gulf of Nicoya we had commonly a freſh breeze, and at night a land wind.

Friday, May the 27th. This day likewiſe we drove down with the tide as low as Cavallo, another place in the gulf: here we ſtaid and watered that day; and one Cannis Marcy, our interpreter, ran away from us.

May the 28th, in the morning we ſailed from thence, and came within twenty-nine leagues of that rich and rocky ſhore; yet, notwithſtanding we had but ſeven fathom water here, I ſaw a white porpus. Behind this iſland is a town called New Cape Blanco. At Puerto Caldero above-mentioned is but one ſtore-houſe: we came to an anchor in the depth of ſeven fathom water, at the diſtance of a league from ſhore, and caught five turtles.

May the 29th. This day we ſaw Cape Blanco. Both this day, and the day following, we continued turning it out of the gulf againſt a ſouth wind.

CHAP. XIX.

They go from Nicoya to Gulfo Dulce, where they careen their veſſel. An account of their ſailings along the coaſt. The Spaniards force the Indians of Darien to a peace by a ſtratagem contrived in the name of the Engliſh.

WEDNESDAY, June the 1ſt, 1681. This day we had very fair weather, yet but little wind; hereupon the tide, or current, drove us to the weſtward of Cabo Blanco: off this cape, and at the diſtance of two miles within the ſea, is ſituate a very bare key.

The coaſt here along runs N. W. half W. and grows lower and lower towards cape Guyones: this cape now mentioned, at ſeven leagues diſtance, and

Digitized by Google

and at N. W. by N. at firſt ſight appeared like two iſlands: the latter part of this day was cloudy, which hindered our proſpect.

June the 2d. This morning we ſaw land, which appeared like ſeveral keys at N. W. by N. and at ſeven leagues diſtance: it was the land of Puerto de Velas.

This evening our captain called us together, and aſked our opinions of the courſe we ſhould ſteer: having diſcuſſed the points by him propoſed amongſt us, we all reſolved to bear up for Golfo Dulce, and there to careen our veſſels: this being done, we concluded to go from thence to the cape, and cruize thereabouts under the æquinoctial. We obſerved this day that our bark, taken at the gulf of Nicoya, ſailed much better than our ſhip.

Friday, June the 3d. The night before was very fair, and we had a freſh wind, our courſe being W. and W. by N. In the evening we ſtood N. E. and deſcried land at the diſtance of about twenty-four leagues from Cabo Blanco.

Sunday, June the 5th. Laſt night we lay by the greateſt part thereof: this morning we ſaw the iſland of Cano above deſcribed, which bore E. S. E. from us: we ſaw multitudes of fiſh, but they would not bite; alſo water-ſnakes of divers colours.

June the 6th. All the night paſt we had rain, with little wind, ſcarce enough to carry us clear off from the iſland afore-mentioned: towards morning we had a freſh wind at N. N. W. So we ſtood out S. till morning, and then we ſtood N. E. by E. The land runs from Punta Mala to Golfo Dulce, and Punta Borrica, E. S. E. half S. at nine leagues diſtance we laid the iſland of Cano.

The weſt end of Golfo Dulce is very high land, and a high rock lies cloſe off it; beſides which, two other rocks lie farther out; the outermoſt of which

Digitized by Google

is a mile diſtant from the ſhore. The eaſt ſide is alſo high, but breaks into ſmall points and bays, growing lower and lower to Punta Borrica. We came about a mile within the mouth of the gulf; then we anchored in eight fathom and a half water. The mouth of the gulf is almoſt three leagues over.

The next day, being June the 7th, we weighed anchor again at young flood, and got about two leagues higher: at evening we came again to anchor in the depth of ſeven fathom and a half water: it rained ſo hard this day till eight o'clock, that the drops could not be diſtinguiſhed one from another.

Wedneſday, June the 8th. At day-break we weighed anchor again, with a freſh ſea-breeze: the higher up we went, the deeper we found the gulf, and at laſt no ground, even with thirty fathom line: this day we ſent our canoe away to ſeek water, and a good place to lay our ſhip in. Having landed, we found one Indian and two boys, all which we made priſoners, and brought aboard. We uſed them very kindly, giving them victuals and clothes, for they had nothing but the bark of a tree to cover their nakedneſs withal: being examined, they informed us that a Spaniſh prieſt had been amongſt them, and had made peace with their nation, ordering them ſtrictly not to come near any ſhip or veſſel that had red colours; for they were Engliſhmen, and would certainly kill them. Being aſked where the prieſt was; they anſwered he was gone to a great Spaniſh town, four ſleeps up in the country. After this, the Indian left the two boys, his children, with us, and went to fetch more Indians to us, from a plantane-wall or grove ſituate by a river about a league off. We came to an anchor in a bay cloſe by one of the Indian keys, where two freſh rivers were within a ſtone's throw of each other, in twenty-ſeven fathom and a half water, and at a cable's length from the

mark

Digitized by Google

mark of low water. The Indians, whom our priſoners went to ſeek, came to us ſeveral times, ſelling us honey, plantanes, and other neceſſaries that we uſually bought of them, or trucked for with other things. We alſo made uſe of their bark-logs in tallowing our ſhip, in which caſe they did us good ſervice. Their darts are headed with iron as ſharp as any razor.

Here one of the priſoners which we took at the gulf of Nicoya informed us by what means, or rather ſtratagem of war, the Spaniards had forced a peace upon the Indians of the province of Darien, ſince our departure from thence. The manner was as follows. A certain Frenchman, who ran from us, at the iſland of Taboga, to the Spaniards, was ſent by them in a ſhip to the river's mouth, which emptied itſelf from that province into the South-ſea. Being arrived there, he went aſhore by himſelf in a canoe, and told the Indians, that the Engliſh, who had paſſed that way, were come back from their adventures in the South-ſea. Withal, he aſked them, if they would not be ſo kind and friendly to the Engliſhmen, as to come aboard and conduct them on ſhore? the poor deceived Indians were very joyful to underſtand this good news; and thus forty of the chiefeſt of them went on board the Spaniſh veſſel, and were immediately carried priſoners of war to Panama. Here they were forced to conclude a peace, though upon terms very diſadvantageous to them, before they could obtain their liberty.

Theſe poor and miſerable Indians of Golfo Dulce would come every day in our company, and eat and drink very familiarly with us all the time we were there. We laid our ſhip on ground, but the water did not ebb low enough to ſee her keel. While we were careening our veſſel, we built a houſe upon the

Digitized by Google

ſhore, both to lodge and eat in; and every day we caught plenty of good fiſh.

Sunday, June the 12th. The work of careening our ſhip going on in due order, we came to cleanſe our hold; and here on a ſudden both myſelf and ſeveral others were ſtruck quite blind with the filth and naſtineſs of it: yet ſoon after we recovered our ſight again, without any other help than the benefit of the freſh air.

June the 14th, we had a great and fierce tornado, with which our cable broke, and had it not then happened to be high water at that inſtant, we had been loſt inevitably: however, we had the good fortune to ſhore her up again, and by that means ſecure ourſelves from farther danger.

June the 21ſt, we weighed anchor again, and went a league higher than the former place. Here we watered, and in the mean while left men below to cut wood.

Thurſday, June the 23d. This day ran away from us two negroes: the name of one of them was Hernando, who was taken, with don Thomas de Argandona, upon the coaſt of Guayaquil, as was mentioned above; the other was named Silveſter, taken at the town of Hilo; following the example of thoſe afore-mentioned.

Monday, June the 27th, that is, four days after, two more of our priſoners endeavoured to make their eſcape, both of them ſlaves: one of theſe was named Franciſco, who was a negro, and had been taken in the cocoa ſhip mentioned before: the name of the other was alſo Franciſco, an Indian born, taken at Panama. Their attempts to eſcape ſucceeded not, for we caught them both again before they got on ſhore.

Tueſday following, I went and ſailed up and down the gulf in a little bark belonging to our ſhip;

Digitized by Google

ſhip; and viewed all the parts of Golfo Dulce: our captain gave this gulf the name of king Charles's harbour.

CHAP. XX.

They depart from Golfo Dulce, to go and cruize under the equinoctial. Here they take a rich Spaniſh veſſel with 37,000 pieces of eight, beſides plate and other goods. They take alſo a pacquet-boat bound from Panama to Lima. An account of their ſailings and the coaſts along.

OUR veſſel being now careened, and all things in a readineſs for our departure, Tueſday, June the 28th, in the afternoon, we weighed anchor to go to ſea again, turning out towards the mouth of Golfo Dulce. Our deſign was to cruize under the equinoctial, as had been concluded upon before, thereby to get what purchaſe we could by ſea, ſeeing the greateſt part of our attempts upon land had proved hitherto very unſucceſsful to us.

Wedneſday, June the 29th. Both the night laſt paſt and this day we had rainy weather. About three in the afternoon a freſh gale ſprang up at S. W. and S. S. W. our courſe being S. E. and S. E. by S. At five this evening the gulf bore N. W. by W. being ſeven leagues diſtant, and Punta Borrica three leagues and a half diſtant.

Thurſday, June the 30th. All night paſt we enjoyed a freſh gale at S. S. W. We ſailed in the bark, where I was, better than the man of war; for ſo we called the Trinity veſſel; notwithſtanding ſhe was newly cleanſed and tallowed. This day we had hazy weather, and I reckoned myſelf from Punta Borrica S. S. E. eighteen leagues and a half.

July the 1ſt, 1681. Laſt night we had two or

Digitized by Google

three tornadoes: I reckoned this day a S. S. E. way, and by a clear obſervation found lat. 6 deg. 10 north. We ſaw great quantities of fiſh as we ſailed this day.

July 2d, we made a S. E. way, and our reckoning was 64 by it: by obſervation I found lat. 5 deg. 20 north. At noon the ſame day we had a freſh gale at S. W. with ſome rain.

July the 3d, we had hazy weather. We made a S. S. E. by S. way, 37.

Monday, July the 4th. The night paſt was windy with rain, which forced us to hand our top-ſails. Our reckoning this day was a S. E. way, and a hundred miles.

July the 5th. We had a clear night the laſt paſt, and withal a freſh gale; by this we made a S. E. way. Our latitude this day gave us 2 deg. 20 north. This morning we ſaw land ſouthward of us, lying in low hammocks: it was the point of Manglares.

Wedneſday, July the 6th, we turned up along ſhore, and by obſervation took this day lat. 2 deg. 2 N. Hereabouts every new moon is a windward current. In the evening we were cloſe in with low land: we had windy weather, and a great ſea.

Thurſday, July the 7th. This day, by obſervation taken, we found lat. 1 deg. 48 north. In the evening we loſt ſight of the ſaid ſhip.

July the 8th, we ſaw the ſhip again, for the loſs whereof we began to be in ſome doubt. This day we made very high land all along as we went: and the port, or rather bay, of San Matteo, or St. Mathews, appeared like ſeveral iſlands.

Saturday, July the 9th. This morning we ſtood fair in with the port of Tucames. Off of the higheſt part of the land there ſeems to be a key. This day at noon we had a clear obſervation, which gave us latitude 1 deg. 22 north.

Sunday,

Digitized by Google

Sunday, July the 10th. Laſt night we ſtood off to ſea, thereby to keep clear of the ſhore. This day's obſervation ſhewed us latitude 1 deg. 31 north. About noon the ſame day, we happened to eſpy a ſail, which we immediately gave chace to. We bore up to the point of the compaſs, thereby to hinder her laſking away; notwithſtanding, in the evening we loſt ſight of her: however, our great ſhip got up with her, and about eight of the clock at night made her a prize: ſhe proved to be the ſhip named San Pedro, which we had taken the laſt year, being then bound from Truxillo to Panama, and laden with wine, gunpowder, and pieces of eight, whereof mention was made before. We took her twice in leſs than fourteen months. She had on board her now 21,000 pieces of eight, in eight cheſts, and in bags 16,000 more, beſides plate.

Monday and Tueſday, the 11th and 12th of July, we made in for the ſhore. Our prize was ſo hard laden, that ſhe ſeemed quite buried in the water. She had forty men on board her, beſides ſome merchants and friars. On Tueſday an obſervation gave us latitude 1 deg. 20 north.

Wedneſday, July the 13th. This day we dared not adventure into the bay of San Matteo, becauſe we ſaw ſome Indians who had made a great fire on ſhore, which, as we judged, was deſignedly done to give intelligence of our arrival: hereupon we bore away for the river of San Iago, about ſix leagues north-eaſt from the bay before-mentioned.

Thurſday, Friday, and Saturday following, we ſpent in taking out of our prize what parcels of cocoa nuts we thought fit, ſhe being chiefly laden with that commodity. This being done, we cut down the main-maſt by the board, and gave them only their main-ſail, and thus turning the ſhip

Digitized by Google

looſe, ſent away in her all our old ſlaves for the good ſervice they had done us, taking new ones from the prize in their room. One only we ſtill detained, who was Franciſco the negro, that attempted to run away by ſwimming aſhore.

Sunday, July the 17th. This day we went from the ſhip, and found the river of San Iago beforementioned. At the mouth of this river we ſtaid Monday and Tueſday following to take in water, which we now much wanted. On the ſides of the river we found good ſtore of plantains: our freſh water we fetched four miles up the river. We ſaw ſeveral Indians, but could not ſpeak with them, they were ſo ſhy of us, being forewarned by the Spaniards not to come near us.

Wedneſday, July the 20th, we ſhared our plunder, or rather made part of the dividend of what we had taken, the reſt being reſerved to another day. Our priſoners being examined, informed us that the Spaniards had taken up our anchors and cables, which we left behind us at the iſle of Juan Fernandez; alſo that they had ſurprized the Muſquito Indian that we left behind us there on ſhore, by the light of a fire which he made in the night upon the iſle.

Tueſday, July the 21ſt. All the four-and-twenty hours laſt paſt we ſtood off and in. The next day we ſhared the reſt of our things taken in the prize, as alſo the money that was in the bags; the reſt we laid up to divide upon another occaſion; eſpecially when we were got through the ſtreights of Magellan. Our dividend amounted to the ſum of 234 pieces of eight a man. Our priſoners informed us this day, that a new viceroy of Peru was arrived at Panama, and that he dared not adventure up to Lima in a ſhip of twenty-five guns, that was at Panama, for fear of meeting with us at ſea, but had choſe

Digitized by Google

chose rather to stay till the Armada came down from Lima to conduct him thither.

July the 23d, we had a fresh breeze at S. W. and the next day a clear observation, which gave us only latitude 14 M. north. This day we saw cape St. Francisco, N. E.

Monday, July the 25th. This day we observed latitude 1 deg. 20 S. and we had S. W. wind. July the 26th. This morning we had a very great dew fallen in the night last past. The weather in like manner was very close. On Wednesday, July the 27th, we were at S. S. W. of Cape Passao, and at six leagues distance.

The same morning about seven of the clock we spied a sail E. S. E. from us, under shore. We presently gave her close chace, and about noon came up with her. But several of her crew got on shore, and made their escape, viz. a friar, who was either a passenger, or chaplain to the vessel, and five negroes. She proved to be a barco de aviso, or packet-boat, that was going with letters from Panama to Lima. In this bark we took, among other prisoners, two white women, who were passengers to the same place. These and the rest of the prisoners told us, they had heard at Panama, that we were all gone out of these seas homewards over land, and that made them adventure now up towards Lima; otherwise they had not come. This day, and Thursday following, we spent in rummaging the packet-boat, in which we could find nothing of value, they having scarce brought any thing with them but the packet. They told us moreover, that the new viceroy of Peru, of whom we made mention above, was setting forth from Panama, under the conduct of three sail of ships; one of sixteen, another of eight, and a third of six guns: that a general peace was all over Europe, except only that

Digitized by Google

the Engliſh had wars with the Algerines by ſea, and the Spaniards by land. Having got what we could out of the priſoners and the veſſel, we gave them their liberty, and ſent them away in the ſame bark, as being deſirous not to encumber ourſelves with more than we could well manage. That night we ſtood out to ſea all night long, moſt of our men being fuddled.

CHAP. XXI.

They take another Spaniſh ſhip richly laden, under the equinoctial. They make ſeveral dividends of their booty among themſelves. They arrive at the iſle of Plate, where they are in danger of being all maſſacred by their ſlaves and priſoners. Their departure from thence for the port of Paita, with deſign to plunder the ſaid place.

NEXT morning, after we had turned away the packet-boat before-mentioned, the weather being very cloſe, we ſpied another ſail creeping cloſe under our lee. This veſſel looked mighty big; ſo that we thought ſhe had been one of their chiefeſt men of war, who was ſent to ſurprize or deſtroy us. Notwithſtanding our brave commander, captain Sharp, reſolved to fight, and either take her though never ſo big, or ſhe us: in order thereto, coming nearer her, we eaſily perceived ſhe was a merchant ſhip of great bulk, as moſt Spaniſh veſſels are, and withal very deeply laden. Being up with them, they fired three or four guns at us firſt, thinking to make their party good againſt us; but we anſwered them briſkly with a continual volley of ſmall arms, ſo that they ſoon run down into the hold, and ſurrendered, crying aloud for quarter. We killed in that volley their captain, and one ſeaman, and alſo wounded

Digitized by Google

wounded their boatſwain. The loſs of their commander ſo daunted them, he being a man of good repute in thoſe ſeas, that they ſurrendered immediately. Captain Sharp, with twelve more of our company, entered her firſt. In this veſſel I ſaw the beautifulleſt woman that ever I ſaw in the South-ſea. The name of the captain of the veſſel was don Diego Lopez, and the ſhip was called El Santo Roſario, or the Holy Roſary. The men we found on board her were about forty.

Having examined our priſoners, they informed us, that the day before they ſet ſail from El Callao (from which port they were going towards Panama) our men, whom they had taken priſoners at Arica, were brought into that place; and that they had been very civilly entertained there by all ſorts of people, but more eſpecially by the women. That one of our ſurgeons, whom we ſuſpected to be Mr. Bullock, was left behind, and remained ſtill at Arica.

We lay at anchor from Friday, July the 29th, which was the day we took this prize, till Wedneſday following, under Cape Paſſao, the place we anchored at before. Here we ſunk the bark we had taken at the gulf of Nicoya, being willing to make uſe of what rigging ſhe had, and alſo to contract our number of men. In the mean while we took a great deal of plate out of the prize, and ſome money ready coined, beſides ſix hundred and twenty jars of wine and brandy, and other things. Thus, leaving only the foremaſt ſtanding in the veſſel, we turned her away, as we had done the others before; together with all the priſoners in her, giving them their liberty, not being willing to be encumbered with them; and withal, being deſirous to ſpare our proviſions as much as we could. We detained only one man, named Franciſco, who was a Biſ-

Digitized by Google

canier, becauſe he told us himſelf he was the beſt pilot in thoſe ſeas. This being done, we ſhared all the plate and linen taken in her, and weighed from thence, ſtanding S. S. E. with a freſh wind.

Friday, Auguſt the 4th. This day we ſhared the ready money taken in the Roſario, our laſt prize. Our dividend came to ninety-four pieces of eight a man. We were now at N. E. of Cape Paſſao, under which all theſe prizes were taken.

The land runs S. E. and is for five leagues together, to windward of this cape, all mountainous and high land.

Next day, being Auguſt the 5th, we completed our dividends, ſharing this day all our odd money ready coined, and plate, with ſome other things.

Saturday, Auguſt the 6th. This day peruſing ſome letters taken in the laſt prize, I underſtood by them that the Spaniards had taken priſoner one of the laſt party of our men that left us; alſo, that they were forced to fight all their way over land as they went, both againſt the Spaniards and Indians; theſe having made peace with the Spaniards ſince our departure, as was mentioned above: that our Engliſhmen had killed, amongſt other Spaniards, the brother of captain Aſſientos, and captain Alonſo, an officer ſo named. Moreover, that ten ſail of privateers were coming out of the North-ſea, with intent to march over land into the South-ſea, as we had done before, but that they were prevented, being forced back by the great rains that fell near the iſlands called Zemblas.

Auguſt the 7th, we had very fair weather, and notwithſtanding ſometimes ſtrong winds from ſhore, and a ſtrong current to leeward. This fan ſo fierce againſt us the next day, Auguſt the 8th, that in four-and-twenty hours we loſt three leagues.

Tueſday, Auguſt the 9th, we ſaw the port and town

Digitized by Google

town of Manta; being only ſixteen or ſeventeen ſtraggling houſes, with a large and high brick church belonging to it. What we got in the day by the help of the wind, we loſt in the night by the current. The ſame fortune we had the next day, for we ſtill gained no way all this while.

Thurſday, Auguſt the 11th. All the night paſt we had but little wind; this day we had a violent current to windward, as before, with ſome guſts of wind. However, by the help of theſe, we made ſhift to get to windward of the iſle of Plate.

Auguſt the 12th, in the morning, we came to anchor at the aforeſaid iſle: we ſent our boat aſhore with men, as we had done formerly, to kill goats, but we found them extreme ſhy to what they were the laſt year. Here it was that our quarter-maſter James Chappel and myſelf fought a duel on ſhore. In the evening our ſlaves agreed among themſelves, and plotted to cut us all in pieces when we were aſleep, not giving quarter to any: they conceived this night afforded them the fitteſt opportunity, by reaſon we were all in drink; but they were diſcovered to our commander by one of their own companions: and one of them named San Iago, whom we brought from Yqueque, leapt overboard; who notwithſtanding was ſhot in the water by our captain, and thus puniſhed for his treaſon: the reſt laid the fault on that ſlave, and ſo it paſſed, we being not willing to enquire any farther into the matter, having terrified them with the death of their companion. We lay at this iſle till Tueſday following, and in the interim gave our veſſel a pair of boots and tops, being very merry all the while with the wine and brandy we had taken in the prize.

Tueſday, Auguſt the 16th. In the afternoon, we weighed from thence with a S. W. wind.

Wedneſday, Auguſt the 17th. We got eaſt of the

Digitized by Google

the iſland this morning, two leagues and a half diſtance.

All the day till the morning we had a leeward current, but then I could not perceive any.

Thurſday, Auguſt the 18th. This evening we were to windward of the iſland of Solango. In the night before we had a continual miſty rain. At noon the aforeſaid iſland bore N. by E. of us, at three leagues diſtance.

About three leagues from Solango are two rocks, called Los Abercados: they appear both high and black. Beſides this, N. N. E. from point St. Helena, is a high rock, which to windward thereof runs ſhoaling for the ſpace of half a mile under water: it is diſtant about eight leagues from the ſaid point, and is called Chanduy. At this place, and upon this rock, was loſt the ſhip afore-mentioned, that was ordered from theſe ſeas to the aid of Charles the Firſt, king of England. This ſhip had on board, as the Spaniards relate, many millions of pieces of eight, being ſent as a preſent to him, he being then in his troubles, by the merchants of Lima. The rock afore-mentioned lies about two leagues diſtant from the main.

Auguſt the 29th. This day our pilot told us, that ſince we were to windward, a certain ſhip that was coming from Lima, bound for Guayaquil, ran aſhore on Santa Clara, loſing there in money to the value of 100,000 pieces of eight, which otherwiſe, peradventure, we might very fortunately have met withal. Moreover, that the viceroy of Peru had beheaded their great admiral Ponce, for not coming to fight and deſtroy us, while we were at Gorgona. This evening we ſaw the point Santa Helena, ten leagues to S. S. E. from us.

Auguſt the 20th. This day we had both miſty and cold weather: in the afternoon we ſaw la Punta

de

Digitized by Google

de Santa Helena, at N. E. by N. and at about ſeven leagues diſtance.

On Sunday, Auguſt the 21ſt, we had a fair and clear day: I reckoned myſelf to be about twenty-five leagues to the ſouthward of Santa Helena.

Auguſt the 22d. This morning about two o'clock we came cloſe in with the ſhore. We found ourſelves to be leeward of a certain point called Punta de Mero, which is only a barren rocky point: here runs an eddy current under the ſhore.

Tueſday, Auguſt the 23d. This day in the morning we had but little wind: at noon it blew freſh again. We made all day but ſhort trips, and riffed top ſails.

Wedneſday, Auguſt the 24th. This morning a great dew fell: at noon we were weſt from Cape Blanco. We found by obſervation lat. 4 deg. 13 S. We reſolved now to bear up to Paita, and take it by ſurpriſal if poſſible, thereby to provide ourſelves with many neceſſaries we wanted.

CHAP. XXII.

They arrive at Paita, where they are diſappointed of their expectations, as not daring to land, ſeeing all the country alarmed before them. They bear away for the ſtreight of Magellan. An account of their ſailings towards the ſtreight afore-mentioned.

THurſday, Auguſt the 25th. Wedneſday night we ſtood off to ſea for fear of the ſhore, leſt we ſhould be deſcried from the coaſt of Paita, which we were now pretty nigh. About noon this day we began to ſtand in again, and ſaw the homing of land, though with hazy weather. The next day, being Auguſt the 26th, we had cold winds, great dews, and dry weather.

Saturday,

Digitized by Google

Saturday, Auguſt the 27th. All this day, eſpecially in the morning, we had a great fog. In the afternoon we ſaw la Silla de Paita at W. S. W. being about five leagues from it.

Sunday, Auguſt the 28th. Laſt night about ten, we were cloſe in with land, at about half a league to leeward of the iſland of Lobos. We continued our courſe all that night, and about break of day found ourſelves cloſe under Pena Horadada, which is a high and ſteep rock. From this place we ſailed with a land-wind, and ſent from the ſhip two canoes well manned and armed, hoping we ſhould take the town of Paita undeſcried. But it ſeems they had already got news of our coming, or being upon that coaſt; and ſupplies of forces were ſent them from Piura, twelve leagues up the country. Theſe ſupplies conſiſted chiefly of three companies of horſe and foot, all of them armed with fire-arms. Beſides this, they had made, for the defence of the town, a breaſt-work along the ſea-ſide, and the great church which lies at the outermoſt part of the town. From theſe places, as alſo from a hill that covers the town, they fired at our men, who were innocently rolling towards ſhore with their canoes. This untimely firing was the preſervation of our people: for had the Spaniards permitted our men to come aſhore, they had aſſuredly deſtroyed them every man; but fear always hindereth that nation of victory in moſt of our attempts.

Our men perceiving themſelves diſcovered, and the enemy prepared for their reception, retreated, and came aboard the ſhip again without attempting to land, or do any thing elſe in relation to the taking of the place. We judged there could be no leſs than 150 fire-arms, and four times as many lances upon the ſhore, all in a readineſs to hinder our people from landing. Within the town, our pilot told us, there might be about 150 families.

Being

Digitized by Google

Being diſappointed of our expectations at Paita, we ſtood down the bay towards Colan, three times as big as Paita. It is chiefly inhabited by fiſhermen, who ſend fiſh to moſt inland towns of Peru; and alſo ſerve Paita with water from the river Colan, not far from the town. It is about two leagues from the town of Paita before-mentioned to Colan, and from thence to the river one league, although the houſes of Colan reach almoſt to the river. The town of Colan is only inhabited by Indians, who are all rich; becauſe they will be paid in ready money for every thing they do for the Spaniards. But the town of Paita is chiefly inhabited by Spaniards, though there be alſo ſome Indians; but the Spaniards do not ſuffer the Indians to be any great gainers, or grow rich under them.

About ten o'clock a ſmall breeze ſprung up, and with that we ſtood away weſt, and W. by S. In a little time it blew ſo freſh, that we were forced to riff our top-ſails, the weather being very dark and hazy.

Monday, Auguſt the 29th, all our hopes of doing any farther good upon the coaſts of the South-ſeas being now fruſtrated, ſeeing we were deſcried before our arrival wherever we came, we reſolved unanimouſly to quit all other attempts, and bear away for the ſtreights of Magellan, in order to our return homewards, either for England, or ſome of our plantations in the Weſt-Indies. This day we had a great dew, and I reckoned myſelf W. S. W. from Paita thirteen leagues and a half, with very little wind; ſo we ſtood eaſt.

The next day, Auguſt the 30th, we had miſty weather; we made a W. S. W. way, and by it five leagues and one third. In the afternoon the wind freſhened again, having been but little before, and we ſtood E. S. E.

The

The laſt day of Auguſt we had very fair weather. I believe now that the wind was ſettled S. E. and S. S. E. We made a S. S. W. way, and twenty-one leagues and two thirds.

September the 1ſt. The night paſt was very cloudy, but withal we had a freſh gale. Our reckoning was a S. W. way, and that we had made ſixteen leagues and two thirds.

September the 2d, we reckoned a S. W. way, and by it twenty-ſix leagues and two thirds. This day we had an obſervation, and found latitude 7 deg. 40 ſouth.

September the 3d brought us both cloudy and miſty weather. We made a W. S. W. way, and fourteen leagues.

September the 4th. This day the wind was at E. S. E. and ſometimes E. coming in many flaws. We had a S. W. by S. way, and reckoned twenty-three leagues and two thirds. We had a great ſea from the ſouth.

Monday, September the 5th, we had great winds, and a high and ſhort ſea. Our way was S. S. W. and half W. by which we reckoned 28 leagues and two thirds of a league.

September the 6th, we had a very freſh wind at S. E. by E. with an indifferent ſmooth ſea. By obſervation we found this day latitude 12 deg. 0. S. We made a S. W. by S. way, and twenty leagues and one third.

Wedneſday, September the 7th, we had a very freſh wind. We reckoned a S. W. by S. way, and thirty-ſix leagues. We obſerved latitude 13 deg. 24 S. We made now each meſs a plumb-pudding of ſalt-water and wine-lees.

The 8th, we had a freſh gale of wind, but hazy weather. Our reckoning was a S. W. by S. way, and hereby twenty-five leagues and one third of a league.

Sep-

Digitized by Google

September the 9th, we made a S. W. by S. way, and twenty-one leagues and a third. In the afternoon the wind came about ſomething more ſoutherly, allowing us a S. W. courſe.

Saturday, September the 10th. All the night paſt and this morning the wind was very freſh at eaſt. Our way was S. S. W. and by our reckoning thirty-five leagues and one third: the weather was now warm. An obſervation this day gave lat. 16 deg. 40 ſouth.

September the 11th, we had whiffling winds: a ſouth-weſt half ſouth way, and thereby twelve leagues and two thirds. By an obſervation we made, we found 17 deg. 10 ſouth. Now we had a very great ſea; ſo that we took in our ſprit-ſail.

September the 12th. All the night before we were under a pair of courſes; yet this morning we heaved out our main top-ſail. We made a W. S. W. way, and ſeventeen leagues and one third. By obſervation we found lat. 17 deg. 30 ſouth.

The 13th. The night paſt we had great and huge ſtorms of wind. In the morning our gooſe-head gave way, ſo that about noon we were forced to lie by till four in the afternoon to mend it. Our courſe was S. W. half W. and our reckoning twenty-nine leagues and two thirds of a league. Latitude by obſervation 18 deg. 12 ſouth.

Wedneſday, September the 14th. This day we had very hazy weather. We made a S. S. W. way, and twenty leagues.

September the 15th. This day likewiſe we had a S. S. W. way, and reckoned twenty-three leagues and one half. Our obſervation taken this day gave us lat. 20 deg. 9 ſouth.

September the 16th, we had a clear day, a S. W. half ſouth way, and made ſixteen leagues and two thirds. We found by obſervation lat. 20 deg. 48 ſouth.

The

Digitized by Google

The 17th. Laſt night was very calm; alſo this day, being a full-moon. We reckoned a S. W. way, and only (by reaſon of the calmneſs of the weather) nine leagues and one third of a league. We had an obſervation, which afforded us 21 deg. 8 S. latitude.

Sunday, September the 18th. Laſt night a wind ſprang up at S. S. E. which this morning freſhened at S. E. We made a W. S. W. way, and by it eighteen leagues. This day likewiſe we had a clear obſervation, that ſhewed us lat. 21. deg. 30 S.

September the 19th. All the night paſt we had a very freſh wind; but this morning it came about to E. by S. and E. S. E. with hazy weather. I reckoned a S. W. by S. way, and twenty-two leagues.

September the 20th. This day gave us a freſh wind, hazy weather, and S. by W. way, and hereupon twenty-three leagues and one third.

September the 21ſt. This day alſo the freſh gale continued, with cloudy, and ſometimes miſty weather. Our reckoning ſhewed us a S. by W. way, as the day before, and by it twenty-eight leagues and one third. By obſervation made we found lat. 25 deg. 15 ſouth.

Thurſday, September the 22d. This day we had a very freſh wind: we reckoned a ſouth half W. way, and by that twenty-nine leagues and two thirds. An obſervation taken gave us lat. 26 deg. 42 ſouth. We obſerved this day a north-eaſt ſea, which was very ſtrange to us.

The next day we had ſeveral ſhowers of ſmall rain: my reckoning was a S. by W. way, and thereupon twenty-ſix leagues. We found by obſervation lat. 27 deg. 57 ſouth.

September the 24th, we had hazy weather, and the wind not ſo freſh at E. S. E. with a ſmooth ſea: we made a S. S. W. way half weſterly, and twenty

Digitized by Google

twenty-three leagues and two thirds. This day alſo an obſervation gave us lat. 28. deg. 57 ſouth. I reckoned now that we were diſtant from Paita 302 leagues and two thirds.

Sunday, September the 25th. This day we had not much wind, and withal hazy weather. At noon the wind came eaſt, then E. N. E. and then again N. E. by E. We reckoned a S. by E. way, half eaſterly and 55 leagues.

Monday the 26th, we had hazy weather, and a freſh wind at N. E. We reckoned a S. E. half ſouth way, and twenty-four leagues. In the afternoon we experimented a N. N. E. ſea, and then a N. N. E. wind; after this a north wind, and that but a little.

September the 27th. All the night before this day we had a freſh wind at N. N. E. About eight this morning it came about again to N. N. W. We made a S. E. by S. way, and thirty-eight leagues. By obſervation I found lat. 32 deg. 30 ſouth. Now we enjoyed a very ſmooth ſea, and fair weather.

Wedneſday, September the 28th. The night paſt we had a very freſh wind at N. N. W. and N. W. At break of day we had a wind at——heaving us a-back at once. At noon again the wind was at S. W. our courſe being S. E. This morning we took down our top-gallant maſts. We made a S. E. by E. way, and on this road twenty-ſeven leagues and two thirds. We found, by an obſervation made, lat. 33 deg. 16 ſouth, a ſouth-weſt ſea.

The 29th, we had very windy and hazy weather, with ſome rain now and then. All laſt night we handed our main top-ſail. We made a S. E. by E. way, and thirty-two leagues and two thirds. We had a ſouth-weſt ſea and wind.

Friday, September the 30th. This day we had freſh winds between S. W. and W. We reckoned a S. E.

Digitized by Google

a S. E. half ſouth way, and thereupon forty-four leagues. By obſervation we found lat. 35 deg. 54 ſouth.

October the 1ſt. The wind this day was not very freſh, but varying. My reckoning was a S. E. half ſouth way, and twenty-four leagues. An obſervation gave us lat. 36 deg. 50 ſouth. This day I finiſhed another quadrant, being the third I finiſhed in this voyage. We had a ſouth-weſt ſea, with ſhowers of rain and guſts of wind.

Sunday, October the 2d. The wind this day was hanging between W. N. W. and N. W. by N. We made a S. E. by ſouth way, and thirty-three leagues and two thirds. By obſervation we found 38 deg. 14 ſouth: about noon we had a freſh wind at N. W. and S. W.

October the 3d. The laſt night in the fore part thereof was clear, but the latter was rainy: the wind very freſh at N. W. by N. But this day we had little wind and cloudy weather; a S. W. by W. wind, and a S. E. by S. way, by which we reckoned thirty-three leagues and one third of a league.

October the 4th. We had a clear night, and a very freſh wind: we reckoned by a S. E. by E. way, and thereby forty-three leagues. An obſervation taken ſhewed us, that we were in lat. 41 deg. 34 ſouth. This day alſo fell ſeveral ſhowers of rain.

October the 5th. We had a windy night the laſt paſt, and clear day. We reckoned a S. S. E. half E. way, and forty-four leagues and two thirds. By an obſervation made, we found lat. 43 deg. 26 ſouth. The weather now was very windy, cauſing a huge tempeſtuous ſea. The wind at N. W. and N. W. by N. blowing very high.

October the 6th. This day the wind was ſtill at N. W.

Digitized by Google

N. W. and yet not ſo freſh as it was yeſterday; the weather very foggy and miſty: as for the wind, it came in guſts, ſo that we were forced to hand our top-ſails and ſprit-ſail. We reckoned a S. E. half S. way, and thereby forty-three leagues, and one third of a league. The ſeas now were not ſo high, as for ſome days paſt: in the evening we ſcudded away under our fore courſe.

Friday, October the 7th. Laſt night was very cloudy, and this day both dark and foggy weather, with ſmall rain. We made a S. E. way, and thirty leagues and two thirds: a freſh wind at N. N. W. and N. W. We kept ſtill under a fore courſe, not ſo much for the freſhneſs of the wind, as the cloſeneſs of the weather.

October the 8th. We had a clear night the night paſt, and withal a ſtrong gale; inſomuch, that this day we were forced to take in our fore-ſail, and looſen our mizen, which was ſoon blown to pieces. Our eldeſt ſeamen ſaid, that they were never in the like ſtorm of wind before; the ſea was all in a foam: in the evening it dulled a little. We made a S. E. half E. way, and eighteen leagues, with very dark weather.

Sunday, October the 9th. All the night paſt we had a furious W. N. W. wind. We ſet our ſail a-drough, and ſo drove to the ſouthward very much, and almoſt incredibly, if an obſervation had not happened, which gave us lat. 48. 15 S. We had a very ſtiff gale at W. N. W. with a great ſea from W. which met with a S. S. W. ſea as great as it. Now the weather was very cold, and we had one or two froſty mornings. Yeſterday in the afternoon we had a very great ſtorm of hail: at noon we bent another mizen.

Monday, October the 10th. This day brought us a freſh wind at N. N. W. We made a S. E. half E. way,

Digitized by Google

way, and by it forty-four leagues. By obſervation we found lat. 49 deg. 41 S. I reckoned myſelf now to be eaſt of Paita ſixty-nine leagues and a half.

Tueſday, October the 11th. Laſt night we had a ſmall time calm. This day was both cloudy and rainy weather. The wind at S. W. and S. S. W. ſo furious, that at ten this morning we ſcudded under a main-ſail: at noon we lowered our fore-yard while we ſailed. We made a S. E. by E. way, and thirty leagues.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Bucaniers arrive at a place unknown to them, which they new-name the duke of York's iſlands. A deſcription of the ſaid iſlands, and of the gulf, or Lagoon, wherein they lie, ſo far as it was ſearched. They remain there many days by diſtreſs of weather, not without great danger of being loſt. An account of ſome other things remarkable that happened there.

WEdneſday, October the 12th. All laſt night we had many high winds. I reckoned an E. S. E. way, and twenty leagues; for our veſſel drove at a great rate. Moreover, that we were in lat. 50 deg. 50 S. So that our eaſting from Paita by my account ought to be 101 leagues or thereabouts.

This morning about two hours before day, we happened by great accident to eſpy land: it was the great mercy of God, which had always attended us in this voyage, that ſaved us from periſhing at this time; for we were cloſe aſhore before we ſaw it, and our fore-yard, which we moſt needed on this occaſion, was taken down. The land we had ſeen was very high and towering, and there appeared to be

Digitized by Google

be many islands scattered up and down. We steered in with what caution we could, between them and the main, and at last arrived at a place, or rather bay, where we perceived ourselves to be land locked, and, as we thought, pretty safe from the danger of those tempestuous seas. From hence we sent away our canoe to sound and search the fittest place for anchoring. At this time one of our men, named Henry Shergall, as he was going into our sprit-sail top, happened to fall into the water, and was drowned before he could have any help, though we endeavoured it as much as we could. This accident several of our company did interpret as a bad omen of the place; which proved not so, through the providence of the Almighty; though we were not clear of dangers neither, as I shall relate.

We came to an anchor in about forty fathom water, at a stone's cast only from shore. The water where we anchored was very smooth, and the high lands round about all covered with snow. Having considered the time of the year, and all other circumstances, we resolved, that in case we could find a sufficient stock of provisions here, we would stay the longer, that is, till the beginning of summer, or something longer, before we prosecuted our intended voyage homewards through the streights of Magellan; which now we began to be careful how to find. That day we anchored in this bay, we shot six or eight brave geese, besides some small fowl. Here we found many hundreds of muscle-banks, all which were very plentifully stocked with that kind of fish. We buried our dead man on the shore, giving him several vollies for his funeral rites, according to custom. At night our anchor came home, so that we were forced to let go a grappling to secure ourselves. But still every flaw of wind drove us. Hereupon we set our sprit-sail, and ran

Digitized by Google

above a mile into another bay, where we anchored again: the firſt anchor, which was the biggeſt in our ſhip, we loſt by this accident, the cable being cut by the rocks. Theſe iſlands afore-mentioned our captain new-named, his royal highneſs the duke of York's iſlands.

Thurſday, October the 13th. This day we began to moor our ſhip, ſhe driving, as we eaſily could perceive, with every flaw of wind that blew. The tide flows here full ſeven feet up and down: we moored our veſſel in a rocky point, being a key, whereof there be many in the circumference of this bay. The ground of the bottom of the bay we found was hard and ſandy, being here and there rocky. This evening we brought on board great ſtore of lamperts, of which we made a kettle of broth, more than all our company could eat.

Friday, October the 14th, we killed ſeveral geeſe, as alſo many fowls like an eagle, but having a bigger beak, with their noſtrils riſing from the top of the middle of their beak by a hand-trunk: this fowl liveth on fiſh. Yeſterday, in the evening, fell a great fleet of ſnow on the hills round about the bay, but none where we were at anchor. This day in the evening we caught lamperts in great quantities, three times as many as we could eat. Our men, in ranging the key for game, found graſs plaited above a fathom long, and a knot tied to the end thereof: on the other keys they found muſcles and lampert-ſhells. Hence we concluded theſe countries were inhabited, and that ſome Indians or others were to be found hereupon.

Saturday, October the 15th. The night paſt we had much rain, with large hail ſtones. About midnight the wind came to north with ſuch great fury, that the tree, to which our cable was faſtened on ſhore, gave way and came up by the roots.

All

Digitized by Google

All thoſe guſts of wind were mixed with violent ſtorms of rain and hail: we faſtened again to other trees; but here it happened, that our ſhip coming up to the ſhore, our rudder touched, and broke our gooſe neck: great was now our danger, and greater it would have been, if it had not pleaſed God to ſend us better weather. Scarce a minute now paſſed without ſlaws of wind and rain.

Sunday, October the 16th. All night paſt was rainy, as before. About nine o'clock our biggeſt haulſer gave way and brake. All this day likewiſe we had rain, with ſeveral ſhowers of hail, and but little wind at north-weſt.

Monday, October the 17th. Laſt night, till five this morning, it ceaſed not to rain: then till ten it ſnowed: on the hills it ſnowed all the night long. This day we hunted on the ſhore many tracks of people, but could fine none, they having fled and concealed themſelves for fear of us, as we ſuppoſed.

October the 18th. The night paſt we had much rain and hail; but the day was very clear and pretty warm. Hereupon we made an obſervation, which gave us lat. 50 deg. 40 S.

October the 19th. The night paſt was clear and froſty: this day was hazy, and ſomething windy from the north quarter. Every day we had plenty of lamperts, and muſcles of a very large ſize.

October the 20th. The night paſt was rainy; and this day great guſts of wind at N. N. W. till the afternoon: then we had wind at N. W. being very freſh, and in guſts.

October the 21ſt. All the night paſt was tempeſtuous, with great guſts of wind and ſhowers of hail. Yeſterday in the evening we carried a cable aſhore, and faſtened it to a tree: this being done, at midnight our biggeſt cable broke in the middle.

Digitized by Google

Towards morning we had much ſnow; in the day, great guſts of wind with large hail-ſtones. We caught great plenty of lamperts.

October the 22d. Laſt night we had ſtrange guſts of wind from N. W. together with much hail and rain. This day we killed a penguin, and began to carry water on board.

October the 23d. For twenty-four hours paſt we had much rain: the wind was but little at W. and W. S. W.

October the 24th. All this time till noon nothing but rain. At that time it held up for half an hour, or thereabouts, and then it rained again all the reſt of the day.

October the 25th. All this while we had not one minute fair: towards evening it held up, but the weather was cloudy, and withal much warmer, than when we came hither at firſt.

Wedneſday, October the 26th. All night paſt, and this forenoon, we had fair weather; but after noon it rained again. We found cockles like thoſe we have in England.

Thurſday, October the 27th. Laſt night we had much rain, with very great guſts of wind all night: notwithſtanding, this day proved to be the faireſt that we had had ſince we came into this place. In the evening, our canoe, which was gone to ſearch the adjacent places for Indians, or what elſe they could find, returned to the ſhip, with a doree at her ſtern. They had gone, as it ſhould ſeem, beyond the old bay where we firſt anchored, and thereabouts happened to meet with this doree: in it were three Indians, who perceiving themſelves nigh being taken, leaped over-board to make their eſcape. Our men in purſuing them did unadviſedly ſhoot one of them dead: a ſecond, being a woman, eſcaped their hands; but the third, who was a luſty boy about eighteen years

years of age, was taken, whom they brought on board the ſhip. He was covered only with a ſeal's ſkin, having no other cloathing about him: his eyes were ſquinted; and his hair pretty ſhort. In the middle of the doree they had a fire burning, either for dreſſing of victuals, or ſome other uſe. The doree itſelf was built ſharp at both ends, and flat-bottomed. They had a net to catch penguins, and a club like our bandies, called by them a tomaunks: his language we could not underſtand, but withal he pointed up the lagoon, giving us to underſtand, that there were more people thereabouts: this was confirmed by our men, who alſo ſaid they had ſeen more. They had darts to throw againſt an enemy pointed with wood.

The next day, being October the 28th, in the evening, our canoe went from the ſhip again to ſeek for more Indians: they went into ſeveral lagoons, and ſearched them narrowly; but they could find nothing but two or three huts; all the natives being fled before our arrival. In the evening they returned to the ſhip, bringing with them very large lamperts, and muſcles which were ſix inches and an half long: our Indian priſoner could open theſe muſcles with his fingers, which our men could not ſo readily do with their knives. Both the night paſt and this day we had very fair weather.

The 29th, we had in like manner a very fair day, and alſo a ſmooth wind at S. S. E. Our Indian this day pointed to us, that there were men in this country, or not far from hence, with great beards: he appeared to us by his actions to be very innocent and fooliſh; but by his carriage I was alſo perſuaded that he was a man-eater. This day likewiſe we caught lamperts enough to ſuffice us for the morrow.

Sunday, October the 30th. This day was fair, and

there blew a ſmall S. S. E. wind. In the morning we ſent a canoe over to the eaſtward ſhore, to ſeek either for proviſions or Indians. I myſelf could not go, as I deſired, being, with two or three more, at that time very much tormented with the gripes. I am perſuaded, this place is not ſo large an iſland as deſcribed by ſome hydrographers, but rather a collection of ſmaller iſlands. We ſaw this day many penguins, but they were ſo ſhy, that we could not come near them: they pad on the water with their wings very faſt, but their bodies are ſo heavy that they cannot fly. The ſun had now made the weather very warm, inſomuch that the ſnow melted apace.

October the 31ſt. Both laſt night and this day were very fair: at noon our canoe returned from the eaſtern ſhore, bringing word they had found ſeveral good bays and harbours, that were deep even cloſe to the ſhore. Only there were ſeveral rocks ſunk in them, which we had alſo where we were: but theſe rocks are not dangerous to ſhipping, by reaſon they have weeds which lie two fathoms in circumference about them. This morning blew a ſmall wind at N. N. E.

November the 1ſt. This day was alſo fair, and we had a ſmall wind, as before, at N. N. E.

November the 2d. Laſt night I took the polar diſtance of the ſouth ſtar of the cock's foot, and found it to be 28 deg. 25. I obſerved alſo the two Magellan clouds, of which I made mention in this journal before, and found them to be as followeth, viz the leſſer 14 deg. 5. and the greater 14 deg. 25. In the morning we hoiſted on end our top maſt, and brought to a main top-ſail, and fore-ſail, and finiſhed our filling all the water we needed. At the ſame time the wind hung eaſterly, and I was ſtill troubled with the gripes as before.

November the 3d. This morning we hanged our rud-

Digitized by Google

rudder, the greateſt piece of work we had to do, after thoſe violent ſtorms above-mentioned In the afternoon we haled in our two biggeſt haulſers; and alſo our biggeſt cable from the ſhore. For three days laſt paſt we had a very great and dark fog between us and the eaſtward ſhore. We had now very little wind in the cove where we were, but abroad at ſea there blew at the ſame time a ſtiff gale at S. S. E. We could perceive now, the ſtormy weather being blown over, much ſmall fry of fiſh about the ſhip, whereof we could ſee none before. This evening was very clear and calm.

November the 4th. Both laſt night and this day we had very calm weather; only a ſmall breeze in the morning ſprang up at N. and N. N. E. which afterwards wheeled about to S. and S. S. E. This morning we hoiſted our main and fore yards; and likewiſe fetched off from the ſhore our other haulſer and cable, into the depth of eleven fathom water. Our reſolutions were now changed for a departure, in order to ſeek the mouth of the ſtreights of Magellan, ſeeing we could not winter here for want of proviſions, which we could not find either on the continent, or about theſe iſlands afore-mentioned. The weather now was very warm, or rather hot, and the birds ſung as ſweetly as thoſe in England. We ſaw here both thruſhes and blackbirds, and many other ſorts of thoſe that are uſually ſeen in our own country.

Saturday, November the 5th. This morning brought us a wind at N. N. E. Hereupon we warped to a rocky point, thereby to get out of the cove where we lay: for our anchor came home to us as we were carrying our warp out. At this time a ſecond breeze came up very freſh in our ſtern; ſo that we took the opportunity thereof, and went away before it. By noon we hoiſted in our canoes, and turned looſe our Indian doree: as for the Indian boy whom we had

Digitized by Google

taken in the ſaid doree, we kept him priſoner, and called him Orſon. When we were come out into the channel, the weather grew quite calm; only now and then we had a ſmall breeze, ſometimes from one quarter, and then from another. By this ſlackneſs of wind we obſerved, that the current hoiſted us to the ſouthward. On the eaſt ſide of this lagoon we perceived the Indians to make a great ſmoke at our departure.

We had a very fair day till ſix in the evening: when we got without the mouth of the gulf, it blew ſo hard, that in an hour it forced us to hand our top-ſails: having now a fit gale at N. W. and N. N. W. we ſtood S. W. by W. to clear ourſelves of ſome breaks which lie four leagues from the gulf's mouth at S. and S. S. E. Hereabouts we ſaw many riffs and rocks, which occaſioned us to ſtand cloſe haled.

CHAP. XXIV.

They depart from the Engliſh gulf in queſt of the ſtreights of Magellan, which they cannot find. They return home by an unknown way.

SUNDAY, November the 6th. This morning we loſt ſight of land, ſo that we could ſee it no more. All the night paſt, and this day, we were under our two courſes and ſprit-ſail: the weather this day was hazy: my reckoning was a S. W. half S. way, and by it twenty-one leagues. We had now an indifferent high ſea, and a freſh wind at N. N. W.

November the 7th. Laſt night was both rainy and foggy, but in the morning it cleared up. The wind for the moſt part was at W. and W. N. W. But at noon it came about at W. S. W. Our reckoning was a S. W.

Digitized by Google

a S. W. by S. way, and by it twenty leagues. We found by obſervation lat. 52 deg. 3. We now ſteered away S. S. E. the wind being at that time at W. S. W. In the evening I found a variation of the needle to N. E. to the number of 15 deg. or better. I was ſtill troubled with the gripes, as I had been before.

November the 8th. We had a fair night the laſt paſt. About midnight the wind came to N. N. W. This day early, at break of day, we all were perſuaded that we had ſeen land; but at noon we found our miſtake, it being only a cloud. The wind was now at north. My reckoning was at S. E. half E. way, and thirty-two leagues and one third of a league. We had an obſervation that gave us 53 deg. 27 S. The whole day was very fine and warm, and we ſaw great numbers of fowls and ſeals.

November the 9th. Yeſterday in the evening the weather was cloudy: hereupon we lay by under a main courſe. After midnight we ſailed eaſt, and E. by N. with a freſh wind at W. N. W. and not any great ſea. The day itſelf was cloudy, and towards noon we had ſome rain; ſo at two in the afternoon we lay by under a main courſe, the wind being freſh at N. W. I reckoned an E. N. E. way, and thereby twenty-eight leagues.

Thurſday, November the 10th. All night paſt we lay under a main courſe, with a mere fret of wind at N. W. and N. N. W. day being come, the wind rather increaſed; inſomuch, that about noon our ſail blew to pieces: hereupon, we were forced to lower the yard and unbend the ſail, lying for a little while under a mizen; but that alſo ſoon gave way: ſo that all the reſt of this day we lay a hulk in very dark weather, foggy and windy, with a great ſea, which ſometimes rolled over us. In the afternoon

Digitized by Google

it ſeemed to abate for ſome ſpace of time; but ſoon after it blew worſe than before, which compelled us to lower our fore yard.

November the 11th. All the night paſt we had furious, windy and tempeſtuous weather, from the points of N. W. and N. N. W. together with ſeas higher and higher. In the evening we ſet our mizen; at which time the ſun appeared very wateriſh; but the wind now abated by degrees, and the ſeas alſo.

November the 12th. This morning little wind was ſtirring, only ſome rain fell. About ten it cleared up, and by an obſervation then made, we found lat. 55 deg. 25. The ſea was now much fallen, and a freſh wind was ſprung up at W. and W. S. W. We experimented alſo a very great current to the S. W. In the afternoon we ſet our ſails again, and reſolved unanimouſly to make for the ſtreights of St. Vincent, otherwiſe called the ſtreights of Fernando de Magellan. We had a freſh wind at W. N. W. our courſe being S. S. E. under our ſprit-ſail, fore-ſail, and fore-top-ſail. This day we ſaw many fiſhes, or rather fowls, who had heads like Muſcovy ducks, as alſo two feet like them. They had two fins, like the fore-fins of turtles; white breaſts and bellies; their beaks and eyes being red. They are full of feathers on their bodies, and the hinder parts are like thoſe of a ſeal, wherewith they cut the water. The Spaniards call theſe fowls Paxaros Ninos. They weigh moſt commonly about ſix or ſeven pounds, being about a foot long: our commander, captain Sharp, was ſo dextrous as to ſtrike two of them. In the evening we ſet our main-ſail; the wind now coming to weſt and by ſouth.

Sunday, November the 13th. All the night paſt, we had a freſh wind between S. W. and W. N. W. with

with ſometimes miſts of ſmall rain. In the evening we had a fine leading gale at W. N. W, together with clear and wholeſome weather. We made a S. E. way, and by it forty two leagues and two thirds. This day an obſervation gave us lat. 56 deg. 55 S. We ſtill found a great S. W. current. In the afternoon we ſteered E. S. E. and in the evening had whiffling winds.

November the 14th. Both laſt night and this morning we had cloudy weather: about eight it cleared up. My reckoning was a S. E. by E. way, and by it thirty-two leagues. Our obſervation gave us lat. 57 deg. 50 ſouth. This day we could perceive land, and at noon were due weſt of it. In the evening we ſtood E. by S.

November the 15th. All the night paſt was very cloudy: we judged now that we ſhould be cloſe in with the land we had ſeen the day before; but the morning being come, we could ſee none: in the night much ſnow fell, and in the day we had great fleets thereof, the weather being very cold and cloudy. I reckoned an E. S. E. way, and hereby twenty-nine leagues and two thirds; moreover, that our lat. was 58 deg. 25 S. The wind was now ſo freſh at N. that we were forced to lie under our two courſes and ſprit ſail.

November the 16th. Moſt of this time we had ſtill rain and ſnow, but now no night at all, though the weather was dark. The wind was various, but from midnight before it was at S. E. and S. S. E. We now lay E. N. E. I reckoned a N. E. by E. way, and twenty three leagues. About four in the afternoon two of our fore-ſhroud bolts broke, but withal were preſently mended. This afternoon alſo we ſaw a very large whale. In the evening we handed in our fore-top ſail, and lay under our pair of courſes, and ſprit-ſail, the evening being very clear.

Digitized by Google

November the 17th. In the night there was a very hard froſt. At four this morning we ſaw two or three iſlands of ice, the diſtance of two or three leagues ſouthward of us: ſoon after this we ſaw ſeveral others, the biggeſt of them being at leaſt two leagues round. By an obſervation made this day, we found 58 deg. 23 ſouth. We had now a vehement current to the ſouthward: at noon I ſaw many others of theſe iſlands of ice afore-mentioned, of which ſome were ſo long, that we could ſcarce ſee the end of them, and were extended about ten or twelve fathom above water. The weather in the mean while was very clear, and the wind cold. I found variation of the needle eighteen deg. to the north-eaſt.

November the 18th. All the night paſt was very fair: (I muſt call it night, for otherwiſe it was not dark at all). The ſea was very ſmooth, and the wind at N. and N. N. W. I reckoned a N. E. by N. way, and by the ſame twenty-two leagues. At ten it fell quite calm, which held all the afternoon: but at night we had a wind again at N. and N. by E.

November the 19th. This day was cloudy with ſnow, and a froſty night preceding it. The wind now was ſo freſh at north, that we were forced to take in our top-ſails, and lie all day under our courſes and ſprit-ſail. We made by an E. S. E. way eighteen leagues and two thirds.

November the 20th. We had a cloudy night the laſt paſt, together with miſling rain and ſnow. This morning fell ſo great a fog, that we could ſcarce ſee from ſtem to ſtern of our ſhip. From ten o'clock laſt night we had alſo a calm, and very cold weather; but what was worſe than all this, we were kept to a very ſhort allowance of our ſorry victuals; our proviſions growing very ſcanty with us. About ten this morning we had a very ſmall breeze at north: ſeveral

Digitized by Google

veral of our men were not able to endure the cold, it was ſo piercing; whereby they were forced to lie and keep themſelves as cloſe as they could. We made an eaſt way, and by the ſame ſixteen leagues. This day at noon, I reckoned myſelf to be eaſt from the gulf, from whence we laſt parted, two hundred and five leagues, and two thirds of a league.

Monday, November the 21ſt. Laſt night we caught a ſmall land-fowl, and ſaw two or three more. This ſight gave us good hopes we were not far from ſome coaſt or other; yet we could ſee none all this long and tedious voyage. In the night paſt we had a calm, and all this morning a great fog, with much ſnow and rain. We reckoned an E. by N. way, and ten leagues. At one in the afternoon we had a freſh gale that ſprang up at eaſt, and at E. by N.

November the 22d. Moſt part of this day was calm; mean while we obſerved our ſhip drive eaſt. My reckoning was at E. N. E. way, and thereby thirteen leagues and one third. At one in the afternoon we had a ſmall gale at W. S. W. our courſe being N. N. E. and N. E. by N.

November the 23d. This day we had a gale at N. W. freſhening by degrees; ſo that we were forced to take in our top-ſails and ſprit-ſail. The wind was not a ſettled gale, but often varied from point to point: at noon it came at N. E. and our courſe was then N. N. W. By a north way we reckoned ſixteen leagues.

November the 24th. Both the night paſt and this morning was foggy weather, with ſome calms between whiles: but at eight in the morning the ſun brake out; yet it was not a clear day. By a N. N. E. way we reckoned fifteen leagues. This morning the wind came about to eaſt, and at noon it was again

Digitized by Google

again at N. E. We had a clear evening, and a freſh gale.

November the 25th. All the night paſt we had a freſh wind at E. and E. N. E. inſomuch, that at eight in the morning we took in our top ſails: but at noon the wind was not ſo freſh as before. I reckoned a N. N. W. half weſt way, and by the ſame twenty leagues.

November the 26th. Laſt night the wind was not altogether ſo freſh as before; but this morning it was again very high. The weather was dark and cloudy, with ſometimes rain and ſnow. We made a N. N. E. way, and hereby thirty leagues; the wind all along E. by S. and E. S. E. In the evening we had fair weather again. We found for the ten days laſt paſt a great weſtern ſea, and ſaw in the ſame time ſeveral ſeals.

Sunday, November the 27th. All the night paſt we enjoyed a freſh gale, and clear weather. I reckoned thirty-ſix leagues by a N. E. by N. way. By an obſervation made, we now found lat. 52 deg. 48 ſouth: and I judged myſelf to be eaſt from the gulf two hundred eighty-five leagues. In the evening we had a very exact ſight of the ſun, and found above thirty deg. variation of the needle: from whence ought to be concluded, that it is very difficult to direct a courſe of navigation in theſe parts; for in the ſpace of only twenty-five leagues ſailing, we have found eight or nine deg. difference of variation, by a good Dutch azimuth compaſs.

November the 28th. All laſt night we had a freſh wind at E. S. E. Towards morning we had but little wind, all the day being hazy weather. This day we ſaw a whole flight of ſuch land-fowls as we killed one of before: this ſight gave us further hopes we were not far from land, yet we found none in all this voyage. We made by a N. N. E. way, thirty-

Digitized by Google

thirty-three leagues. Yesterday in the evening we set a new sprit sail, and about three this morning we also set our main-sail. At one in the afternoon the wind came about at N. E. and N. N. E. which in the evening blew very fresh, with cloudy weather.

November the 29th. The night proved very cloudy, and the wind blew very fresh at E. N. E. and N. by E. This morning it was east, both with snow and hail: towards noon the weather cleared up, and we found by an observation taken, lat. 49 deg. 45 S. Our reckoning was a north way, and thirty leagues. This day we had a short eastern sea, and withal a very cold evening. I took the sun, and hereby I found variation 20 deg. 30 to the north-east. This night the wind came about W. and W. N. W. continuing so all the night.

November the 30th. This day the wind was N. and N. N. E. with some clouds hovering in the sky. At this time we had already almost four hours of night: the morning of this day was very fair and clear; hereupon, to give myself satisfaction in the point, as fearing the truth of Spanish books, I worked the true amplitude of the sun, and found his variation to be 26° 25 to the N. E. being very conformable to what I had read and experienced before. Hereabouts also we found a current to the northward: this day also we saw much rock-weed, which renewed our hopes once more of seeing land. We reckoned a N. E. way, and by the same twenty-two leagues. By an observation made we found lat. 48 deg. 53 S. This day also we saw several of those fowl-fish afore described, called paxaros-ninos; and these of a larger size than any we had seen before: in the afternoon the wind came about at N. N. E. whereby we stood N. W. by W. with a fresh gale, and smooth water. The weather now began

to

to grow warmer than hitherto, and the evening was clear.

Tuesday, December the 1st. The latter part of the night past was very cloudy, and sometimes rainy: about midnight we had a violent tornado, forcing us in a moment to hand in our top-sails. At five in the morning we set them again, and at eleven we had another tornado, forcing us to hand our top-sails a second time. We made a N. N. E. two-thirds east way, and thereby thirteen leagues and two thirds of a league. The afternoon of this stormy day proved very fair, and the wind came to W. S. W. our course being N. E. by N. In the evening the wind freshened, with cloudy weather.

December the 2d. Last night we had a very furious whirlwind, which notwithstanding, it pleased God, passed about the length of our ship to westward of us: however, we handed in our top-sails, and hauled up our low-sail, in the brails. After the whirlwind came a fresh storm of large hail-stones, in the night, and several tornadoes; but, God be thanked, they all came large of our ship. We now made a great way under a fore-course and sprit-sail. At four this morning our fore-sail split, whereby we were forced to lower our fore-yard. At half an hour after ten we hoisted in again, with a furious S. W. wind. We made a N. E. by E. way, and by the same forty-seven leagues and an half. By observation we now had latitude 46 deg. 54 S. We riffed our top-sail, with respect to the violence of the wind; but in the evening this rather increased, and we had a very great sea. Our standing rigging, through the fury of this gale, gave way in several places, but was soon mended again.

December the 3d. The wind all the night past was very fresh, with several flaws, both of wind and rain, at S. W. and S. W. by S. We enjoyed now very

Digitized by Google

very warm weather. This morning we ſet our fore-top-ſail. Our reckoning gave us a N. E. half E. way, and forty-five leagues. We found latitude by obſervation 45 deg. 28 S. This day at noon a large ſhoal of young porpuſſes came about our ſhip, and played up and down.

December the 4th. All the night paſt we had a freſh gale at W. S. W. The night was clear, only that now and then we had a ſmall cloud affording ſome rain. In the morning, from four till eight, it rained; but then it cleared up again, with a S. W. wind, and a very ſmooth ſea. We made a N. E. one quarter N. way, thirty-nine leagues. By obſervation we found lat. 44 deg. 1 S. At noon the wind came to S. S. W. our courſe then being N. N. E. This day we agreed among ourſelves, having the conſent of our commander, to ſhare the eight cheſts of money, which as yet remained unſhared. Yeſterday in the evening we let out the riff of our fore-ſail, and hoiſted up our fore-yard. This evening I found variation 17 deg. N. E.

Monday, December the 5th. All night paſt a clear night, and this a fair day, with a freſh wind at S. S. W. We reckoned a N. E. 5 deg. N. way, and by the ſame forty-two leagues. An obſervation gave us lat. 42 deg. 29 S. This afternoon we ſhared of the cheſts above-mentioned, three hundred pieces of eight to each man. I now reckoned myſelf to be eaſt from my departure four hundred and ſeventy-one leagues, and one third of a league. At night again we ſhared twenty-two pieces of eight more to each.

December the 6th. We had a clear ſtar-light night the laſt, and a fair morning this day, with a freſh gale at S. W. At noon we took in our fore-top-ſail. We reckoned a N. E. half N. way, and hereby fifty leagues and two thirds. An obſervation

Digitized by Google

tion taken afforded us 43 deg. 31 S. This evening was cloudy.

December the 7th. The night was both windy and cloudy: at one in the morning we took in our top-ſails, and at three, handed our ſprit-ſail, and ſo we ſcudded away before the wind, which now was very freſh at weſt. This morning a guſt of wind came and tore our main ſail into an hundred pieces, which made us put away before the wind, till we could provide for that accident. My reckoning was a N. E. three quarters E. way, and by the ſame thirty-three leagues. By obſervation we found lat. 39 deg. 37 S. We had now a great ſea, and a freſh wind. At three in the afternoon we ſet another fore-ſail, the firſt being blown to pieces: at the ſame time we furled our ſprit-ſail. At five the wind came at W. S. W. with very bad weather. This day our worthy commander, captain Sharp, had very certain intelligence given him, that on Chriſtmas day, which was now at hand, the company, or at leaſt a great part thereof, had a deſign to ſhoot him; he having appointed that day ſome time ſince to be merry. Hereupon he made us ſhare the wine amongſt us, as being perſuaded they would ſcarce attempt any ſuch thing in their ſobriety. The wine we ſhared fell out to three jars to each meſs. That night the wind increaſed.

December the 8th. The night paſt was both cloudy and windy; the wind very often varying between the N. W. and S. W. points. This morning it varied between W. and N. W. by W. About noon this day we brought a new main-ſail to the yard, but did not ſet it then, by reaſon there blowed too much wind. I reckoned a N. E. half N. way, and by the ſame thirty leagues. By obſervation made we found lat. 38 deg. 29 S. In the afternoon we had one or two ſqualls of wind and rain; but the violence

Digitized by Google

violence of both fell at ſtern of us. In the evening it blew again very hard. I obſerved this day the riſing and ſetting of the ſun, and found the exact variation to be 12 deg. 15 N. E.

December the 9th. The night was ſtar-light, but withal very windy. About break of day, the wind came to N. W. and at ſeven we ſet our fore-top-ſail, and ſtood N. N. E. with not much wind. We made ſince our laſt reckoning a N. E. quarter E. way, and twenty-nine leagues. We found by obſervation lat. 37 deg. 30 S. The ſea was much fallen, but our ſhip began to complain of ſeveral leaks, through our tedious and long voyage. This afternoon we hoiſted up our main-yard, and ſet up back-ſtays and main-ſwifter, whoſe ring-bolt gave way, but was mended. In the evening of this day we had but little wind.

December the 10th. The night was very clear, but till ten o'clock this forenoon we had no wind; then a ſmall breeze ſprang up at N. by E. We made an E. N. E. one third N. way, and hereby twenty-one leagues. An obſervation gave us lat. 37 deg. 1 S. In the afternoon our chief ſurgeon cut off the foot of a Negro boy, which was periſhed with cold. Now it was like to be bad weather again; hereupon we furled our top-ſails, and lay under a pair of courſes; but in the evening we lay under a fore-ſail and mizen, with miſty weather.

Sunday, December the 11th. All the night paſt we had a freſh wind at N. and ſometimes at N. N. W. The weather was very cloudy with drizling rain. We made an E. way, and thereby twenty-five leagues. This day brought a great ſea. About ten in the morning, one of our main ſhrouds gave way: in the evening fell ſome ſmall rain.

December the 12th. All the night paſt we had miſty rain, and but little wind; yea, in the morning

Digitized by Google

ing a perfect calm. At noon came up a ſmall gale at E. S. E. and S. E. bringing with it cloudy weather. We reckoned a N. E. by E. way, and by the ſame eighteen leagues. Yeſterday died the Negro boy whoſe foot was cut off by our ſurgeon, as was mentioned the day before. This afternoon alſo died another negro, ſomething bigger than the former, named Chepillo. The boy's name was Beaſero. All this evening but ſmall wind.

December the 13th. All night the wind was at E. S. E. our courſe being N. N. E. At three in the morning it came about at S. S. W. and at nine at E. by N. I reckoned a N. E. by N. way, and fifteen leagues: the weather was hazy. In the afternoon the wind was at N. E. our courſe being N. N. W. We had now a very ſmooth ſea, and ſaw multitudes of grampuſſes, whales, and porpuſſes every day as we ſailed along.

December the 14th. The evening paſt was cloudy, as alſo the night foggy: hereupon we took in our top ſails. At half an hour after three this morning we ſtood N. E. the wind being then at N. N. W. At five we put out our top-ſails again: at ſeven we ſaw a turtle floating upon the ſea. We reckoned a N. N. E. way. This day's obſervation afforded us 34 deg. 32 S. At this time we had very hot weather, and great dews in the night. My whole eaſting I reckoned to be now 677 leagues and one third of a league.

December the 15th. We had a fine night the laſt paſt, and a great dew. The wind in the interim was between N. and N. W. I reckoned a N. E. half E. way, and by the ſame thirty-one leagues. We had an obſervation that gave us lat. 33 deg. 46 S. At noon the wind came about at N. N. W. our courſe being N. E. We had this day a very clear evening, and at the ſame time a freſh wind.

December

Digitized by Google

December the 16th, we had a fair night and wind at N. N. W. and N. W. by N. This morning I took the ſun at its riſing, and found N. E. variation 20 deg. 30. My reckoning was a N. N. E. way, and thirty-ſix leagues, and one third of another. By obſervation I found lat. 32 deg. 9 S. At noon this day the wind came about to N. W.

December 17th. Moſt part of the laſt night the wind was at N. W. as before; but towards morning a fine and eaſy gale ſprang up at W. N. W. This morning we ſaw ſeveral dolphins playing upon the ſea, which made us hope they would at laſt befriend us, and ſuddenly ſhew us ſome land or other. We reckoned a N. E. by N. one third N. way, and by the ſame twenty-five leagues. An obſervation gave us now lat 31 deg. 4. A fair evening.

December the 18th, we had a clear night paſt, together with a ſmooth gale at N. W. which this morning was at W. by S. We had now a ſmooth ſea for ſeveral days paſt. Our reckoning was twenty-five leagues by a N. E. by N. way. By obſervation we perceived lat. 29 deg. 48 S.

December the 19th. A clear night the laſt paſt, and a freſh breeze at S. S. W. and S. W. by S. laſting until nine in the morning: then ſprung up a wind at S. E. by E. I reckoned this day a N. N. E. half E. way, and upon the ſame thirty leagues. By obſervation made we took lat. 28 deg. 29 S. The day was very fair, and a ſmooth ſea, with weather that was very hot. My whole eaſting I reckoned now to be 760 leagues. This evening I found variation 2 deg. 50 N. E.

CHAP.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. XXV.

The Bucaniers continue their navigation, without ſeeing any land, till they arrive at the Caribbee iſlands, in the Weſt Indies. They give away their ſhip to ſome of their companions that were poor, and diſperſe for ſeveral countries. The author of this Journal arriveth in England.

DEcember the 20th, 1681. The night before was ſomething cloudy, but the weather was fair and the wind but little. At noon the wind came about N. by E. our courſe being W. N. W. We made a N. N. W. way, and thereby, as I reckoned, twenty-two leagues. By obſervation made we took lat. 27 deg. 25 S. The evening was cloudy, and now and then there fell a ſhower of rain.

December the 21ſt. At eight o'clock laſt night the wind came N. W. by N. but withal, with dark weather, that we were forced to take in our top-ſails: the night was ſomething rainy, and the weather this morning calm and rainy. About ten we had a ſmall breeze at N. W. we reckoned a N. by E. way, and by the ſame ſixteen leagues. The afternoon was calm and ſtill.

December the 22d. We had a fair clear night the laſt paſt, which produced this day a ſmooth ſea, and extreme hot weather, and very little wind near the ſun; ſo that no obſervation was made.

December the 23d. The night was very fair: at midnight, or thereabouts, a freſh gale ſprang up at S. E. and E. S. E. which ſometimes was E. This freſhened by degrees. We had in the day very hot and clear weather. By a N. way I reckoned fifteen leagues.

December

Digitized by Google

December the 24th. Laſt night we had both a freſh gale, and a clear night. The wind was at E. by S. We reckoned a N. E. by E. way, and by it thirty-one leagues.

Sunday, December the 25th. This day, being Chriſtmas day, for celebration of that great feſtival we killed yeſterday in the evening a ſow: this ſow we had brought from the gulf of Nicoya, being then a ſuckling pig, of about three weeks old, but now weighed about fourſcore and ten pounds. With this hog's fleſh we made our Chriſtmas dinner, being the only fleſh we had eaten ever ſince we turned away our prizes under the equinoctial, and left the iſland of Plata. We had this day ſeveral flaws of wind, and ſome rain; but the weather otherwiſe was pretty clear. I reckoned a N. by E. way, and thirty-three leagues by the ſame: it was now alſo extreme hot weather, as was ſignified before.

December the 26th. We had this day ſeveral guſts of wind, which forced us to ſtand by our top-ſails; yet they were but very ſhort, and all the reſt of the while we enjoyed an indifferent freſh gale at E. and E. by S. We reckoned a N. by E. way, and twenty-eight leagues.

December the 27th. We had fair weather and a freſh wind at E. and E. by S. I reckoned a N. by E. way, and upon the ſame thirty-two leagues. The evening of this day was cloudy.

December the 28th. Laſt night was cloudy, with a freſh wind. We reckoned a N. E. way, and by the ſame forty-ſix leagues. We found by an obſervation made lat. 15 deg. 30 S. My whole eaſting I reckoned this day to be 825 leagues. Now we ſaw much flying-fiſh, with ſome dolphins, bonitoes, and albicores; but they will not take the hook.

December

Digitized by Google

December the 29th. All laſt night was cloudy, with a freſh wind between E. and E. S. E. The weather all the afternoon was hazy. I reckoned a N. by E. way, and hereupon forty leagues and one third. In the afternoon we had a S. E. by E. wind, which blew very freſh. The evening was clear: at ſunſet I found variation to N. W. 4 deg. 19.

December the 30th. The night paſt was cloudy. Towards morning the wind came about at E. At ſix it came E. S. E. and at ten to S. E. by S. We made a N. by E. way, and forty-three leagues. By an obſervation we found lat. 11 deg. 3 S. The evening of this day was clear.

December the 31ſt. We had a cloudy night the laſt paſt, but the morning was hazy. We came now to a ſtrict allowance of only three good pints of water each day. We made a N. by E. way, and found lat. by obſervation 8 deg. 55 S. In the afternoon we had an E. S. E. and S. E. by E. wind. My whole caſting I reckoned now to be 884 leagues and one third. At noon we ſtood away N. W.

Sunday, January the 1ſt, 1681. All the night paſt was cloudy, as this day alſo with ſome ſhowers of rain. We made a N. W. one eighth N. way, and forty leagues. In the afternoon came about a freſh wind at S. E. and E. S. E.

January the 2d. The weather this day was both dull and cloudy. We reckoned a N. W. one quarter N. way, and by the ſame thirty-two leagues. By obſervation we found that our lat. now was 6 deg. 6 S. The wind came pretty freſh at S. E.

January the 3d, we had ſeveral ſqualls of wind, and ſome rain; but withal a freſh wind at S. E. and E. S. E. Our reckoning was a N. W. one quarter N. way, and thirty-four leagues. The afternoon was clear, but the evening cloudy.

January

Digitized by Google

January the 4th. All the night paſt was very cloudy; but this forenoon it cleared up. Yeſterday we put a board our main top-ſail ſtudden-ſails; but we took them in at night. At four this morning we ſet our larboard ſtudden-ſail, and before noon fitted up top-gallant maſts, and yard. We made a N. W. way, and by it forty leagues and two thirds. By obſervation we had now lat. 3 deg. 9 S. This afternoon alſo we ſet up our top-gallant ſail, being forced to make out all its running rigging. The wind was pretty freſh at S. E. and S. E. by E.

January the 5th. Moſt part of the night paſt was clear and ſtar-light, though with ſome rain towards morning: this being come, we put out our top-gallant ſail, and both our top-ſail ſtudden-ſails. At noon likewiſe we put up our fore top-gallant maſts, and yard. We caught an albicore this day, weighing about one hundred and twenty pounds weight. The wind was at S. E. by S. and S. S. E. We made a N. W. way, and reckoned thereby thirty-five leagues. By obſervation we found lat. 2 deg. 3 S. We had now mighty hot weather.

January the 6th. Yeſterday in the evening we caught another albicore, which weighed only eight or nine pounds. We made a N. W. way, and reckoned thirty-five leagues, as before. Now by an obſervation made, we could perceive only lat. 0 deg. 49 S. The evening of this day was very clear.

January the 7th. The wind was variable between S. S. E. and S. S. W. though not altogether ſo freſh as before. Our reckoning was a N. W. one quarter N. way, and thirty-ſix leagues by the ſame. This day an obſervation gave us 0 deg. 32 N. of the Æquinoctial, which now we had paſſed again. In the afternoon we caught another albicore, which weighed more than the firſt; that is, between one

hundred and thirty-five and one hundred and forty pounds. But little wind ſtirring this afternoon.

January the 8th. The evening paſt we had almoſt a calm: at nine this morning we had a freſh wind at S. S. E. with dark weather, ſo that we thought it convenient to take in our main-top-ſail: but at noon we ſet it again, and alſo, our larboard top ſtudden-ſail, with both top-gallant ſails; we made a N. W. way, and by it thirty-four leagues. By an obſervation made we found lat. 10 deg. 55 N. We had now extreme hot weather, and a very ſmall allowance of water.

January the 9th. Laſt night we took in our top-ſails all night, the wind then whiffling between S. and W. points; we had notwithſtanding, for the moſt part, very little wind; the morning was rainy, ſo that we providentially ſaved a bompkin of water. There was now a great ripling ſea, riſing very high. It is reported, there is an enchanted iſland hereabouts, which ſome poſitively ſay they have ſailed over. I reckoned a N. W. by N. one quarter N. way, and twenty-five leagues; this afternoon we had very dark and calm weather, looking as though we ſhould have much rain: now reckoning up my meridian, I found myſelf E. from my departure ſeven hundred and two leagues; in the evening we had very rainy weather, and a cockling ſea.

January the 10th. All the night paſt was cloudy, about midnight ſprang up a ſmall breeze varying all round the compaſs: at five this morning we had a breeze at S. E. and a very clear ſky, which afterwards continued to freſhen, with the ſame clearneſs as before; we made a N. W. by N. one quarter N. way, and by the ſame two leagues and two thirds: by a clear obſervation we had now lat. 3 deg. 16 N. At four this morning the wind was at E. S. E. the weather being violent hot, inſomuch, that our allowance

allowance of water being ſhort, it was very tedious; at the ſame time we had an indifferent ſmooth ſea from the E.

January the 11th. All the night paſt we had little or no wind; but about two in the morning the wind freſhened again at E. N. E. and brought both a clear and hot day. We made twenty-three leagues by a N. W. one quarter W. way: this day's obſervation gave us lat. 4 deg. 6 N. In the afternoon we had a ſhower of rain, and after a freſh wind at E. N. E. but the evening grew dull.

January the 12th. In the night paſt we had two or three ſqualls of wind, and ſome ſhowers of rain; in the mean while the wind blew freſh at N. E. and N. E. by E. as it alſo continued to do in the day. I reckoned a N. W. way, and forty-four leagues and one third; our obſervation this day gave us 5 deg. 49 N. Yeſterday and to-day we ſet our main top-ſail: now I could not find much variation of the needle.

January the 13th, we had a freſh gale all the laſt night; but more northerly than before; for now it was N. E. by N. We reckoned a W. N. W. way, and thereupon 3 leagues and two thirds; an obſervation taken ſhewed us lat. 6 deg. 41 N. We had a N. N. E. ſea, and very clear weather.

January the 14th, we had a clear night the laſt, and a freſh wind at E. N. E. We made a N. W. one fifth W. way, and thirty-eight leagues: by an obſervation we found lat. 7 deg. 46 N. We had a ſmooth ſea; and now we were come to only three horns of water a day, which were in all but a quart allowance for each man; the evening was clear, and we had a freſh wind.

Sunday, January the 15th. The night paſt was clear, and the wind freſh at E. N. E. and again at N. E. by E. very freſh: about eleven at night died

Digitized by Google

one of our companions, named William Stephens. It was commonly believed that he poiſoned himſelf with manzanilla in Golfo Dulce, for he never had been in health ſince that time: this forenoon was cloudy; we reckoned forty-four leagues, and a N. W. way; an obſervation gave us this day 9 deg. 18 N. All the night we kept out our top-gallant ſails; we ſaw hereabouts many large flying-fiſh: this morning alſo we threw over-board our dead man, and gave him two French vollies, and one Engliſh one. I found now again very ſmall variation.

January the 16th, we had a clear night, and a very freſh wind at N. E. and E. N. E. with a long homing ſea; my reckoning was a N. W. one ſeventh W. way, and thereby forty-eight leagues and one third. The obſervation made this day gave us latitude 10 deg. 48 N. I reckoned myſelf now eaſt from my departure five hundred fifty three leagues; we had a cloudy evening.

January the 17th. All the night paſt we enjoyed a freſh wind, and ſo this day alſo, at N. E. by N. We made a N. W. half W. way, and thereupon forty-ſeven leagues and one third of a league. By obſervation we found lat. 12 deg. 19 N. We had now a long north ſea; at noon this day we ſteered away N. N. W. The day was very hot, but the night both cool and dewy.

January the 18th. All the night paſt was both cloudy and windy; at ſix this morning our ſprit-ſail top-maſt broke; I reckoned a W. N. W. way, and forty-eight leagues by the ſame; we found by obſervation lat. 13 deg. 12 N. At noon we ſteered away W. the wind being at N. E. freſh, with a clear evening.

January the 19th, we had a clear night the laſt, and freſh wind at E. N. E. which ſometimes came in puſhes; our reckoning was a W. half ſoutherly way,

Digitized by Google

way, and by the ſame forty-ſix leagues. We found by obſervation lat. 13 deg. 1 N. Yeſterday in the evening we put up a new ſprit-ſail top-maſt; with a fine ſmooth gale at N. E. by E.

January the 20th. The night paſt was clear, and not very freſh; but at day-break it freſhened again. Laſt night we ſaw a great ſhoal of fiſh, whereof we caught none, by reaſon the porpuſſes frightened them from us, as they oftentimes had done before. Yeſterday in the evening we ſaw a man of war fowl, and that gave us good hopes we ſhould ere long ſee land: theſe hopes, and the great deſire we had to end our voyage, gave us occaſion this day to put in, or ſtake down, each man of our company, a piece of eight for a reward to him that ſhould firſt diſcover land. We reckoned a W. one ſixth northerly way, and by it thirty-eight leagues; an obſervation gave us this day lat. 13 deg. 11 N. The wind was at N. E. and N. E. This day we paſſed over many riplings, and ſaw abundance of fiſh; but we could take none for the porpuſſes.

On January the 21ſt, we made a W. way, and reckoned forty-ſeven leagues By Obſervation we found latitude 13 deg. 7 N. The wind was at E. N. E. and from thence came a long ſea; the evening was very clear.

January the 22d, we had a fair and a clear day, the wind being at E. We reckoned a W. by N. one third W. way, and forty leagues; an obſervation ſhewed us lat. 13 deg. 17 N. We had a clear evening, and a freſh wind at E. N. E.

January the 23d. This day was both clear and hot, with a freſh wind at E. N. E. My reckoning was a W. way, and forty-ſix leagues: our obſervation made this day, afforded us latitude 13 deg. 15 N. In the evening we had ſome rain.

Digitized by Google

January the 24th. This day brought us likewiſe clear weather, ſuch as the day before. I reckoned a W. way, and forty leagues and one third. By obſervation we found latitude 13 deg. 12 N. The afternoon was cloudy, and had ſome rain, the wind freſhening at E. N. E. and E. by N. I reckoned now that I was E. from my departure 311 leagues. We had a cloudy evening.

January the 25th. Both laſt night and this morning the weather was cloudy. This morning we ſaw ſeveral tropick birds of divers ſorts. Our reckoning was a W. three quarters N. way, and forty-three leagues. We found by obſervation lat. 13 deg. 29 N. This afternoon we ſaw a booby flying cloſe aboard the horizon. The weather was hazy; and now we began to look out ſharp on all ſides for land, expecting to ſee it every minute. I reckoned myſelf to be eaſtward of my departure 268 leagues.

January the 26th. The night paſt was indifferent clear; yet notwithſtanding, this morning we had a ſmart ſhower of rain and wind: hereupon we furled the ſprit-ſail, the weather being very hazy to the weſtward. We reckoned W. way, and thereby forty-ſix leagues and one third. By obſervation taken we found lat. 13 deg. 17 N. At noon this day we had a very fierce tornado, and rainy together; but withal a clear afternoon. We had a high E. N. E. ſea, and ſaw multitudes of flying-fiſh; alſo ſeveral fowls, and amongſt theſe two or three boobies. The evening was hazy.

January the 27th. All night paſt we had a freſh wind and clear weather. This morning our fore-top-maſt back-ſtay gave way, and at day-break the ſtar-board-ſheet of our fore-top-ſail broke. We had ſeveral tornadoes this day and dark weather. Our recknoning was a W. way, and forty-eight leagues by

Digitized by Google

by the ſame. We had a clear evening, and a dark night. This day alſo a certain bird called a noddy came on board us, which we took for a certain token that we were not now very far from land.

Saturday, January the 28th. We had a very clear night the laſt paſt. About an hour before day one of our company happened to deſcry land, which proved to be the iſland of Barbadoes, at S. S. W. from us, and at about two leagues and an half diſtance from Chalky Mount, ſtanding S. W. by S. As we ſailed we ſaw ſeveral ſhips at anchor in Spike's-Road. Soon after a ſhallop paſſed by between us and the ſhore, but would not come within call of us. Hereupon we ſtood in within a mile of the ſhore, and made a whiff to a pinnace which we ſaw coming out of the road before-mentioned. She came cloſe aboard, and was the barge belonging to his majeſty's frigate the Richmond, then lying at Bridge-town at anchor. They told us of a peace at home, but would not come on board us, though often invited thereunto; neither dared we be ſo ſo bold as to put into Barbadoes; for hearing of a frigate lying there, we feared leſt the ſaid frigate ſhould ſeize us for privateers, and for having acted in all our voyage without commiſſion. So we ſtood away from thence for the iſland of Antigua.

Here I cannot eaſily expreſs the infinite joy we were poſſeſſed with all this day to ſee our own countrymen again. They told us, that a ſhip which we ſaw in the offing to leeward of the iſland was a Briſtol man, and an interloper; but we feared that ſame veſſel to be the frigate before-mentioned. I reckoned a way of twenty-five leagues, ſo that I was now, by my account, to eaſtward of my departure 151 leagues. Now we ſtood N. by W. and by obſervation found latitude 13 deg. 17 N. we being then N. W. from the body of the iſland of

Digitized by Google

Barbadoes between ſeven and eight leagues. This afternoon we freed the negro, who was our ſhoemaker by his trade, giving him his liberty for the good ſervice he had done us in all the courſe of this voyage. We gave alſo to our good commander captain Sharp, a Mulatto boy to wait on him, as a free gift of the whole company, in token of our reſpects to him, for conducting us ſafe through ſo many dangerous adventures. This being done, we ſhared ſome parcels of money, that had not as yet been touched of our former prizes; and this dividend amounted to twenty-four pieces of eight a man.

At one of the clock this day, from our foreyard we deſcried the iſland of Santa Lucia, being one of the weſtern iſlands not far diſtant from that of Barbadoes. I had omitted to tell a paſſage which happened in our ſhip on Thurſday laſt, which was the 26th day of this month, and juſt two days before we made the iſland of Barbadoes. A little Spaniſh ſhock-dog, which we had found in our laſt wine prize, taken under the æquinoctial, and had kept alive till now, was ſold at the maſt by publick cry for forty pieces of eight; his owner ſaying that all he could get for him ſhould be ſpent upon the company at a publick merriment. Our commander, captain Sharp, bought the dog, with intention to eat him in caſe we did not ſee land quickly. This money, therefore, with one hundred pieces of eight more which our boatſwain, carpenter, and quarter maſter had refuſed to take at this laſt dividend, for ſome quarrel they had againſt the ſharers thereof, was all laid up in ſtore till we came to land, in order to be ſpent on ſhore at a common feaſt or drinking bout. At ſunſet the iſland of Santa Lucia bore W. S. W. from us, and was at

Digitized by Google

at ten leagues diſtance.: alſo the iſlands of Martinico bore N. W. by W. of us at 12 or 13 leagues diſtance. We had this day a very clear evening.

Sunday, January the 29th, we had a clear night, and a freſh wind at E. by N. and at E. N. E. Our reckoning was a N. N. W. half W. way, and hereby forty-ſix leagues. By obſervation we took latitude 15 deg. 45 N. At noon this day we ſaw the iſland named la Deſſeada, or the Deſired Iſland, which then bore N. W. from us, and ſeemed to be at about eight leagues diſtance. At ſix in the evening we ſaw Marigalante, another of the Caribbee iſlands, at S. W. by W. from us, and that of Guadalupe, ſtreaking itſelf in ſeveral hammocks of land, both weſtward and northward; and alſo la Deſſeada above-mentioned at S. E. which from thence ſhews like table-land, and at each end hath a low point running out. At ſix this evening it was W. S. W. and at five or ſix leagues diſtance from us. At the ſame time we ſaw the iſland of Monſerrat at a great diſtance, and making three round hammocks cloſe together. This evening we caught an albicore of twenty pounds weight.

Monday, January the 30th. We had a fair night all the laſt paſt, and a freſh wind: hereupon, all night we hauled up our main-ſail in brails, ſtanding at the ſame N. by W. with the wind at E. N. E. At midnight we ſtood N. W. At three in the morning we lay by till five; then we ſtood away W. N. W. till ſix; and then ſtood W. At eight of the clock we ſaw the iſland of la Antigua, called by us Antego, to the ſouthward of us, making three round hammocks of land, and a long high hill to northward: hereupon we ſtood W. S. W. for it. At noon we found lat. 17 deg. N. the iſland being then juſt W. from us.

We came about to the ſouth of the iſland, and ſent a canoe aſhore to get tobacco, and ſuch other

Digitized by Google

neceſſaries as we wanted; and alſo to aſk leave of the governor to come into port. The gentry of the place and common people were very willing and deſirous to receive us. But on Wedneſday, February the firſt, the governor flatly denied us entry; at which all the gentry were much troubled, ſhewing themſelves very kind to us. Hereupon we agreed among ourſelves to give the ſlip to thoſe of our company who had no money left them of all their purchaſe in this voyage, having loſt it at play; and then put ourſelves on board two ſhips bound for England. So I myſelf and thirteen more of our company, went on board captain Robert Porteen's ſhip, called the Liſbon Merchant, and ſet ſail from la Antigua, February the 11th, and landed at Dartmouth in England, March the 26th, anno 1682.

A JOUR-

Digitized by Google

A JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE

Made into the

SOUTH-SEA,

BY THE

BUCANIERS OR FREEBOOTERS OF AMERICA;

From the Year 1684, to 1689.

Written by the Sieur RAVENAU DE LUSSAN.

To which is added

The Voyage of the Sieur DE MONTAUBAN, Captain of the FREEBOOTERS, on the Coaſt of Guinea, in the Year 1699.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

CERTIFICATES.

A certificate given by the governor of St. Domingo, to the author of this journal, concerning the ſervice.

The Sieur de Cuſſy, his majeſty's governor of the Tortoiſe Iſland, and the coaſt of St. Domingo.

WE do certify, That the Sieur Ravenau de Luſſan hath ſerved in a company of fourſcore and four men with the Sieur Lawrence de Graff, in the quality of an enſign againſt the Spaniards, his majeſty's enemies; and that having gone into the South-Sea, he fell into the company of other free-booters, from whence not being able to return, but by the force of their arms, he has given upon thoſe occaſions ſignal proofs both of his zeal and courage. In teſtimony whereof we have given him this certificate, to which we have affixed our ſeal, and ordered our ſecretary to counterſign the ſame.

Given at the Fort of Port-Paix, the 17th of May, 1688.

DE CUSSY.

By the governor's command,

BOYER.

Digitized by Google

A copy of a letter written by monſieur De Cuſſy, his majeſty's governor of the Tortoiſe Iſland, and coaſt of St. Domingo, to monſieur de Lubert, treaſurer-general of the marine, upon the ſubject matter of this author's journal.

SIR,

I HAVE taken notice from thoſe letters you have done me the honour to write unto me the preceding years, that you intereſt yourſelf in the affairs of the Sieur Ravenau de Luſſan; wherefore, Sir, I have thought it my duty to inform you of his return from the South-Sea, with two hundred and ſixty of his comrades, who got clear out of that country by the performing of wonderful actions, the particulars whereof I ſhall not enter upon, ſince he will have the honour to give you an exact and faithful account of them himſelf, being the only perſon of all the company that has kept a journal.

I was in hopes to have got him embarked in the king's ſhip called The Marine, which was to be gone in two days; and monſieur de Beaugeau the commander promiſed me to give him his table upon your account; but the ſaid Sieur de Luſſan thinking the frigate to be gone, ſtaid with me at Port-Paix, to wait an opportunity of meeting with another ſhip that ſhould be bound directly for Dieppe. I heartily wiſh, Sir, I could meet with an opportunity of ſerving you in theſe parts: I ſhould do it with exceeding pleaſure, as being, with all deference and reſpect imaginable,

SIR,

Your moſt humble and obedient ſervant,

At the Cape, DE CUSSY.

May 7, 1688.

A copy

Digitized by Google

A copy of another letter written by the ſaid monſieur de Cuſſy to the father of the author of this journal.

SIR,

I CANNOT let your ſon be gone without teſtifying to you how much concerned I am in the ſatisfaction and joy you will have to ſee him in return from ſo long and toilſome a voyage, as I am confident of your being ſorry at preſent, that I had not ſent him home to you at the time you deſired, which yet I ſhould not have failed to do, had he not been abſent, and at whoſe return I delivered him one of your letters, which I always preſerved ſafe with thoſe of monſieur de Lubert. He has no occaſion to make uſe of me, though I have made him an offer of my utmoſt ſervice. I may ſay, without vanity, that he has made the greateſt and fineſt voyage in our age, and that he has ſeen countries which a great many people in the world content themſelves to view in maps, without deſiring any other ſight of them, though they had all the riches thereof beſtowed upon them for their pains. Beſides the pleaſure you will have to ſee your ſon again, you will have alſo that of hearing him diſcourſe, pertinently enough, of his voyage and adventures; there being no other beſides himſelf of all the company that can give an exact account thereof, as having all along applied himſelf to keep a very punctual journal of all tranſactions, which I am confident will be pleaſing to my lord marquis de Signelay. I have myſelf the honour to write to him concerning it, that ſo I might engage your ſon to go and preſent it to him, which perhaps otherwiſe he would not have adventured to do, out of the

Digitized by Google

the little eſteem himſelf has of his own work. This is what offers itſelf at preſent for me to write to you, aſſuring you, I ſhould take a deal of pleaſure to find myſelf in any condition to ſerve him, and that I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble, and

moſt obedient Servant,

At the Fort of Port-Paix,
May the 18th, 1668.

DE CUSSY.

A

JOURNAL, &c.

CHAP. I.

A journal of a voyage made by the free-booters into the South-Sea, 1684, and in the following years.

IT is no very uncommon thing for a child, that is a native of *Paris*, to go and ſeek his fortune abroad, and to entertain a fixed deſign of becoming a man engaged in hazardous adventures. This city, within which moſt of the wonders of the world are contained, and which is perhaps the greateſt that can be met with, ought, in my opinion, to have the preference of any other upon the face of the earth. But who is he that can penetrate into the ſecrets of nature, and give a reaſon for ſome ſort of inclinations ſhe works in the minds of mortals; as for myſelf, I confeſs I am not able to give an account of the depth of my deſires; and all that I can ſay, is, that I have always had a moſt paſſionate diſpoſition for travel. Scarce was I ſeven years old, when, through ſome innate notions, whereof I had not the maſtery, I began to ſteal out of my father's houſe: it is true, my firſt rambles were not far, becauſe my age and ſtrength would not allow them to be ſo; but they were ſo much the more frequent; and I have often given my parents the trouble to look after me in the ſuburbs, and that place we call la Vilette: however, as I grew up, my excurſions were the larger, and by degrees I accuſtomed myſelf to loſe a ſight of Paris.

This

This rambling ſort of humour was accompanied with another, which I dare not dignify with the name of a martial one, but was ſuch as wrought in me an ardent deſire to ſee ſome ſiege or battle: I could not hear the noiſe of the drum in the ſtreets without thoſe tranſports of mind, the remembrance whereof does ſtill operate a kind of a vigorous heat and joy in me. It ſo fell out at length, that I met with an officer, with whom I had but a ſlender acquaintance; but my warlike genius quickly inclined me to make him my friend. I looked upon him as a perſon who could be very ſerviceable to me in my deſigns; and it was with this proſpect I applied myſelf to manage him. The ſiege of Conde being happily commenced at this time, and he being obliged to ſerve there with his company, I made him the offer of a ſword that had hitherto done neither good nor harm to any man, but which I was paſſionately deſirous to make uſe of. Here it was that he gave me the firſt inſtances of his friendſhip, for he took me freely along with him, and kept me all the campaign; at the breaking-up whereof I returned with him, no ways diſcouraged, or weary of war, as the greateſt part of them are, who have had but juſt a taſte of it. And this I tell you was my firſt adventure.

The ſecond was not quite ſo good in regard to the ſucceſs that attended it, though it was alike agreeable to my palate, and according to my heart's deſire. I happened to become a cadet in the marine regiment, but I fell into the hands of a captain who was wondrous ſkilful to drain children of good families of their money; ſo that this campaign, wherein I hoped to have done the king ſome ſervice, was worn away in expences. My father gave more than he ſhould, or I deſerved, to get my diſcharge, and to ſet me once at full liberty to take what I liked beſt;

Digitized by Google

beſt; it was not perhaps his inclination I ſhould do ſo, but it was mine, and I was not long to ſeek.

God, who, it ſeems, was not willing to make me out of conceit with the trade, was ſo much the better guide unto me at this time, as I was ſo ill-guided before; for monſieur the count d'Avegean, whoſe perſonal merit has ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed him in the body of the French guards, took me along with him to the ſiege of St. Guiſlane, where I failed not to meet with new pleaſures in the uſe of arms, though it were never ſo hot. There were a great many men's lives loſt at this ſiege, which yet did not cool the deſire I had to hazard my own: and though my parents, who could not well brook this my gadding humour, were in hopes the fatigues of war would cure me of it, they were miſtaken in the matter; for I was no ſooner got upon the ſtones of Paris, but I grew weary of being there. I had nothing but voyages in my head, and thoſe that were longeſt, and moſt accompanied with dangers, appeared to me to be the beſt. For a perſon never to get out of his native country, and to be ignorant how the reſt of the earth ſtands, appeared to me a matter that ſhould be appropriated to a woman only: whereas it was my judgment, that a man ſhould never be confined to one place, and that nothing could ſuit him better than to make himſelf acquainted with all thoſe of his own ſpecies. To travel by land, I thought both long and difficult, and therefore I concluded I could ſooner and more ſafely accompliſh my deſigns by betaking myſelf to the ſea; and now you find me ready to go on board.

There was nothing omitted on the part of parents, that were full of tender affections for an extravagant child, to divert me from my reſolution: but as to young men, ſuch as I was, it may be ſaid,

as

Digitized by Google

as is uſually done of womenkind: that "what they "will, God wills;" and to ſay the truth, I was over-ruled by my inclination herein; wherefore when they perceived, that abſolutely to oppoſe my humour would make me but the more opiniative, they propoſed I ſhould take a voyage for St. Domingo, where I ſhould find friends and protection in caſe of need; and as this exactly ſuited both with my deſires and deſigns, and that provided I could get to ſea, I did not care whither bound, I very readily obeyed.

Dieppe was the place where I embarked, and from whence I parted on the 5th of March, 1679, with greater ſatisfaction of mind than I am well able to expreſs. That element, which to the generality of men ſeems very frightful, appeared to me the moſt amiable and delightful of any in the world. The winds, if I may ſay ſo, wrought in me ſome delight; for I found that almoſt every little blaſt brought us happily onwards on our way: and I was ſo overjoyed to find myſelf in ſo deſireable an iſland, that I thought no more of the hazards my voyage made me liable to. Let no man therefore be amazed thereat, if he finds none of them contained in my journal: and ſeeing there are other perſons who have been particular enough in their relations given of this paſſage, I have this only to ſay, that I ſafely arrived, through the mercy of God, at St. Domingo; and if any one has the curioſity to follow me in my remaining expedition he muſt begin from thence.

I continued there, however, for above three years, not only to ſee the country, but through ſuch conjunctures as would not admit me to go out of it. I found myſelf chained there to a Frenchman, that was ſo far from deſerving the name of one, that his hardened malice much better became a Turk. But what miſery ſoever I have undergone with him, I freely

Digitized by Google

freely forgive him, being reſolved to forget his name, which I ſhall not mention in this place, becauſe the laws of chriſtianity require it at my hands; though as to matter of charity he is not to expect much of that in me, ſince he on his part has been every way defective in the exerciſe thereof upon my account. But my patience was at laſt quite worn out, being weary of thoſe cruelties, whereof I ſaw no end: I made my complaints to monſieur de Franqueſnay the king's lieutenant, who acted as governor ſince the other's deceaſe, and whoſe generoſity proved to be a ſanctuary to me: he readily conſented to take me to his own houſe, where I ſtaid ſix whole months.

I had borrowed money in the mean time, and I thought it was the part of an honeſt man to repay it. My parents would have been perhaps very willing to have paid my debts, but they could hear nothing from me, nor I from them; and the letters they ſent me, paſſed through ſuch officious hands, that they ſpared us the charge of poſtage. I was therefore neceſſitated to ſeek out ſome other way to free myſelf: and this I found in meeting with that which ſatisfied the natural inclination I had for travelling. I bethought myſelf of making one of the Free-booters gang, to go a voyage with them, and to borrow, for the payment of my debts, as much money as I could from the Spaniards. Now theſe ſorts of borrowings have this advantage attending them, that there is no obligation of repayment, as in our country, they being eſteemed the product of a juſt war; and ſeeing the place of action is beyond the Line, there is no talk there of making any reſtitution: beſides which, we may alſo obſerve in this place, that there was then a rupture between the two crowns, and that we had a formal commiſſion from my lord admiral to infeſt the Spaniards.

There

Digitized by Google

There was no queſtion to be made, but I could find a captain that would receive me; and I was not long in making the choice, ſince there were not many of them at that time to pitch upon. Laurence de Graff was the man I moſt fancied, who would make a ſpecial corſair; and though he had not been long arrived, all that he wanted, was to be gone as well as I. We were in a few hours time ſatisfied with each other, and became ſuch friends, as thoſe are wont to be who are about to run the ſame riſque of fortune, and apparently to die together. This laſt indeed we ſhould have reckoned upon with the moſt appearance of reaſon, but it was what we leaſt thought of. My departure took up all my thoughts: I furniſhed myſelf with arms and other ſmall neceſſaries, at the charge of monſ. de Franqueſnay, who was very ready to advance me ſome money, which I have paid him ſince, and whoſe kindneſs I ſhall never forget. At laſt the day came, and I muſt freely ſay, it was, in my opinion, one of the beſt in the courſe my life. On the 22d of November, in the year 1684, we departed from Petit-Gaves, on the coaſt of St. Domingo, to the number of 120 men, on board a prize taken ſome time before, captain Laurence de Graff, from the Spaniards, which they ſent as an advice-boat from Carthagena on the Terra Firma of America, to Spain. Our deſign was to go and join ourſelves with a fleet of Free-booters, which we were in hopes to meet with before the Havanna, a great city in the iſle of Cuba to the north, and about fourteen leagues diſtant from St. Domingo.

We anchored on the 4th of December at the Tortoiſe Iſland to take in water, and on the 6th ſailed away in order to return to the coaſt of St. Domingo, which is but three leagues off, where we arrived the 12th, and caſting anchor at Cape Francis, we took in our full ſtore of water and wood. We left

Digitized by Google

this place on the 17th, and were taken with a north wind two leagues from the road in ſuch a manner, that we loſt our ſhallop, which was too big to be put upon our gibbet. Towards evening we ſailed back to a place of ſafety, whereby we were obliged to ſtay two days waiting for a canoe we had ſent to buy at the cape, from whence we came, ſuch things as we wanted, for making up the loſs of our ſhallop.

On the 20th, we made ready to endeavour to rejoin the Victorious, a ſhip that came with us from the cape, belonging to Nantes, and bound to the Iſles of the Wind, which had on board the commander of St. Laurence, lieutenant-general of the French Iſlands and the coaſts of the Terra-Firma of America, and monſieur Begon, intendant of juſtice, policy, and the finances of that country, to whom we ſerved as convoy, leſt they ſhould have been attacked by the Spaniſh periaugues that cruize thereabouts. And indeed we had a great deal of reaſon to be concerned for the ſafety of thoſe gentlemen, who were in much eſteem with all the colonies of the iſlands, becauſe of the good order they kept, the exact juſtice they adminiſtered, and the tranquillity the people enjoyed under them; but we could not poſſibly ſet ſight on this ſhip, as not knowing what courſe ſhe ſteered.

The three-and-twentieth we ſteered our own courſe, and in the evening diſcovered a ſhip to leeward of us, to whom we gave chace; but ſhe braced to, to wait for us; and when we were come up with her, we found it was captain le Sieur of Dieppe, who commanded a flute called the Aramantha, whom we quickly left, keeping our own courſe. But on the five-and-twentieth, which was Chriſtmas-Day, we had a great calm till next day, when the wind proving contrary, obliged us to put back to the port of Plata,

on

Digitized by Google

on the coaſt of St. Domingo, where we ſtaid to the end of the month.

On the firſt of January in the new year 1685, we doubled cape St. Francis, and next day by ten in the morning did the ſame by Cape Cabron, as we doubled that of Savona towards noon, they being all ſituated on the ſame coaſt; and that day one of our men died.

On the fourth we ſailed in ſight of la Mena; next day coaſted the iſle of Porto Rico, and la Savona, and then ſteered ſouth-eaſt and by ſouth, till the eleventh, when we diſcovered the iſles of Ave, towards which we bore till the evening, and doubled them on the twelfth about eleven in the morning, keeping ſtill the ſame courſe till we came to the iſle de la Roca; where there was alſo another rendezvous of our men of war to be, which we were going to ſeek out.

On the thirteenth, at ſeven in the morning we diſcovered the main land of America, and were becalmed next day, which continued to the fifteenth at noon, when we had a freſh gale, and ſteered north-north-eaſt till the ſeventeenth, when about moon-ſetting we deſcried two ſhips and four boats to windward of us, about a cannon's ſhot diſtance, that had the cape of us, which brought us upon deck to make all ready.

One of theſe boats on the eighteenth, by break of day, being a tartane commanded by captain John Roſe, as not knowing us preſently, came up and haled us; and as our captain had a commiſſion from the lord high-admiral of France, the count of Thouloufe, we made anſwer from Paris, and put out our flag; but Roſe, who would not know us ſo, believing we had no other intention in feigning ourſelves to be a king's ſhip than to get clear of him, gave us two guns to make us ſtrike, inſomuch, that taking him really

really for a Spaniard, we knocked out the heads of two barrels of powder, in order to burn ourselves and blow up the ship, rather than fall into the hands of those people, who never gave us quarter, but were wont to make us suffer all imaginable torments, they beginning usually with the captain, whom they hang with his commission about his neck: but one of the two ships came up with us in a moment, and knowing what we were gave us a signal, which was so much the more satisfaction to us, that instead of enemies, which we took them to be, they proved to be not only friends, but those very ships we were in quest of, which obliged us to put in at the Cape, and spend that day to visit one another.

One of these two ships belonged to captain Michael Landresson, and was called The Mutinous, but formerly The Peace; and the other to captain Laurence de Graff, whose name was The Neptune, but once The Saint Francis, and which he had quitted when he went in his prize to Saint Domingo to get a new commission of the governor, his own that he had being then expired. The first of these ships carried fifty pieces of cannon, and the other forty-four, and had both of them been two Spanish armadillas, who the year before coming out of Carthagena, to take the ships commanded as well by the captains Laurence and Michael, as those of captains John Quet and Le Sage, were themselves taken by those whom they were about to become masters of: and as for the four boats they were commanded by other captains, whose names were Rose, Vigneron, La Garde, and an English traitor from Jamaica; by them we were informed that they were watching in that place for the patach of Marguerita, and a squadron of Spanish ships, which they expected would sail that way, in order to take them.

Digitized by Google

On the nineteenth we resolved to quit that post, and did all we could to get up with the isle of Curassо, a great part whereof belongs to the Hollanders. We sailed in sight of those of Bonnara and Roube; and about two in the afternoon of the same day we chased a Flemish boat that came from the port of Guaira on the continent, and was returning to the town of Curassо, two leagues to leeward of which we anchored that evening in the port of Sancta Barba.

On the twentieth we sent away a boat under the command of La Garde to the town to ask the governor leave to buy us masts for captain Laurence's ship, that had lost them in a hurricane near the isle of St. Thomas; but this he absolutely refused, and shut up the gates against us. Upon the boat's return, and relation given us of the govenor's refusal, I carried him a copy of our commission, hoping to engage him by that means to grant us our request; but he still persisted to deny us, while a part of our crew scrupled not in the mean time to go ashore, and enter into the town, after having left their swords behind them at the gate.

On the twenty-third our ships weighed anchor, in order to sail for Santa Cruz, which stands seven leagues to leeward of this town; and in our passage by the fort we saluted it, and they returned us gun for gun: but the governor finding we were two hundred men of us in the town, informed us on the twenty-fourth, by beat of drum, that it was his pleasure we should be gone, and return forthwith on board our ships, and that he would give us shallops to carry us thither, provided we paid him two pieces of eight a man. I presently discerned it was his will we should not go back by land, because we must for that purpose cross a lake that stands at the foot of the fort, which he had forbidden us to pass;

Digitized by Google

paſs; and this made me go and tell him, we gave him thanks for his ſhallop, that if we were minded to go by ſea to rejoin our ſhips, we had periaugues to carry us thither; and that we had no other deſign to get to them by land but for a walk's ſake: to which he anſwered, 'That the inhabitants there 'ſcrupled to let us ſee their iſland;' but for all that he would not let us paſs over the lake, and ſo we were two days before we could reach Santa Cruz, where our ſhips were waiting for us.

We came afterwards to know the reaſon of the governor's diſpleaſure againſt us, which was, that captain Laurence and captain Michael's ſhips had taken two Dutch ſhips before the Havannah, that were freighted for the Spaniards, having two hundred thouſand pieces of eight that belonged to their company, which the free-booters meddled not with, being at peace with that nation; and they eaſily perſuaded their principal that all had been taken from them, and ſo we were puniſhed for the knavery theſe Dutchmen practiſed towards their own people.

Though this iſland of Curaſſo be well enough known in France, I cannot but take notice, as I go along, that the temperature of its air is the ſame with that of St Domingo, and produces the ſame ſort of fruits; that the land is almoſt level throughout, and the country very naked, becauſe of the little wood that grows there; but almoſt barren in ſeveral places, and produces little to the owners beſides maize and ſmall millet; yet it is watered with ſeveral ſprings and rivers. The town that ſtands upon it is ſmall, but very neat, being encompaſſed with an high though very thin wall: there is a good and ſafe port belongs to it, and the fort that commands it, as well as the town, is very regularly fortified. The inhabitants are of ſeveral ſorts of

religions, the exercise thereof being free; the chief of which is that of the Dutch, of the Jews, as well as of others; each of whom have their respective places of worship in the town. The chief of their trade consists in sugar that grows there, and of wool which comes from the sheep which breed upon the place in great numbers; besides the skins of those animals, as also of a great many oxen and cows which they keep in the lowest and best watered grounds of this island, where it abounds in pasture. They are altogether affected to the Spanish nation, with whom they have the main of their trade.

On the twenty-seventh we made ready, and steered our course for Cape la Vella, which is on the continent of America, where we designed to fix ourselves in order to wait for the patach of Marguerita, whereof I have have already spoken: the same day captain Vigneron's boat left us to return to the coast of St. Domingo, because they had not men enough to make any thing of the enterprize, there being no more than twenty on board her.

Being come to the Cape by the thirtieth, we anchored there; and our next care was to set some centinels, to the number of fifteen, upon the top of it, to give us notice when they discovered the patach; but next day we thought it more adviseable to pursue this following method to get intelligence: we sent on the first of February captain Rose's boat to the mouth of the river la Hache on the continent, inhabited by the Spaniards, and about twenty leagues distant from the Cape where we then were, under pretence of trading with them, but in reality with a design to make some prisoners, that so we might be informed whether the patach was passed by that way or no; for it was

Digitized by Google

was uſual for her to take in part of her lading in that river.

While we waited for the return of this boat, I and ſome others went aſhore to view and obſerve the country about the Cape. I underſtood it was inhabited by a moſt cruel, barbarous, and ſavage Indian nation, who are neither friends to, nor have any ſociety with any other people whatſoever, no not even with the Spaniards themſelves who live round about them. They eat without any diſtinction whatever they can catch, and are afraid of nothing but ſwords and the like weapons; but as for fire-arms they matter them not at all. We were ſatisfied to have a ſight of them as we returned, without having the curioſity to make a trial of their teeth, by going farther up into the country where there was nothing to be got.

I am not able to forbear in this place to give a ſtrange example of what I am ſpeaking, and of what this people can do, whom I take to be the oldeſt free-booters of America. The marquis of Maintenon, governor of the iſle of Maragalant, who had the command of one of the king's frigates called The Witch, having taken a prize of fourteen guns, which he went on board, and finding himſelf one day ſeparated from his own ſhip, was conſtrained, in order to take in water, to caſt anchor at Boca del Drago on the Terra Firma of America, which was inhabited by the ſame Indian people as live at Cape la Valla He brought his ſhip as near the ſhore as he could, and bringing all his cannon to bear on one ſide, he ſent under the covert of them his ſhallop, with two-and-twenty armed men, to fill their caſks with water, and ruſhing upon them in ſpight of the continual fire made upon them from the cannon of the man of war, they carried her with the two-and-twenty

Digitized by Google

men for above fifty paces to land, where, after they had killed them, every one took his man upon his back, and moved them off; then they returned, and ſwimming to cut the cables of the ſhip to make her drive aſhore, they hoped alſo to ſerve thoſe on board the ſame ſauce; but as good luck would have it they had time to looſe their ſails, and to make ready to put farther off from the ſhore.

On the ſecond we put our ſhips into a careening poſture, and on the eighth Roſe's boat returned to us, and gave an account, that as ſoon as they had anchored at the mouth of La Hache, they ſent a ſmall canoe with ſix Engliſhmen in it aſhore; they being of our crew, and at peace then with the Spaniards, who agreed with them, that next morning about ſun-riſing they would fire a gun to give the other notice to come on board to traffick with them; that in the night they had put thirty men aſhore to ſurprize thoſe of the Spaniards that ſhould paſs to-and-fro; but that the Spaniards having diſcerned the ſnare that was laid for them, fired all night, which gave all the inhabitants the alarm: that next morning our people fired their cannon of ſignal according to the agreement, and put out Engliſh colours; but it was to no purpoſe, for the Spaniards, according to all appearance, had no inclination for thoſe goods they ſuppoſed we would trade with them in; ſo that our men finding their deſign had miſcarried, weighed anchor, and ſailed away to join us.

As we were of opinion at laſt that there was no hopes the patach would paſs that way, we held a council on board our ſhip about forming another deſign; but not being able to agree with captain Laurence (who was owner of two-thirds of the Neptune) becauſe he would have impoſed upon us, there were fourſcore and ſeven that quitted the ſhip, and went on board the prize in which we came from Saint

Digitized by Google

Saint Domingo, and ſo left him on the thirteenth. He weighed and ſteered his courſe thitherward: captain Michael and captain John Roſe weighed alſo, and ſailed for Carthagena; and we, who were irreſolute what way to take, followed the latter.

On the twenty-fifth we had a hard eaſterly breeze, which carried us beyond a river that runs on the Terra Firma, and is by the Spaniards called Rio Grande, where we ſhould have taken in water, which continues ſweet within the ſea for three or four leagues from the mouth of it, for all it rains ſo little, and provided you take that which runs on the ſuperficies. About three of the ſame day, in the afternoon, we ſaw Our Lady de la Poupa, which is alſo on the continent, and the twenty-ſixth anchored at the iſles of Saint Bernard, from whence we parted in the evening with three periaugues only, in order to get to windward of Carthagena, to endeavour to ſeek us ſome proviſion which they continually carry to that place, and our deſign had in effect the deſired ſucceſs.

We returned on the 18th with ſeven periaugues laden with maize, which we made good prize: by the Spaniards that were in them, we underſtood that there were two galleons at Carthagena, and that the Spaniſh flota was at Porto-Bello; and that two ſhips, one carrying twenty, and the other twenty-four guns, would quickly ſet out from thence; but we did not think fit to wait for them, becauſe they could not aſſign to us any determinate time when they ſhould ſail.

On the twenty-ſecond at noon we weighed, and towards evening diſcovered Point Picaron on the continent, and the iſles of Palmas: about two hours within the night, we doubled the greateſt point of theſe iſlands. The next morning, which was the twenty-third, we found ourſelves ſeparated from captain Michael and captain Roſe, and then

Digitized by Google

it was we took a reſolution of attempting to croſs over the continent, to the end we might get into the South-Sea; in order to which we ſailed to the bay of the iſle d'Or, which is inhabited by the Indians of Sambes, that ſo we might know of them (who were our friends) what ſucceſs the other free-booters met with, who, we had been told, were gone thither ſome months before.

From the twenty third at night to the twenty-fourth we kept to the Cape, being afraid of entering into the gulf of Arian; and that morning, by break of day, we made nearer the ſhore to diſcover where we were, and upon trial we found it to be a point of the wind in that gulf, which the currents made us to double.

Between this Gulf and Cape Matance happened a very remarkable adventure. We had on board our ſhip a ſoldier belonging to the Spaniſh galleons, whom we had taken to windward of Carthagena in one of the periaugues, whereof we found the maize before ſpoken of, who, out of deſpair to find himſelf made a priſoner, though he was very kindly uſed, took a reſolution, as appeared by what followed, to throw himſelf into the ſea, to which end he went five or ſix times upon deck without being able to put his deſign in execution, and that in all likelihood out of a ſecret reſiſtance he found within himſelf to do it; but at laſt, after ſeveral attempts, he effected the ſame, which excited my curioſity to enquire into the circumſtances thereof; I found that, contrary to what uſually happens in ſuch caſes, the body, which fell down with full force into the water, floated a long time upon the back by the ſhip's ſide, though to our apprehenſion he did all he could to drown himſelf; but when out of compaſſion, to ſave his life, we threw out ſome of our tackle for him to catch hold on, he not only refuſed

Digitized by Google

fuſed to make uſe of them, but turned himſelf upon his face, and plunged to the bottom.

On the twenty-fifth, at eleven in the morning, we arrived and anchored at the iſle d'Or, or Golden Iſland, and at the ſame time fired a gun to give the Indians notice of our coming: then we went aſhore to know what that flag was we diſcovered at a diſtance from us, where we found three men belonging to captain Grognier and captain Leſcuier's crew, who told us, that they tarried there becauſe they would not go with the other free-booters, who were on their journey to the South-Sea, under the conduct of thoſe two captains; and that as ſoon as ever they ſaw us, they had ſet up that flag as a ſignal for us to come up to them.

The ſix-and-twentieth came ſome Indians with letters on board us, which were directed to the firſt free-booters that ſhould anchor in that road, to give them notice that they were gone, to the number of an hundred and ſeventy men to that ſea, and ſome ſmall time before them an hundred and fifteen Engliſh; beſides which, they alſo ſent us ſome inſtructions how to demean ourſelves towards the Indians through whoſe territories we muſt paſs, wherewith we were fully confirmed in the project we had already formed of undertaking this expedition: and though we were but fourſcore and ſeven men, yet we made ourſelves ready to be gone. In the mean time ſome other Indians came alſo on board us, by whom we were informed, that captain Grognier and captain Leſcuier were ſtill in their territories, and not yet gone to the South-Sea, which made us write to them by one of thoſe two Indians, to let them know that we were coming to them.

On the twenty-ſeventh at noon we ſaw captain Michael and captain Roſe turn into the ſame port, which made us go preſently on board, to know

Digitized by Google

what made them come in and anchor in that road. They told us they had been in chase of a Spanish ship named the Hardy, come from Saint Jago on the coast of Cuba, and bound for Carthagena; but not being able to come up with her, they were come into this port, as being the nighest, to take in water. Then we shewed them the letters we had received, which wrought a desire in many of them to come and increase our number, insomuch that an hundred and eighteen men quitted Michael's ship, and the whole crew of captain Rose, being sixty-four men, who burnt their vessel when they had paid the owners the price of it. We were not then for delaying, but on the twenty-ninth quitted our ships and went ashore, where we encamped to the number of two hundred and sixty-four persons; but as to the ship belonging to our particular crew, we left her in the hands of captain Michael rather than burn her.

CHAP. IX.

Our passage cross the Continent of America to go to the South-Sea.

SUNDAY the first of March in the year 1685, after we had recommended ourselves to the Almighty's protection, we set out under the command of captain Rose, captain Picard, and captain Desmarais, with two Indian guides, and about forty more of that nation, whom we took along with us for the ease of those who were most burdened among us. We could not travel above three leagues that day, and encamped by a river side, after we had passed through a country that presently discovered a terrible aspect to us, and then proved very difficult to travel in, because of the mountains, precipices, and impenetrable forests whereof it is full; and the difficulty of our journey was still the more increased by the great rains that fell

Digitized by Google

fell all the next day. To ſay nothing that in our aſcending the mountains, which are of a prodigious height, we were clogged with the weight of our ammunition, arms, and other iron tools we carried with us. Upon our coming down upon theſe mountains we got into a plain, which, though it was without any tracts or ways, yet appeared very eaſy unto us; but that we were obliged no leſs than four-and-forty times in the ſpace of but two leagues to croſs the ſame river, which, becauſe it ran between very ſlippery rocks, gave us a great deal of trouble to get over it, being always in danger of falling.

On the fourth we lay in an Indian carbet, which is a ſpacious ſort of a lodging, but almoſt like a barn, wherein the people are wont to meet together; there we ſtaid next day to go a hunting, where we found great numbers of deer, and all ſorts of birds. Amongſt others we ſaw a kind of animal which the Indians call Manipouryei, and we Trefoil, becauſe as they go along each of their feet leaves the print of this ſimple in the ground. This animal is as big as a ſmall bullock, but his hair is not ſo long, and more ſleek; his legs are ſhort, he has the head of an aſs, but a ſharper noſe, and walks in the bottom of the water as well as on dry land. They have here alſo a ſort of hogs, which they call Vents, becauſe of an opening place they have in the form of a navel upon their backs. We may farther take notice of thoſe beaſts they call Agoutils and Oviſtitils, which both the one and the other of them are very like thoſe we call Indian pigs in France, but much bigger. The monkeys of this country are almoſt as big as ſheep, live in foreſts, and ſeldom come down from the trees, where they always find their food; they are ſo hardy, that though you ſhoot them with a fuzee in the head, or through both ſhoulders, they ſhall not fall to the ground; and many times for all

what you can do, they have ſo much cunning in their fall as to twiſt their tails, which are very long, about the branch of a tree, where they hang and waſte away, without any poſſibility of coming at them, becauſe they generally make choice of the talleſt trees for the places of their retreat.

I cannot without ſmiling call to mind what I have done to one of theſe animals, which, after I had made ſeveral ſhots at him with my fuzee that carried off part of his belly, inſomuch that his guts came out, held himſelf by one of his paws, or hands (if you will) by the branch of a tree, while he put his entrails with the other into that part of his belly that ſtill remained whole.

There was another of them whom I ſhot with a ſmall bullet acroſs his noſe, and who finding himſelf blinded with the blood that guſhed out, had ſo much induſtry as to wipe it off with the leaves of the tree whereon he ſtood. Here alſo we found harats, which are a ſort of birds as big again as parrots, to whom they are very like, even to the note they have: but their feathers are infinitely more fine; for their wings and tail, which is very long, are of ſo lively and bright flaming colour, that you cannot for ſome time fix your eye upon them without being dazzled. Here we ſaw thoſe fowls called Occos, which are pretty like unto our Indian turkey-hens, but with this difference, that they have a ſmall tuft of feathers upon their heads that reſembles a cock's comb, and a round of yellow about their eyes: they differ from one another in colour; the male's feathers being inclinable to red, whereas the female's are blackiſh, but are never found aſunder. Their partridges are larger than our Europeans, and their fleſh is whiter but not ſo good, and their note is different from ours. As to their pheaſants they are ſmaller than thoſe in Europe, and their fleſh nothing near ſo palatable, but

but their notes are much the ſame. Beſides theſe, there are in this country a multitude of other birds, with whoſe names I think it needleſs to ſwell this journal, becauſe, as the iſlands of America are full of them, there is already an exact account given of them in thoſe relations that have been made of theſe countries, and it is enough that I give a deſcription of ſuch as are not to be found in theſe iſlands, or of another kind: yet I ſhall ſay this farther, that lizzards breed here in abundance, and there are different ſizes of them; they are animals that reſemble pretty nearly thoſe whom we call cayements, of whom I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter; their fleſh is good to eat, and their eggs, which are as big as pigeons eggs, have an excellent taſte, and are much better than our hens eggs. This hunting bout was a great relief to us againſt that hunger we had endured, becauſe it was the firſt repaſt we had met with ſince our journey; but this I reckoned nothing in compariſon of the miſeries which we were to ſuffer in a vaſt number of other adventures.

At laſt, after ſix days painful and weariſome travelling, even beyond all that can well be imagined, we got to the river which the Indians and Spaniards call Bocca del Chica, that diſcharges itſelf into the South-Sea.

On the ſeventh the Indians of that place carried us to ſee trees that were proper to make our canoes of, in order to get down that river into the South-Sea. We preſently fell to work upon them with our utenſils and iron tools which we had brought along with us, after we had agreed with the captains of theſe Indians for furniſhing us in the mean time with victuals, which conſiſted in maize, potatoes, bananoes, and magniot-roots, till we had done our work, upon condition that we gave them cloth, knives, thread, needles, pins, ſciſſars, hatchets, bills,

Digitized by Google

bills, combs, and ſuch like ſmall wares, which are in great eſteem with them; though the ſavages are not ignorant of the advantage that doth ariſe to them from theſe things.

It was partly with theſe toys that we lived and kept a good correſpondence with them during our paſſage through their country; but what made the conjuncture ſtill more favourable unto us, was the reſentment they had at that time of the ill uſage they had received at the hands of the Spaniards, againſt whom they were ſo incenſed, that they begged our aſſiſtance to be revenged on them. And had it not been for this, it would have been a very difficult taſk for us, if not impoſſible, to croſs the country againſt their will, not only becauſe of their numbers, which made them infallibly much ſtronger than we, but alſo by reaſon of the many foreſts and difficult paſſages their country is incumbered with, which we could not have gone through without we had ſome of themſelves for our guides; but for all this, we did not think ourſelves ſo ſafe amongſt theſe men, but that we kept continually upon our guard, becauſe we were well aſſured they were ſuch wretches as were at the ſervice always of thoſe that gave them moſt; and that though they appeared one minute to be our friends, they might become the next the Spaniards, who are nearer neighbours to them. Their treacherous dealings have proved fatal to ſome free-booters who have put too much confidence in them, when a ſmall number of them paſſing through their country, theſe people gave notice thereof to the Spaniards; and that they might give an exact account of their number, they took them in a defile, and as they marched along they put a corn of maes into a callabaſh for every man that paſſed by; and when they had done, carried the callabaſh to the enemy, who thereupon took their meaſures accordingly.

There

There is no ſign of religion, or of the knowledge of God amongſt them; they holding that they have communion with the devil: and in ſhort, when they would know any thing, they ſpend the night in the woods in order to conſult him; and they ſometimes foretold us ſome things that have been true in the event in every particular circumſtance of the relation they had given us. They lead a wandering and vagabond life, and fix their abode in no certain place. They generally erect their ajoupas or barracks upon a river ſide, where they continue till they have ſpent what ſuſtenance they find thereabouts; and when that is done they go and do the ſame thing upon another river, and in this manner ſpend the term of their miſerable lives. They go naked, except it be that they cover a part of their privities with a bit of ſilver or gold that is made like a candle extinguiſher; and were I but ſatisfied that they had ever ſeen ſuch a thing, I ſhould think they took their model from it.

When they feaſt, or hold other ſolemn meetings, they put on a cotton robe, all of one piece, as it is uſual with them, in a vaunting manner, to have a bit of gold or caracolay of an oval form hanging at their noſe, which is bored through, and with this they think themſelves as fine as any in the world. As for the women kind, they cover themſelves from the waiſt downwards with an herb or cotton cloth, which they make themſelves; and thus they may appear finer, they colour their faces with rocou, which is a ſmall grain that dyes a brown red.

On the twenty-third, as we had finiſhed the building of our canoes, we had news brought us by an Indian, who was returned from conducting the one hundred and fifteen Engliſh before ſpoken of to the South Sea, whither they were gone before us, that they had taken, under the command of Townſley their captain, two ſhips laden with proviſion, coming from

Digitized by Google

from Lima. He brought along with him a man of captain Grognet's crew, who was loſt in the woods a hunting, while his comrades were making their canoes in the ſame river where we were building ours.

On the twenty-eighth we received news again by an Indian captain, who had conducted captain Grognier and captain Leſcuier into the South-Sea, in a letter which they ſent us, that they would ſtay for us at King's Iſlands, and deſired us to loſe no time, but to come and have our ſhare in taking of the fleet of Peru, which they waited for: but for all the expedition we could uſe our canoes could not be finiſhed before the laſt of March, when we drew them into the river.

April the firſt we parted with fourteen canoes, carrying about twenty oars apiece, guided by twenty Indians, who made uſe of this opportunity in order to participate of the booty which they thought we were about to take from the Spaniards as ſoon as ever we got again into the South-Sea.

We reſted on the fourth to tarry for our men who were behind, and to mend our canoes that were damnified by the rocks and flats we met with all along that river. It cannot be believed what pains we had to bring them to the great water (as I may call it) for we met with places where they reſted dry, ſo that we were in a manner forced to carry them. This day died one of our men of the bloody flux, which was very rife amongſt us, becauſe we were forced to faſt ſo long, and by reaſon of the hard feeding we had, and our continual dabbling in the water.

On the fifth we put on, and about evening found the river deeper, but ſo full of and encumbered with trees, which the floods had carried thither, that our canoes were in danger every minute to be loſt; and this day died two of our men.

On

Digitized by Google

On the ſixth we got to the great water, where the river is wider and deeper; and that day we ſpent on the banks of it to dry our ſacks, which were wet through with the great rains that fell the day before. Another of our men died this day.

From hence to the eleventh we did all we could to get quickly to the mouth of the river, where we were informed by an Indian, that was come in a ſmall veſſel to meet us, that the Engliſh and French free-booters had ſent aſhore in a little bay called Boca del Chica (that ſtands at the mouth of that river) ſome corn for our refreſhment when we ſhould get down thither; for they could gather very well by themſelves, who had been ſo ſtraightened there for proviſion, whereabouts we muſt be; and indeed we had ſo little, that we were reduced to a handful of raw maiz for each man a day.

The ſame day we received farther news, and by other Indians, who gave our guides notice to tell us, that a thouſand Spaniards being informed of our deſcent, mounted up along this river by land, with a deſign to lay an ambuſcade for us: hereupon we reſolved not to ſtir, but in the night-time, and that without noiſe, that ſo we might ſhun them; and this ſucceeded accordingly. But we fell into another incumbrance; and that was, we being ſtrangers in this country, and knowing no more than our guides, how high the tide flowed in this river, we were ſurprized with the coming in of it, and it drove us and our canoes very far, ſo that one of them was overſet with a great tree that had fallen into the river, and upon which the ſwiftneſs of the current threw it, but it luckily fell out that no one was drowned; they quitted it for the arms and ammunition that were loſt; which could not but work ſome trouble in us to ſee our men diſarmed in a country where we could not go, but muſt have much

much uſe for them; but to deliver us of this inquietude, God was pleaſed to diſpoſe of ſome of us, who left their arms to thoſe that had loſt their own.

When we were got clear of theſe dangers, our guides adviſed us to row gently, for fear the Indian Spaniards, who were our enemies, ſhould hear us, and who lay in wait to attack us ſome leagues this ſide the mouth of the river, in a place called Leſtocada. We took their counſel, and when we were got over-againſt the ſaid place, where the river is very broad, we diſpoſed of our canoes in ſuch a manner, that by the favour of the night they appeared to be much leſs than they really were. Now theſe Indian Spaniards having ſome glimpſe of us, aſked who was there? and our guides having anſwered, that what they ſaw was nought but a few boats belonging to them, with which they were going to fetch ſalt into the South-Sea; by this wile we were ſpared the labour of engaging with theſe raſcals.

On the twelfth in the morning we caſt anchor, becauſe the tide came in, and was againſt us, and about ten made ready, but towards noon the heavens were overcaſt to that degree, that you could ſcarce ſee a man from one end to the other; and this was followed with ſuch exceſſive rains, that we were afraid every minute of being ſunk, though we employed two men in each canoe continually to throw out the water; and during that time one of our men died.

The ſame day at midnight we got to the mouth of the river, and entered into the South-Sea, from whence we made directly for the bay of Boca del Chica to ſee for the proviſion which we were told was there, and which we found accordingly; but before this we met with a canoe of captain Grognet that

that waited for us, and two barks at anchor. They had been purpoſely ſent by the Engliſh, both to towe our canoes to the place where the fleet of free-booters were, and to bring us more proviſion.

On the thirteenth in the morning we carried our ſick on board the two barks for their better accommodation, and then weighed anchor in order to ſail altogether to an iſland four leagues diſtant from the mouth of that river, where we refreſhed ourſelves two days with the proviſion the Engliſh had ſent us, which was a mighty comfort to us.

On the ſixteenth we went off in order to find out the Engliſh and French fleet, whoſe rendezvous was to cruize either before Panama, or at the King's Iſlands, which are not far from this river.

We arrived at thoſe iſlands on the eighteenth, which ſtand thirty leagues to the eaſt of Panama, where we found the largeſt of them to look more like the continent than an iſland, ſo ſpacious and mountainous it is. The ſame is inhabited by thoſe negroes whom they call Marons, or fugitives from the Spaniards, who upon making their eſcapes from their maſters at Panama, and the adjacent places, have made this a place of refuge. This day one of our men died.

We entered into this ſea at a very bad time, for about this height, there are ſome years wherein it rains for every day for the ſpace of ſix months, and we happened to come thither exactly at ſuch a ſeaſon.

I ſhould think it would have been proper in this place, before I proceed to give a relation of our adventures, to give a large and exact deſcription of the South-Sea, and this fourth part of the world, with which it is waſhed, and to ſet forth the longitude and latitude of the places: but as it is my deſign to write of nothing but what was tranſacted by us there,

Digitized by Google

there, and that this country is well enough discovered by the geographical charts that have been made of it, let the reader, when he has occasion to be informed herein, have recourse to them. I shall content myself with taking notice only, that all the continent that respects the South-Sea, stands east and west, and most of the islands north and south of it; and that it runs from east and south-east to south and south-west; and from the west to west north-west, and to the north-west.

The Spaniards are the only foreigners that possess these countries, since the unjust usurpation they have made of them from the aborigines, over whom they made themselves masters by such tyrannical and cruel methods as have been heard of throughout the world. They have good towns upon the sea side, which reach from the height of the islands of Don Fernandez, that are situated at the mouth of the gulf of Magellan, or rather from Chili, to the middle of a streight that is between the Terra Firma, and the isles of California, which the Spaniards call Marbermejo, through which it is believed a communication may be had between the northern and southern seas, without going about by streight of Anien. The chief of these towns begin from the south, and are Arrica, Sagna, Nasca, Pachacama, Lima, Cidade de los Reyes, the port of Callao (which is the place of embarking for this last, and where the king of Spain's ships anchor, that is the fleet of Peru) Truxillo, Paita, Queaquilla, la Barbacoa, which is an open mine, from whence the Spaniards get a great deal of gold, Panama, Realeguo, Tecoantepequa, Acapulco, and several others, that are as well maritime as inland places.

It is about ten years since the Spaniards, who dwell on all this continent, have not known what war

Digitized by Google

war was. Here they lived in a profound tranquillity, and fire-arms were hardly in any uſe amongſt them: but ſince the time that we found out a way to go and viſit them, they brought the Engliſhmen from Jamaica amongſt them. But though they have a pretty many of them at preſent there, yet the ſequel of this diſcourſe will ſhew they are not much more warlike than they were before: but the white Indians that inhabit a part of Chili have been always their enemies; and theſe are a people of prodigious bulk and tallneſs, who almoſt infeſt them with continual war, and when they happen to take any of them they take off the plate of their breaſts, as we do by a tortoiſe, and cut out their hearts.

On the twenty-ſecond, which was Eaſter-day, their fleet, who were gone before us into theſe ſeas, arrived at the King's Iſles where we were; they conſiſted of eight ſail, which, together with the two barks they had ſent to wait for our arrival, made up in all ten veſſels; of which take the following account:

The firſt ſerved as admiral, and was a frigate carrying thirty-ſix guns, commanded by one captain David.

The next was inſtead of vice-admiral, had ſixteen guns, and was under the command of one whoſe name was Sammes.

The third and fourth were two ſhips commanded by captain Townſley.

The fifth was a ſhip that could have carried thirty guns, but had none, and was commanded by captain Grognet.

The ſixth was a ſmall ſhip commanded by Brandy.

The ſeventh and eighth were two long barks commanded by two quarter-maſters, with a detachment of men drawn out of the fleet.

And

Digitized by Google

And the ninth and tenth were the two barks that came to meet us, whereof the one was commanded by Peter Henry, and the other by a quarter-maſter.

Of all theſe commanders captain Grognet was the only Frenchman, all the reſt being Engliſhmen, except David, who was a Fleming. As to the whole number of our men, they were computed at about eleven hundred, when they divided into two fleets: it remains therefore now that I ſhould ſay, according to the information I have received from all that were engaged in this enterprize, how all theſe ſhips fell into their hands, by what means, and at what time they came into this ſea.

In purſuance therefore to the order before obſerved, I am to declare that the Engliſh were the owners of our admiral, who in the year 1682, on the coaſt of St. Domingo, ſurprized a long bark belonging to a French captain, whoſe name was Triſtan, who was then with ſome of his ſhip's crew aſhore waiting for a fair wind to ſail together, to make war upon the Spaniards, by commiſſion from monſieur Povanſay, who was then governor of that iſland. The Engliſh, who were ſuperior in ſtrength, drove the French out of the bark, with which they ſailed to the iſle de la Tortille, whither a great many ſhips go every year to take in ſalt. The next thing they did, was to take a Dutch ſhip, on which they went all on board, and ſailed afterwards to the coaſt of Guinea, where they took ſeveral prizes more; but they reſerved none of them ſave the Dutch ſhip, which ſerved as admiral, and wherein they ſailed, when we left the South-Sea, and was ſuppoſed to have been a ſhip belonging to Hamburg.

Theſe Engliſh became pirates under the conduct of a captain of their own, and grew ſo notoriouſly wicked by a great many odious actions, performed not only towards ſtrangers, but even thoſe of their own

own nation, when they met with any of them, that to avoid being chaſed, which they would infallibly have been, they paſſed from the north to the ſouth-ſea, by the ſtreight of Magellan.

They kept company for about eight months with a little frigate of eighteen guns, which they met with there in a ſhort time after their arrival, and whoſe crew conſiſted of Engliſh, French, and Flemings: but their good correſpondence with the corſair was of no long duration, for happening to have ſome difference with him, as he was one morning giving the other the good-morrow, according to the Engliſh mode, he ſaw all his crew come upon deck; whereupon the little frigate, who ſailed much better than the pirate, came up with him, and having brought all his guns to bear, gave him a broad-ſide, accompanied with a volley of ſmall ſhot, and then bore away, having ſlain the captain and twenty of his men, in whoſe ſtead the reſt of the crew choſe David before-mentioned. That little frigate of ſixteen guns got into the South-Sea ſome time after the other, as alſo by the ſame ſtreight of Magellan. I was told by one of the engineers on board her, that ſhe belonged to his royal highneſs the duke of York, and that under pretence of coming to treat with the Spaniards, ſhe was ſent upon no other account than to take a plan of thoſe parts, the ſituation of the cities and ſea-ports. Now captain David meeting with her, made captain Sammes come on board him, and threatened to take him, unleſs he would go and make war with him; ſo that finding himſelf too weak to reſiſt, he choſe rather to comply with the pirate than be taken; and theſe two together took a great many prizes, which, after they had taken out what was for their turn, they burnt.

About a year after, captain Townſley came over land with an hundred and fifteen Engliſh into thoſe ſeas,

Digitized by Google

ſeas, and at the King's Iſlands took two ſhips laden with proviſion and other refreſhments, whereof I have already ſpoken, coming from Peru.

About a month after, the captains Grognet and Leſcuier went alſo thither over land with two hundred and ſeventy men; and who, being informed that the Engliſh fleet was before Panama, put aſhore one night at Tavoga, an iſland two leagues off, from whence they diſcerned a ſhip on fire, and by break of day they ſaw the Engliſh under ſail.

They went on board them, and came to underſtand, that captain David had taken a ſhip called the Saint Roſe, laden with corn and wine, bound from Truxillo for Panama; the preſident of which laſt place had ſent to him to buy her, and in order thereunto, gave him a meeting at the iſles of Pericos, that are a league diſtance from the port. But inſtead of ſending him the money they had agreed upon for the ſhip, he ſent a fire-ſhip to burn him; but the ſame, through the cowardice and ignorance of the commander, ſpent herſelf without doing the other any hurt: and this made captain David give the St. Roſe to Grognet and Leſcuier's ſhips crew, who had already loſt their captain.

As for the other five ſhips commanded by Brandy, Sammes, Peter Henry, and two quarter-maſters, they had alſo been taken from the Spaniards in theſe ſeas by the two firſt frigates, who reſerved them for thoſe who came thither over land. But of all our ſhips, there were none but the firſt two that had guns; the other eight had none, they having been merchant ſhips, that had made uſe of none in the South-Sea, where no body but themſelves had ſailed a long time. And now having told you what paſſed before this fleet came together; we ſhall now proceed to give an account of our adventures ſince our junction.

On

On the twenty-fifth of April we took an advice-boat going to the fleet of Peru, which was then at anchor in the port of Callao, that was carrying ſome packets from Madrid to Panama, and letters from the vice-roy of Lima, wherein there was an account given how many men of war, fire-ſhips, and merchant-men, the fleet conſiſted of; and about what time the ſame might arrive at Panama. Next day we examined the commander of the advice-boat, but we could get no particulars out of him, ſaving, that when he ſaw himſelf like to be taken, he had thrown the king of Spain's packets and a caſket of jewels overboard.

On the twenty-ſeventh we put the ſame queſtions to the pilot, who, according to the example of his commander, would make no diſcovery, becauſe they had taken an oath together, rather to loſe their lives than to divulge any ſecret, or to let the ſaid packet fall into the hands of the free-booters. On the 28th two of our men died.

On the evening of the ſame day, we departed with two-and-twenty canoes manned with five hundred men, in order to go and take la Seppa, which is a ſmall town ſeven leagues to windward of Panama; and on the twenty-ninth about ten in the morning we diſcovered two ſhips bearing up to us, which when they came near, we found to be two periaugues manned with Greeks, which are a people compoſed of divers nations, to whom the Spaniards give this name, and who ſerve them in their wars. Theſe they brought ſome time before from the North-ſea to this coaſt, to defend them againſt us, becauſe they look upon them to be better ſoldiers than themſelves We preſently ſent out two of our beſt ſailing canoes, manned with twenty men each, to attack them.

Digitized by Google

These Greeks, who quickly took us to be really what we were, *i. e.* free-booters, made no delay to save themselves upon one of those islands that stands on the bay of Panama; but upon their going ashore, they lost one of their periaugues, that split in pieces, and left us the other; then they got upon a rising ground, with their arms, and as much ammunition as they could save, and fought stiffly against us under a flag of defiance. And as the place where we landed was exposed to their fire from the ground where they had posted themselves, and that the ascent on that side where we stood was very difficult, we were forced to take a great round to come at them another way, where we found our passage much easier. At last, after we had fought at least for the space of an hour, we constrained them to flee for shelter in the woods, took two of them prisoners, besides their colours, and found between five-and-thirty slain upon the spot.

We were informed by the two prisoners, that those who had escaped, could not be above an hundred men at most; that we might easily master them if we pleased, there being many wounded amongst them: they also told us, that they had an account at Panama of a reinforcement that was come from the North-sea to the fleet of free-booters: that the president of the town had thereupon sent an advice-boat to Lima, to engage the vice-roy to detain the merchant ships in port till further order, and with all speed to send a fleet of men of war to fight ours, and drive us out of those seas: but the relation given by these two prisoners we could not rely upon, since their party had put up a flag of defiance, they being three times the number of us.

After this advantage, and our rejoicing with the rest of our canoes, we continued to prosecute our design upon la Seppa; but as we were obliged before

Digitized by Google

fore we could come at it to go about two leagues up a very fine and large river of the ſame name, and on whoſe banks they have Vigies centinels always ſet, we could not chooſe but be diſcovered, and find the town alarmed, and ready to defend itſelf: yet for all that we fell furiouſly on, and took it with the loſs only of one man; but finding no great matter of booty there, becauſe they had ſaved moſt of their effects, we returned to our canoes again.

As I ſhall have frequent occaſion to make mention of the word *vigie*, it will not be improper in this place to take notice, that by *vigier* is no other thing meant than to ſet a centinel upon land or ſea, and thoſe perſons who are thus ſet, they call *vigies*. The Spaniards maintain a great number of them; for all their cities, towns, and villages, and even ſingle houſes, have perſons on purpoſe, whom they ſend to all the riſing ground round about, and river ſides, where they have their horſes ready night and day, ſo that, as ſoon as they diſcover an enemy, they haſten to give the Spaniards notice of it, who forthwith prepare themſelves not to fight, but to ſave their effects.

On the firſt of May we rejoined our ſhips, who waited for us at a very pretty iſland, called Sipilla, about a league diſtant from the mouth of the river la Seppa, which makes up a kind of canal, that forms the bay of Panama, and do, as it were, make a bar all along, that divides the channel into two parts, one to the eaſt and the other to the weſt. Thoſe pleaſures we met with in theſe parts juſtly deſerve a remembrance, whereof I ſhall give a little deſcription in this place.

All theſe iſlands are ſo curious and delightful, that they are uſually called the gardens of Panama, and with very good reaſon, ſeeing all people of note in that city have each of them one of theſe iſlands

Digitized by Google

for themſelves, and their houſes of pleaſure there alſo, with curious orchards, watered with a great many ſprings of running waters, adorned and embelliſhed with a wonderful variety of flowers and arbours of jeſſamine up and down, and full almoſt of an infinite number of all ſorts of the fruits of the country, among whom I have taken particular notice of four of them, which are called Sappota, Sappotilla, Avocata, and las Cayemites.

The firſt is a fruit almoſt like unto our pears, of a different ſize, whoſe rind is greeniſh, and contains, in the midſt thereof, two kernels of an oval form, appearing pretty poliſhed and ſleek, and are each of them, in the largeſt of theſe fruits, ſomewhat bigger than an ordinary nut: when this fruit is ripe it is very ſoft, and when the paring is taken off, the pulp is of a pure red colour, very ſweet, and of an admirable taſte.

The ſecond is of the ſame form as the other, but no bigger than a ruſſet pear: it has an admirable taſte, and under the rind is of a whitiſh colour.

The third is of the ſame form as our quinces, ſaving that the rind is greener: this fruit muſt be fully ripe, and very ſoft before it becomes good food, and then it is that you find the pulp of it as white as ſnow. The Spaniards eat it with ſpoons as we do cream, and indeed the taſte thereof is moſtly the ſame.

The fourth is like a large damaſen, and very ſavoury.

Beſides theſe and a great many more, wherewith this country is peculiarly bleſſed, it produces alſo a great many of thoſe fruits that are common to Europe, as apricots, pomegranates, goyaves, juniper, cocoa, bananas, figs of Provence, French and Spaniſh melons, all ſorts of oranges, citrons, and lemons, of which I ſhall give no deſcription, no more than of

Digitized by Google

the trees that bear them; but thoſe who would ſatisfy their curioſity herein, may do it in reading the Hiſtory of the Antilles written by monſieur de Rochefort, in the year 1668, who was ſkilled therein, and gave a very good account of them. All theſe rich preſents of fruits and pure water, of which nature made us an offer in theſe iſlands, were a wonderful relief to us, after thoſe fatigues we had undergone in our paſſage over the continent: to ſay nothing of the plentiful harveſt we had of maize and rice, wherewith we found theſe iſlands covered, and which the Spaniards, I believe, did not ſow with an intention we ſhould enjoy them. But theſe ſame iſlands that afforded us ſo many delights, wrought alſo afterwards ſome ſorrow in us, of which by and by.

On the eighth of May in the morning we ſailed away, and paſſed by the old and new city of Panama; the old one was that taken by general Morgan in the year 1670, whoſe churches and houſes ſeemed to us to be finely built, as far as we could judge of them at ſuch a diſtance; there is none but the new town that is fortified, being defended with a good wall and ſeveral other works, but that is only to the ſea-ward. This city is attended with an inconveniency, that as it is ſituated at the bottom of a bay, and that the ſea ebbs very much in this country, great ſhips are left dry there, if they anchor nearer than a league to the place: we got as nigh it as we could with our colours and ſtreamers looſe, and from thence went to anchor at Tavoga, which appeared to us as if it were a little enchanted iſland, ſo agreeable and delightful are thoſe houſes and gardens that are upon it.

On the ninth we caulked all our ſhips, and next day ſent out our long bark to cruiſe, in order to give us notice when the Spaniſh fleet appeared in ſight

of us; and on the thirteenth we made choice of thoſe ſhips that ſhould engage it. Captain David and captain Grognet were to board the Spaniſh admiral, captain Suam and captain Townſley the vice-admiral, captain Peter Henry and one of Townſley's prizes, the patach; our fire-ſhip was to keep herſelf under the quarter of our admiral. Our other ſhips were to attack the reſt of their fleet according to their ſtrength, and our armed periaugues were to keep off the enemies fire-ſhips.

We heard this day a great many cannon fired at Panama, the cauſe whereof we could not gueſs at; and on the fourteenth we put aſhore upon this iſland of Tavoga forty priſoners, who were very cumberſome to us, and then weighed to go wait for the fleet at cape Pin: but this was much out of ſeaſon, ſince the fleet, who was willing to ſpare us this trouble, as well as that of attacking her, was already, without our knowing of it, arrived at Panama; having got in under the covert of one of thoſe pleaſant iſlands, through one of the two channels which I ſaid was formed by them, and which hid them from us while we cruiſed in the other channel, through which we thought they would have failed.

As we knew nothing hitherto of this matter, and that, upon the return of our long bark, ſhe told us, ſhe had diſcovered no ſhips paſs, we went and anchored at King's-Iſlands, where the whole fleet took the uſual oath, that we would not wrong one another to the value of a piece of eight, in caſe God were pleaſed to give us the victory over the Spaniards. On the ſeventeenth one of our men died.

On the nineteenth we weighed and anchored between the great iſland, and thoſe in the eaſt channel, through which we thought the fleet we expected would

Digitized by Google

would paſs. On the twenty-eighth another of our men died. Next day we made ready, and ſailed for cape Pin. On the thirty-firſt we gave chace to two ſhips whom we loſt in the night, and which brought us back, in the purſuit of them, to the little iſlands of Panama, where we anchored on the firſt of June; and the ſame day we ſurprized two Greeks upon the iſland, where we had beaten them, when we went to take la Seppa.

On the fourth we ſent two canoes to the iſle of Sipilla, to endeavour to take ſome priſoners, that we might learn ſome news from them. There they took a ſhip laden with boards, which the Spaniards were carrying to Panama to build two periaugues inſtead of thoſe we had taken. The men told us, that their fleet was got into Panama on the twelfth of May: that on the thirteenth they fired off a great many guns for joy, and that as ſoon as they were refreſhed, careened, and manned, they would put out to fight us, and would be ready in a ſhort time.

On the ſeventh at noon, captain Grognet, who had anchored farther from the iſland than we, gave us a ſignal, that he deſcried the Spaniſh fleet, conſiſting of ſeven ſail, and this he did by lowering and raiſing his flag ſeven times: we alſo on our part made ready, and, in doubling the point of the iſland where we had anchored, we diſcovered ſeven great ſhips coming up towards us, with a bloody flag in the ſtern, and a royal one on their maſts. Now it was that the hopes which our crew had loſt, when they underſtood that the fleet was got into Panama, revived again, and the deſire they had to enrich themſelves, at the others coſt, animated them to that degree, that moſt of them threw their hats into the ſea, as thinking they had the Spaniards already in hold. We put our ſhips in order, and

Digitized by Google

then diſputed the wind with them, which was at that time got to the weſt. About three in the afternoon we all, except captain Grognet, got the weather-gage of them, and he failed, becauſe he waited for the coming up of his canoe from the ſhore, and caſt about twice. Our admiral finding himſelf to windward of the Spaniſh vice-admiral, who was ſeparated from his own admiral, gave us the ſignal to follow him for to board him; in order to which, we lengthened our ſprit-ſail, but our vice-admiral took in his flag, as a token he would defer the engagement to next morning, hoping that Grognet would get the weather-gage in the night: towards ſun-ſetting the Spaniſh vice-admiral, who was to leeward of us, ſaluted us with ſeven guns without bāll, which was anſwered by our admiral with a whole broadſide with ball. But, night coming on, the Spaniards caſt anchor, being better acquainted than we with the currents that run between theſe iſlands, and they ſent a ſmall veſſel that carried the lanthorn, to anchor two leagues to leeward of us, in order to amuſe and cauſe us to take falſe meaſures; and indeed we lay by all night, that we might next morning be to windward of the lanthorn, which we took to be the whole fleet.

On the eighth early in the morning we diſcovered our error, and were all of us ſtrangely amazed to find ourſelves to leeward of the enemies fleet, except captain Grognet's ſhip, and that of captain Townſley, and his prize, which were to windward: but it unhappily ſo fell out, that they were ſhips without cannon: the Spaniſh fleet having caſt anchor again an hour after ſun-riſing, we did all we could to get the weather-gage, but their vice-admiral, who had his anchor a peak, and his ſails but very ſlightly furled, quickly plied to the wind, which proving favourable to him, he bore immediately upon

Digitized by Google

upon our admiral. Our vice-admiral did all he could to come to his aſſiſtance, for the Spaniſh guns had already incommoded him very much; but his coming up obliged the enemies ſhips to bear off to windward, which we endeavoured to gain all that day, though to no purpoſe; while the Spaniards in the mean while, under whoſe cannon we found ourſelves, mauled us terribly, and this made our admiral and vice-admiral to keep cloſe together, and to reſolve to die valiantly fighting, rather than ſuffer any one ſhip of the fleet to be taken, though they could both of them have ſaved themſelves if they pleaſed, they being much better ſailors than the Spaniards.

Captain Townſley, towards the afternoon being to windward of the enemies fleet, ſent his periaugue on board our admiral, to receive his orders, while he that commanded it had both his legs ſhot off by a cannon ball. About two the Spaniards ſent out a ſhip of eight-and-twenty guns to hinder captain Grognet to join us, as underſtanding by ſome Spaniards, who had been our priſoners, that he was the ſtrongeſt in ſmall arms of any in our fleet, and that they were ſo much the more fearful of him, when they came to know his crew conſiſted of Frenchmen. At laſt finding ourſelves towards evening much battered with their cannon (for the Spaniards would not come to boarding) we veered by the favour of a gale of wind, to go and board the Spaniſh vice-admiral, that was the beſt ſailor, and did us moſt harm: but we were no ſooner unmoored, than that the wind came about, which did us much damage, for we were juſt come upon the enemies ſhip, who not obſerving the wind, by which we ſailed, bore ſtill upon us ſo far, that when we returned the ſecond time, ſhe was ſo near us, that ſhe was conſtrained to furl the end of her main ſail,

Digitized by Google

for fear of bringing her fore-maſt upon our counter, and this made us put out our canoes, which were upon the towe, that we might go better, and in this manner we defended ourſelves till night approached.

Peter Henry's ſhip, wherein I was, having received above an hundred and twenty cannon ſhot, was forced to make the beſt of her way, which our admiral and vice-admiral perceiving, they put their periaugues under ſail, which they had all along braced to windward during the fight, in order to attend us, becauſe they ſaw we were in an ill condition. The enemy, obſerving our working, ſent one of their ſmall ſhips in purſuit of us, but as we bore back upon her, ſhe gave us eighteen guns, and rejoined their own fleet.

Our long bark having, during the action, been ſorely handled, her crew was forced to leave her, and, not having time to ſink her, threw ſome guns, which our admiral had put on board her, into the ſea, and then ſaved themſelves on board of one of our other ſhips. Now the Spaniſh priſoners whom we left behind, finding they were now at liberty, plied to put themſelves into the hands of the Spaniſh admiral, but he, taking this bark for our fire ſhip, ſunk her with his cannon before ſhe came near him, not thinking their own people were on board her.

On the ninth we could ſee neither our own nor the Spaniſh fleet, which made us ſteer for the iſle St. John de Cueblo, four-and-twenty leagues to the weſt of Panama, where, by the favour of an eaſterly breeze, we arrived on the fourteenth; we ran ourſelves preſently aſhore, and it was high time, for we had all along, from the time of the fight, five feet of water in the hold: we loſt no time to put ourſelves in a condition to get up again before Panama, that we might know what became of our fleet, about which we were in great pain, which we were put

Digitized by Google

put out of on the ſix-and-twentieth, when we ſaw them coming to an anchor in the ſame place where we were, who told us they did not fight any more after our departure from them. That the Spaniſh fleet, upon the ninth in the evening, had anchored within cannon ſhot of ours, and that, both the one and the other having made ready on the tenth, the Spaniards ſailed away for the port of Panama; that captain David had been hard plied by the Spaniſh cannon, eſpecially with two ſhots that carried off half his rudder, but that he had no more than ſix of his ſhip's crew wounded, and only one killed; that captain Sammes was no leſs put to it, that almoſt all his poop was ſwept off, that he had received ſeveral ſhots between wind and water, that his mate had his head ſhot off with a cannon ball, and that he had no more than three men wounded: and that, in ſhort, the other leſſer veſſels had loſt never a man, and had but very few wounded. Here I may truly ſay, and without exaſperating the matter, that it was a ſtrange thing and next to a miracle, that we, who were ſo few in number, and had ſuch pitiful ſhips of our own, ſhould be able to bear the fire of, withſtand and fight ſo conſiderable a fleet, in compariſon of our own, conſiſting of ſuch good ſhips, and manned ſo well as that of the Spaniards was, whoſe admiral was a veſſel of ſeventy guns, though ſhe had but fifty-ſix mounted, becauſe ſhe was too old. Their vice-admiral had forty, though ſhe was bored to carry ſixty guns; ſhe was a very fine ſhip, and an excellent ſailor, but alſo old. The patach was a veſſel of forty guns, though ſhe had no more than eight-and-twenty mounted. The Conſerve had eighteen guns, but was built as well as the patach, to carry forty. The other three were almoſt as big; beſides they had the advantage of fire-ſhips, on board of which they had planted

Digitized by Google

cannon, to the end that we might not take them to be really what they were, and that ſo they might come near, and the more eaſily ſurprize us, than if we were aware of them.

If we had met with this fleet, as we were in hopes we ſhould, before they got an addition of ſtrength in Panama; or that we had had but only the wind of them when we attacked them, I do not queſtion, but things would have appeared with another face than now they did, and that we ſhould have poſſeſſed ourſelves of their ſhips to bring us back through the ſtreights with wealth enough to live at eaſe, which would have freed us all at once, after a continued ſucceſſion of fatigues and troubles, which we were forced to go through for three years longer, as well in thoſe places, as in our return over land to the North-ſea; but divine Providence had otherwiſe ordered it.

On the twenty-ninth we parted from the Iſle of St. John, to the number of three hundred men in five canoes, in order to go and ſurprize the town of Pueblo Nuevo, that was ſix leagues off, thinking we ſhould get ſome proviſion there, whereof now we began to be in need. Being landed on the thirty-firſt, we took a centinel, but another eſcaped, which was the occaſion of our being diſcovered. We were obliged, in order to get at this town, to go up a very fine river two leagues, and to make uſe of the flowing of the tide for that purpoſe; before we came at it we found a retrenchment made for its ſecurity, but ill guarded. The town is none of the beſt ſituated, though it ſtands upon the river-ſide, being ſurrounded every way with marſhes: we found neither people nor victuals there, and ſo we left it on the third of July; and next day as we returned with our canoes to rejoin our fleet we gave

Digitized by Google

gave chace to a bark, which we took, and on the fifth we got to our ſhips.

The Engliſh and we had a difference in the deſcent we made upon this town, for they being more numerous than we, would take the advantage of us, and be maſters of the whole, and that ſo far, that captain Townſley would have taken captain Grognet's ſhip away, which captain David had given him, and give him his own for her: but as he found he had to do with men, who, though inferior in number, would not tamely be thus put upon, he was forced to give over his pretenſions; yet we finding ſtill that they continued to pretend to the ſame dominion over us, we ſeparated ourſelves from them to the number of an hundred and thirty Frenchmen, without rekoning captain Grognet's crew, who were two hundred more, and, after having banded ourſelves apart, we landed upon the iſland.

One of the chief reaſons that made us diſagree was their impiety againſt our religion; for they made no ſcruple when they got into a church to cut down the arms of a crucifix with their ſabres, or to ſhoot them down with their fuzees and piſtols, bruiſing and maiming the images of the ſaints with the ſame weapons in deriſion to the adoration we Frenchmen paid unto them. And it was chiefly from theſe horrid diſorders, that the Spaniards equally hated us all, as we came to underſtand by divers of their letters that fell into our hands, which I have got rendered into French, as may be ſeen by and by.

On the ninth the Engliſh weighed, and came to anchor about five or ſix leagues to leeward of the place where we were building our canoes, to fit up others for themſelves in lieu of thoſe they had loſt as well as we, during the fight with the Spaniſh fleet.

Digitized by Google

fleet. We laid out for trees fit for our purpoſe, and to that end went into a wood, which in theſe parts grows near to the ſea, of which we choſe the largeſt, which commonly are thoſe trees called Mapou and Acajou, and are withal very tender and eaſy to be wrought; among them we found ſome ſo large, that the ſingle trunk, after being hewn and made hollow, could carry fourſcore men.

While we were building our canoes, a centinel, whom we had ſet on a very high tree growing on the ſea-ſide in our iſland, as well for diſcovering, leſt the Engliſh, who knew we were employed about our canoes, ſhould come to take away our ſhip, as to obſerve if any Spaniſh ſhip ſhould ſail between the main land and the iſland whereon we were, came to tell us on the fifteenth, that he ſaw a ſhip out at ſea, ſteering ſouth-weſt and by weſt, which put us preſently upon making ready to come up with her: we found her to be a ſmall veſſel commanded by captain Willnet an Engliſhman, whoſe crew conſiſted of forty Engliſh and eleven Frenchmen, of whom we had never heard any thing till now: but they told us, they had a long time ago paſſed over land into theſe ſeas, and that lately they had taken a ſhip laden with corn out of the port of Sanſonnat, which is on the continent, and the place of embarking from Guatimala, thirty leagues to the eaſt of the Iſle of St. John, and that, going from thence towards the ſouth coaſt, they underſtood that the vice roy of Lima had ſent a Spaniſh fleet on purpoſe to chace and beat the free-booters, which gave them to underſtand there were others beſides them in theſe ſeas; and that upon the good news they were come in queſt of us, in order to have a ſhare in taking that fleet, which they believed infallible, but that they underſtood, when they came before Panama, where they were in hopes to

Digitized by Google

to meet with us, that the fight was already over, and that we were gone to the Iſle of St. John: the other Engliſh, who, as I have already ſaid, were gone to anchor about five or ſix leagues to windward of us, had alſo ſent out a canoe to know what this bark was, which came up with her as ſoon as we, and this made us very uneaſy; for, this bark being laden with proviſion, thoſe Engliſh influenced theſe new comers ſo far, that they took them to anchor in the ſame place where they were, except the eleven Frenchmen, who left them and ſtaid with us.

This iſland of St. John Cueblo is about twelve leagues in circumference, ſtanding eaſt and weſt, and north and ſouth, five leagues diſtant from the main land, and ſeparated by a narrow channel (which is indeed no other than an arm of the ſea running in between two lands). It is not inhabited, very mountainous, full of wood, and watered with very fine rivers. It ſtands in no ſtead to the Spaniards, beſides ſupplying them with maſts for their ſhipping, which they have here in great abundance. When we ſtopped upon that iſland, we were in hopes to have fared well, ſo well ſtocked it was with deer, monkies, agoutills, lizards, and banks full of tortoiſes; but we were deprived of theſe advantages by two inconveniences we laboured under; the firſt whereof was, that the Engliſh in leſs than fifteen days had made ſuch a deſtruction of theſe tortoiſes, that but very few of them landed; the other reſpected our hunting, which, after we had followed for a few days at firſt, we were bound to decline; for, having ſtaid in this place longer than we deſigned, we were under a neceſſity of preſerving our powder for fear, ſhould we have ſpent it, the Spaniards would have been quickly upon us; ſo that we ſtaid a whole month upon this iſland to the number of three hundred and thirty men of us,

with

Digitized by Google

with eating no more than two tortoiſes in eight-and-forty hours, and in ſeeking ſome fruits in the woods wherewith to ſubſiſt, and with the eating of which ſome of us died, as not knowing the nature of them.

There are a ſort of ſerpents upon this iſland whoſe ſtinging is ſo dangerous, that if any one has not a certain fruit by him, which he is to chew, and preſently to apply to the wound, there is no eſcaping preſent death for him, as we found by experience by ſome of our men whom we loſt in this manner, and who, in their dying, endured terrible pains through the activity and violence of that fire which this poiſon kindled in their bodies. The tree, on which this fruit grows, is to be found upon the ſame place, as well as in the other parts of this country, being, as to its leaves and height, very like unto our almond trees; but its fruit reſembles ſea cheſnuts, though it is of a greyiſh colour, and of a ſomewhat bitter taſte, encloſing a whitiſh almond in the midſt thereof. It is chewed altogether before the application is made, and is known by no other name than the Serpents-feed.

Here alſo, about two or three leagues up the country, you have a great many cayemans, which are a kind of crocodiles, that live both in the ſea, rivers, and on dry land, and are of that ravenous nature, that ſome of our men have been devoured by them.

On the ſeven-and twentieth the Engliſh, who had left us, ſent a quarter-maſter to us to know whether we would join ourſelves with them, as ſuppoſing they were too weak to go and take the town of Leon, on which they had formed a deſign. And here we muſt acknowledge, that extreme miſery is ſo terrible a thing, that it is almoſt impoſſible, when an opportunity preſents itſelf of being delivered,

Digitized by Google

vered, that it ſhould be let ſlip, notwithſtanding all the repugnancy of our reaſon to the contrary. We had left the Engliſh by reaſon of their impieties, which we could not endure, and now we were ready to comply with the propoſals they had made us of rejoining them again. The proviſion was on their ſide, and this was a charming bait for people that were ready to periſh with hunger. We preſently aſked them for ſome victuals; and as we had but one ſhip, that could not hold us all, that they ſhould give us another, becauſe we were not willing to be diſperſed on board their ſhips as before; but this they would not agree to. In the mean while as we were reſolved not to recede herefrom, famine forced thirty of our men to join themſelves with the Engliſh, as being unable to bear with the faſts we were forced to keep. And on the fourth of Auguſt four of our men died.

On the ninth, when we knew the Engliſh were gone, we embarked, to the number of an hundred and twenty men, on board five canoes commanded by captain Grognet, and left two hundred on board our ſhip, and upon the iſland, whom we ordered to build more canoes, and afterwards to croſs over to the continent.

Having made a deſcent there on the thirteenth, we came to an hatto, which is a kind of a farm where the Spaniards breed their cattle; it was in the neighbourhood of a town called St. Jago, which is twenty leagues diſtant from St. John's Iſland. The people we found in this hatto we made our priſoners, among whom was the maſter, who ſhewed and conducted us to take a ſugar-plantation in the river of St. Jago, where we were diſcovered. We ſounded our priſoners one after another, in order to know whether they underſtood any thing of our ſeparation from the Engliſh, by telling

Digitized by Google

telling them we came from the North-ſea, and that they ſhould ſhew us where the free-booters were, which they ſaid were come into theſe ſeas. They anſwered, they were gone to St. John's Iſland to repair the damage the fleet of Peru had done them, together with other circumſtances, which we knew better than they, without telling us one word of what had happened between the Engliſh and us: hence we conjectured they knew nothing of the matter, and we could have been very well content that all the Spaniards knew as little as they, for fear our disjunction might render them more forward to attack us.

After this intelligence we diſpatched away a canoe which we had taken in this river, to carry our men ſome victuals, which we had found in this batto, and to acquaint them, that we were going towards Panama, to ſee whether we might meet with an opportunity of ſeizing ſome barks, ſo that we might get out of St. John's Iſland; becauſe, as I have already ſaid, our ſhip was not big enough to hold us, and that, as ſoon as the canoes were ready, they were to go and take Pueblo Nuevo, in order to get ſome proviſion wherewith to ſubſiſt till our return.

On the fifteenth we went aſhore forty leagues to leeward of Panama, and, though we had no guide, we got by cock-crowing to a very pretty Eſtantia as they called it, which was a lone houſe, and where we took fifty priſoners of both ſexes. Among theſe, there was a young man and woman of quality, who promiſed we ſhould have a ranſom for them, whom we carried to the iſland Ignuana, a league's diſtance from the great one, and where there is no other but rain water to be had, which ſtands in the cavities of the rocks.

We

Digitized by Google

We ſtaid for the fore-mentioned ranſom till the eight-and-twentieth, when it was duly paid us, and then went off, being firſt informed, that, about eight leagues to windward, there was a river, wherein were two barks laden with maize, which on the nine-and-twentieth in the morning we boarded and took. From thence we reſumed our courſe to go and rejoin our men in St. John's Iſland, where we arrived on the third of September. Here they told us, that an hundred of them, whereof ninety-eight were come back, had gone on the five-and-twentieth of the preceding month to Pueblo-Nuevo, as we had ordered them, where they arrived on the ſeven-and-twentieth; and, though they were diſcovered by the centinels of the town, they made themſelves maſters of it, and ſtaid there two days, for all the continual and various attacks made upon them by the Spaniards. That the commander of the place came with a trumpet to ſpeak with them, and aſked, why they carried white colours, ſeeing they were Engliſh (ſo he took them to be) but without ſatisfying his curioſity in the point, they conſtrained him to be gone from whence he came. That, eight of them being gone ſome diſtance from the place of arms, there were two of the number maſſacred by an hundred and fifty Spaniards, who ſeeing ſo ſmall a company together, bravely fell upon them; but, with all the advantage they had they could not hinder the other ſix to recover their main-guard, who fought retreating with extraordinary vigour.

On the fourth we put out with ſix canoes, and an hundred and forty men on board, whereof we detached two to go to the hatto we had taken on the eleventh of Auguſt, to look after the ranſom of the maſter, whom we kept priſoner, and with the other four returned to that ſugar-plantation in St. Jago, in order to get ſome ſugar-cauldrons, whereof we

Digitized by Google

we had occaſion. There we were informed, that the governor of St. Jago came thither after our departure the firſt time we took it, with eight hundred men. We ſtaid in this place till the ninth, expecting the anſwer of a priſoner whom we ſent to the governor, and by whom we ſent him word, that if he were minded to advance with his eight hundred men, we were ready; but hearing no news of him, we departed thence, after our two canoes had rejoined us; and on the eleventh arrived on board our ſhips and the two barks at the Iſland of St. John.

On the fifth we careened our ſhips and took in water and wood: we would have left this iſland, had it not been for the continual rains that fell and laſted eighteen days, and ſuch bad weather, that it was impoſſible for us to appear upon deck, having never ſeen the ſun all this time: and for this reaſon it is, that the Spaniards call the diſtance between the bay of Gurgona, and this Iſland of St. John, The Droppings of the South-Sea. You have but four months of good weather here throughout the year, and they are December, January, February, March; the other eight months are incommoded with great rains, which fall almoſt without any intermiſſion, and which, beſides the bloody flux it brings, is ſo pernicious, that if a man has been wet with it two or three times, if he do not preſenty ſhift himſelf, it breeds large worms between his ſkin and his fleſh, in form ſomewhat like unto a quill, and about half a finger long.

The weather clearing up on the fourth of October, we mended our ſails, which were almoſt rotten, and made ready to be gone. And the ſame day we had one of our men ſtung in the leg by a ſerpent, who died of it preſently, as not having taken care to provide himſelf with the remedy we have ſpoken of.

On

Digitized by Google

On the eighth we made ready and ſailed for Realeguo, which is both a port and town an hundred and fourſcore leagues to the weſt and by north-weſt of the Iſle of St. John, and two hundred and ſixty weſt of Panama. We had a ſmall ſouth-eaſt wind till the eleventh, and on the twelfth and thirteenth we ſteered weſt-north-weſt, and that evening deſcried land. On the fourteenth we had a boiſterous ſouth wind, which made us take in all our ſails, till midnight, and then came a calm till the ſeventeenth, when towards noon we were ſurprized with a ſouth-weſt blaſt, attended with great rains, which ſeparated us from our two barks: it blew ſo very hard, that the ſea appeared preſently very frightful, and put us ſo to it, that we began to be very apprehenſive we ſhould be all caſt away; but the weather (as God would have it) proving fair again, we ſpent the nineteenth to ſet our veſſel in order, as well as to mend our ſails with our ſhirts and drawers, wherewith we were already but very indifferently provided. Towards evening we diſcovered land, and knew it to be the bay of Caldaira, whereof I ſhall give an account by and by. On the twentieth we ſailed in ſight of that of Colebra; from thence we had moderate weather, and a ſouth-eaſt wind; and on the one-and-twentieth we got to the height of the Morns which the Spaniards call Papegaya's.

On the twenty-ſecond we found ourſelves over-againſt Realeguo, a place very remarkable for the high mountains that ſurround it; and eſpecially for a high ſulphurous hill that burns continually, and whoſe ſmoke reaches a great way; but the tides next night put us twenty leagues to windward of it. On the four-and-twentieth, we put out four canoes with an hundred men in them in order to take ſome priſoners, that we might receive ſome information concerning this coaſt, where we never were before.

On

On the twenty-fifth we put to the ſhore and landed, and, after a march of three hours, came to an hatto, where we ſurprized the people, who gave us to underſtand, that the Engliſh had taken the town of Leon, and burnt that of Realeguo: that the inhabitants of Legoria, Granada, Sanſonnat, St. Michell, St. Salvador, and Villa-Nueva, which are neighbouring towns to the two fore-mentioned ones, had ſent a conſiderable re-inforcement of men to thoſe of the town of Leon, who yet durſt not attack the Engliſh, who ſtaid there three whole days: during which time they had ſent ſeveral meſſages to theſe re-inforcements to require them to fight in the Race Savana, which the other ſtill refuſed, ſaying, They were not yet all come together, that is, that they were hitherto no more than ſix to one, and that they ſtaid till they were doubly increaſed.

On the twenty-ſixth one of our quarter-maſters, who was a Catalonian by birth, fled to the Spaniards, which hindered us at this time from going to take the town of Granada, of which I ſhall ſpeak in its due place, for we did not doubt but that he had given them an account of the deſign we had formed upon that place.

On the twenty-ſeventh we went on board of our canoes again, and made for the port of Realeguo, where the rendezvous of our ſhips was to be; we could land no where all along the coaſt, becauſe the ſea breaks with ſo much violence there, when it is a ſoutherly wind, that it is impoſſible to come near it. However ſix of our men ſwam with a deſign to fill ſome caſks with water, which we were in want of, but they could not do it, for the Spaniards followed us by land all along the bank, and ſo it fell out, that one of our men was unfortunately drowned.

On

Digitized by Google

On the firſt of November we arrived at the Port of Realeguo, where we found our ſhip at anchor. There are two paſſages to this port, whereof that to windward is beſt. It is very narrow, and beſides this, has two mornes or little mountains, that form the two points thereof; upon one of which the Spaniards had a deſign to build a fort. There is a very fine river runs into this haven, that bears the ſame name with the town. It is ſafe from any winds, and contains within it five iſlands that are very good to careen ſhips in; there are but three leagues from thence up the river before you come at the town. But before we got there with our canoes, we met three very ſtrong retrenchments, that had been made for its ſecurity upon the river's ſide, about a quarter of a league diſtant one from another, and which the Engliſh had half burnt. About a muſket ſhot from the town, the Spaniards had very fine docks, where they build their ſhips. It is waſhed with this river, and ſtands in a very fine country, watered with ſeveral other rivulets; and both its churches and houſes, though then half burnt, appeared to us to have been beautiful enough. We are alſo farther to take notice, that that river we have ſpoken of, has eight arms, by which you may conveniently convey any thing to the villages, ſugar-plantations, and hatto's, whereof this country is full, and which belongs to the burghers, as well of this town as of the neighbouring ones, of which Leon, that is not above four leagues off, is ſituated in a very curious plain. On the ſecond we went to take two of thoſe hatto's, from whence we carried ſome victuals on board for thoſe who were careening our ſhips.

On the ſixth we departed to the number of an hundred and fifty men, to go and ſeize the centinels of

of the town of Leon, and having ſurprized them on the eighth, they informed us there were two thouſand men in the place, who, yet not truſting to their numbers, had taken all their moveables, and carried them to a place of ſafety. We returned on board on the ninth, and next day ſet out to go to a great ſugar-plantation, two leagues diſtant from this city, where we arrived at midnight, but found no ſoul living there, the people being gone for their ſecurity to the town, upon the report that was ſpread abroad, that we had taken ſome centinels. But as we were upon our return from this ſugar-plantation to go on board again, our van-guard met with a detachment of horſe, upon whom they fired, and made them fly; but the captain was made a priſoner, who, upon our queſtioning of him, told us that he had heard of us a long time ſince, but not knowing what language we ſpoke, we had been taken for a company of two hundred and fourſcoure mulatos, who were looking out to fight us, knowing we were aſhore, and who would be at that ſugar-plantation that evening; we aſked the captain what they were he had headed, and he anſwered, they were a troop of horſe, who guarded the embarking place belonging to that ſugar-plantation, and that the governor of the town, coming to know we were come to the port of Realeguo, had given them orders to retire in ſuch a manner, as gave us to underſtand that our enemies kept a very good guard, when they had nothing to be afraid of, and that they would draw off as ſoon as ever they ſaw us near, and, in effect, we found them to be exactly the very ſame as repreſented to us: for ſurely if they had had but any thing of reſolution and courage, being as numerous as they were in reſpect to us, they could have eaſily cut us off, as often as we made any deſcent upon them; and thus many times we found our ſafety to proceed from

Digitized by Google

from their cowardice, as much as from our own courage.

On the thirteenth the ſame company of an hundred and fifty men left our veſſels to go to take a borough town three leagues above the city of Realeguo, whoſe name was Pueblo Viego; we paſſed through this place, which we found to be quite deſerted by its inhabitants, becauſe of the excommunication they had thundered out againſt themſelves.

Some perhaps will be ſurprized to hear of this extravagant humour, but there is nothing truer than that, when the free-booters have ſeveral times taken the ſame place from them, their prelates, after excommunicating and curſing the ſame, quit it entirely, and will not bury even their dead whom we killed, as ſuppoſing them for the foreſaid reaſon unworthy of chriſtian burial.

On the fourteenth in the morning we arrived at Pueblo Viego, from whence their centinels had diſcovered us ſince the thirteenth in the evening, ſo that we found the enemy retrenched in the great church, and about an hundred and fifty horſe upon the place of arms. We preſently fell to work, and, after ſome diſcharges, we put them to flight, but thoſe that were within the church, held it about half an hour longer, and then made their eſcape through a door that was behind the veſtry, which we had not ſecured. We ſtaid a day and a half in this place, and carried away all the proviſions we could lay hands on upon the horſes which we had, and our own backs, and on the ſixteenth arrived on board our ſhip. On the eighteenth we returned to take an Eſtantia, which was a league and a half from the ſaid town, and the maſter whom we took priſoner told us, that, the day we went away, ſix hundred men lay in ambuſh for us, on the way by which

Digitized by Google

we were to paſs; but that, without knowing it, we had returned by a different road. On the twenty-firſt we went on board with our priſoner, who promiſed us ſome proviſion for his ranſom; and next day we put another priſoner aſhore to endeavour to procure it us with all expedition.

On the twenty-fourth came a Spaniſh officer, who brought us a letter from the vicar-general of the province (and in all appearance) by order of the general of Coſta Rica, who ſent us word there was a peace made between the crowns of France and Spain for twenty years, and that they were joined together to make war upon the Infidels. That therefore we ought to commit no farther hoſtilities, and that if we had a mind to return to the North-ſea, we might come ſafely unto them, and have our paſſage into Europe in his Catholick majeſty's galleons: we gave them an anſwer ſuitable to their propoſal, being well enough acquainted with the evil diſpoſition of the Spaniards towards us, who, by this falſe pretence, thought to have ſeduced us to come the more readily among them, who underſtood the extreme miſery we had endured by one of our people, of whom we made mention before, and who ran away to them to be freed from the long faſts he was forced to with us.

On the twenty-fourth we careened our ſhips, and the next day put thirty priſoners aſhore, part of whom we gave their liberty to, and on the twenty-eighth we made ready to return and go in queſt of our two barks whom we had appointed to rendezvous at the Iſle of St. John de Cueblo, in caſe we were ſeparated from one another. As we were going out of the port, the Spaniards gave notice by the fires they made all along the coaſt, what courſe we ſteered. On the third of December we found ourſelves got above an hundred leagues out at ſea, whither

Digitized by Google

hither a north-east breeze had driven us; we put to sea again towards land, and on the fifth went ashore; we sent out three canoes, furnished with seventy men, to cross the bay of Colebra, and to endeavour to get some provision along the coast, as also to discharge our ships of so many mouths, there being but too little victuals left for those who remained behind, and who went to the Isle of St. John: for, as to the provision we were able to get together, while we were ashore in the port of Realeguo, there was no great quantity of it, for the Spaniards, knowing of our coming, had carried it up far into the country, whither we durst not go and fetch it with so few men as we had with us, as not being yet sufficiently acquainted with their cowardice.

From Realeguo to Panama there are a great many little ports which you must be well acquainted with before you can find them, for the mouth of them is very obscure, and if you once do miss them, it is absolutely impossible to get ashore along the coast, the sea being there always boisterous, and very high upon the blowing of the least south-east and south-west winds upon it. I have observed this difference betwixt this sea and that of the North, that let the wind be never so violent, as soon as ever it ceases, this sea proves as calm as if it had never blown, whereas in the other, for all the wind is allayed, it continues several days in the same violent agitation as when it blew hard. I have also taken notice, that the windy storms that are formed to leeward, are much more dangerous in the former, than those that come from the windward; but in the other, it is contrary, where a ship generally esteems not herself to be in danger, but from those that arise to windward of her, at leastwise, if the wind be not subject to a very great variation; to which we may add one difference more, that the

South-ſea is pacifick enough upon the main, and very turbulent upon the coaſt, and that of the North is oftentimes very impetuous far out, and almoſt always calm near the ſhore.

The South-ſea breeds in divers parts of it a very great number of ſerpents, in colour like ſpotted marble, and are generally about two feet long; their ſting is of ſo venomous and killing a nature, that, when a man is once ſtung by them, there is no human remedy that can ſecure him from a ſudden death; and that which is indeed very ſurprizing in regard to theſe creatures, is, that when the ſea by the boiſterouſneſs of its waves throws them upon ſome bank or other, though they do not go out of the water, yet they no ſooner touch the ſand, but they preſently die.

On the ninth, having ſtill kept our courſe along the coaſt, we put fifty men in three canoes aſhore, to go and take the town of Eſparſo, which is three leagues from Caldaira, and is the place that ſerves for a port to it; we took the centinels about the third part of our way, who told us, That, beſides the inhabitants of the town, there were five hundred men whom they had ſent for, to come to their aſſiſtance from Carthage, upon the alarm given them by our two barks that had anchored in this bay, from which they were but juſt gone. Upon this intelligence we bethought ourſelves, conſidering the ſmallneſs of our number, to put off this expedition to another time, and ſo returned with all ſpeed, but in ſuch want of proviſion, that we were forced to kill and eat the centinels horſes, after four days ſtrict abſtinence; and this ſort of faſting, which was not the firſt that we had uſed, did not prove to be the laſt neither.

Caldaira is a bay that bears the name of ſix magazines that ſtand about three leagues to the eaſt

eaſt of the mouth of it, and upon the bank of the place of embarking belonging to Eſparſo: this bay which by ſome geographers is called Nicoya, is one of the fineſt ports in the world; though the mouth of it be large, yet, in lieu of that, it is at leaſt twelve leagues within land, and comprehends a great many iſlands of different ſizes within it; there is none but an eaſterly wind that can hurt it: the bottom of the bay is open, by means of very fine rivers that run into it, and by which you may aſcend to ſeveral villages, hatto's, and ſugar-plantations, whereof this country is full. You may chooſe your place of anchorage, according to the length of the cable, that is, from ſix fathom, encreaſing to an hundred, and the bottom is very good: I forgot to obſerve that the ſix magazines of Caldaira, whereof I have ſpoken, were partly built by the inhabitants of Carthage, who make uſe of that for their port, for facilitating the traffick they drive with thoſe living on the coaſt of Peru, before we came to terrify them.

Having on the tenth gone on board our canoes, we went to a great bananery that ſtood in the ſame bay; it is a ſet of fruit-trees which they call bananiers, and the fruit thereof bananes, with which we loaded our canoes for our ſubſiſtence. As we went aſhore, we took the centinel of the little town of Nicoya, from which finding ourſelves at ſome diſtance, we did not then think fit to go up to it, and ſo we directed our courſe for Point Borica, where we arrived on the fourteenth. That is a very pleaſant and delightful place, and, among other things, we could not but admire a walk conſiſting of five rows of cocoa-trees that run along the bank for above fifteen leagues in length, and that in ſo orderly a manner, that though the ſame be no more than the bare work of nature, without any additional help

Digitized by Google

from art, they ſeem as if they had been all planted on a line.

This fruit, which upon ſeveral occaſions was ſo delightful to us, grows upon the ſtock of a tree, that is a kind of palm, twenty or five-and-twenty feet high: it is like a nut, but without making any compariſon of the bigneſs of it, for there are ſome of theſe fruits that weigh twelve or fifteen pounds. The ſhell is very hard, and thick enough; it is wrapped up in a kind of thick covering, made up all of filaments, with which the Spaniards uſe to caulker their ſhips, it being much better than tow, which rots in the water in leſs than a year's time, whereas the other is fed by it and waxeth green. If you bore an hole in this nut, there runs out a quantity of greeniſh liquor, which ſomewhat reſembles the colour of whey, but of a ſharpiſh taſte, and pleaſant enough, and when the ſhell is broken, we find under it a kernel, or what is equivalent thereto, of the thickneſs of a man's finger, very white and nouriſhing, which ſticks very cloſe to the inſide. We left this place on the twentieth, keeping our courſe ſtill all along the continent.

On the twenty-ſecond, having no victuals to eat, we put ſixty men in our three canoes aſhore to go ſeek ſome for us, and after travelling the ſpace of a league, we took a very curious hatto, with two priſoners, who told us we were within a league and a half of the little town of Chiriquita, and that there were ſix hundred men in it, which made us ſeize with all expedition upon as much victuals as we could, to carry it to the place where we had left our canoes; but, in our return thither, we found four hundred horſe in the way, whom we fought with all along retreating, till we came to the ſea-ſide. They challenged us again and again, and defied us in threatening language to go to their town, which

we

Digitized by Google

we did not fail to do ſome days after. In the mean time we bore away for the Iſle of St. John, where arriving on the firſt of January, 1686, we found our ſhip and two barks at anchor.

CHAP. III.

The Free-booters voyage to the South-ſea in 1686.

ON the fifth of January, in the new year, we parted to the number of two hundred and thirty men in eight canoes, to go and face the towns-men of Chiriquita, and to give them the viſit they had deſied us to do. And ſo it was, that this Iſland of St. John being about twenty leagues from them, we went aſhore on the ſixth, about ten or eleven o'clock at night, without being diſcovered; but as we had no guide with us, we marched on till daylight without ſeeing any body. We hid ourſelves on the ſeventh all the day in a wood, but as ſoon as night approached, we came out and put on, without diſcovering any body; till the eighth in the morning, when we concealed ourſelves again in another ſmall wood, and ſpent all the day in that place, during which time we came to know that we had miſtaken our meaſures, by going aſhore on that ſide of the river, whereas we ſhould have gone on the other. This was cold comfort to people ſo fatigued as we were; however as ſoon as it was night, we made no more ado than to return to our canoes, wherein we paſſed that river: when we were got on the other ſide, we took the town-watch, by whom we were informed, that the Spaniards had conveyed away all their effects upon our being at their hatto's.

On the ninth we got to Chiriquita two hours before day; we ſurprized all the inhabitants, who were for two days at variance with one another about

going the rounds; and, after we had ſecured our priſoners, we told them, that belonged to us, and that we were come to ſpare them the labour: we ſurprized alſo their court of guard, where they were at play, and as ſoon as they ſaw us amongſt them, they flew to their arms to defend themſelves, but as it was a little too late, we eaſed them of that trouble alſo. Of them we learned that there was a ſmall frigate up the river, which having touched in going out upon a bank of ſand, that lay at the mouth thereof, was forced to go back, and ſo put the proviſion, which was her lading, aſhore. About two in the afternoon we perceived ſome Spaniards in a houſe at ſome diſtance from the town, which made us ſend five of our number to fetch them out; but when we drew near, thoſe whom we had ſeen, having ſhewed themſelves for no other purpoſe than to draw us out, diſappeared, and preſently about an hundred and twenty more came out of a little nook, where they had concealed themſelves, and beſet us in ſuch a manner, that, finding no likelihood of eſcaping, we reſolved never to be taken alive, but to ſell our lives as dear as we could; to which end we immediately ſtood back to back, that we might face the enemy every way, and in this poſture we fought them above an hour and a half; at the expiration whereof, there being no more than two of us in a condition to fight, God was pleaſed that ſome of our men who where upon the guard ſhould come to our relief, being driven thither by the firings; for they thought, before they heard theſe cries, that we were exerciſing ourſelves in ſhooting at a mark. When the enemy ſaw this reinforcement come, they made ſuch haſte to go away that it was impoſſible to overtake them. This ſuccour, coming in ſo ſeaſonably, did infallibly ſave our lives; for the enemy having already killed us two men,

Digitized by Google

men, and disabled another, it was impossible we should hold out against such a shower of bullets as were poured in upon us from all sides. And so I may truly say, I escaped a scouring, and that without receiving as much as one wound, but by a visible hand of protection from heaven. The Spaniards left thirty dead upon the spot, and thus we defended ourselves as desperate men, and to say all in a word, like Free-booters.

We burnt all the houses in the town this day, lest, under the covert of them, our centinels might be surprized, and that the enemy might come to insult us in the night: when we had so done, we retired into the great church, where they durst not come to attack us, but contented themselves to give us some musket-shot from time to time, and that from a great distance.

Chiriquita is a small town that stands in a plain of Savanas, from whence the sight is bounded almost every way with no other than small, but very pleasant thickets: there are several rivulets that traverse it in divers places, and afterward gently glide into these Savanas to water them. It is surrounded with a great many hatto's, and they drive no other trade, but in tallow and leather: the port or embarking place belonging to it is on a pretty large river, from whence you must ascend about a league to come at it. There is but one way to come in at its mouth, and the Spaniards themselves without a buoy will not venture to enter it; there are three leagues by land from this embarking place to the town, and that through so pleasant a way, that none but such as we were could be weary of it, who had no other thoughts than to get victuals to satisfy our hunger, which bore hard upon us, when we were going to take this town, having eaten nothing from the fifth, when we left our vessels, till the ninth, that we took it.

Digitized by Google

On the tenth we left the place, taking our priſoners along with us, to wait for the ranſoming of them upon an iſland that is within the ſame river, making choice rather of theſe places for that purpoſe, than of the continent, and where being obliged for a long time to ſtay for the money, we ſhould give the Spaniards thereby an opportunity to gather all their forces together, and to pay us all at once, by overpowering us with numbers; whereas theſe iſlands to which they could not come any other way than in ſhallops, and that openly, put us out of care to reimbark according to the meaſures they took by land. When therefore we returned to our canoes, which waited for us at the port of Chiriquita, we found the inhabitants of that town had laid an ambuſcade for us, but we beat them off, and, after the enemy had quite retired, they ſent us a perſon to demand their priſoners, whom they ſaid they would recover, or periſh in the attempt. We told the meſſenger we were very ready to give them up, if they would come and meet us in the race Savana to take them, and that, if they fired one ſingle bullet at us, they ſhould have no quarter, which ſo humbled their pride, that we ſaw no more of them.

As ſoon as we were got to the forementioned iſland we ſent part of our canoes, to look after the cargo of the ſmall frigate which the Spaniards of Chiriquita gave us information of, where they found above an hundred men intrenched; but they could not hinder our men from poſſeſſing themſelves of what they went in ſearch for. Among the baggage they found ſome letters, that, among other things, gave us to underſtand, that the admiral of the Peru fleet, who was returned to Lima, had been burnt, with all her crew, which was at that time four hundred men, by a thunderbolt; and this was ſo much the more ſurprizing and admirable, that no man living could remember

Digitized by Google

remember to have heard any thunder in that country, no more than to have ſeen it rain.

On the ſixteenth the ranſom for our priſoners came, and after we had ſet them at liberty, we returned aboard our ſhip, which rid then at anchor at St. John's iſland. On the twentieth we concluded among ourſelves, it was neceſſary we ſhould build large periaugues, ſeeing we could make no farther uſe of our ſhip for want of ſails, and we had nothing left to make them with, and ſtill were leſs able to take ſhips from the Spaniards, on this weſtern coaſt, where they had put an entire ſtop to their navigation, ſince we were come thither. On the twenty-ſecond we made choice of tall trees to make our canoes and periaugues of, upon the banks of a curious river which we knew to be in the iſland.

On the twenty-ſeventh we deſcried ſeven ſail of ſhips out at ſea, which made us fit out five canoes to go and ſee what they were, and, as we doubled one of the points of the iſland, we diſcerned twelve periaugues and three long barks, who coaſted it all along. We took them preſently to be the fleet of Peru that was come in queſt of us; we gave our men notice of it without delay, and at the ſame time reſolved to put all we had on board our ſhip into our bark, and to go into that river where our docks were, there to wait the coming of our enemy, where they could not come to attack us without loſing a great many men. This project we put forthwith in execution, and after we had abandoned our ſhip, which could not be brought into that river, we ran her aſhore, leſt the Spaniards ſhould have any benefit of it, and put her into a ſailing condition, being very well aſſured of ourſelves, that they did not want ſails, as we did, for that purpoſe.

On the twenty-eighth our centinels came to give us notice, that ſix periaugues plyed along the ſhore,

Digitized by Google

which made us at the ſame time put an hundred and fifty men to lie in ambuſh on both ſides the river, and then we ſet out with two of our canoes, from whence, after we had ſeen them, we feigned to go away, by going back, to engage them to give us chace; but they, ſuſpecting a ſtratagem in the caſe, bore directly upon our ſhip that was run aground, upon which they fired very furiouſly, though there was none left within it but only a poor cat, which they perceiving, they bravely boarded, and burnt her for the ſake of the iron-work that belonged to her, which is a commodity as rare as it is dear in ſome parts of Peru. On the firſt of February the Spaniſh fleet ſailed away, and left us at eaſe to finiſh our work, upon which we ſpent the remainder of the month.

We underſtood afterwards that the admiral of this fleet had orders to put ſome field-pieces aſhore, to demoliſh thoſe fortifications which they thought we had made upon the iſland, being induced to believe it was ſo by the report of the priſoners, which we ſent them, made of our intentions; we, to impoſe upon them, having aſked whether there were any maſons among them that could do our work, and ſometimes obliged them to give us brick for their ranſom, though we had no need of them. There were no leſs than fourteen of our men died in the month of February.

On the fourteenth of March we departed from the Iſle of St. John with our two barks, an half galley of forty oars, ten great periaugues, and ten ſmall canoes, all built of mapou timber, except our two barks: we gained the windward point of the iſland, to take a review of our men, and found ourſelves weaker by no leſs than thirty perſons, ſince our ſeparation from the Engliſh: but we formed a deſign anew at the ſame time which had been put by for

Digitized by Google

for above four months, which was to go and take the town of Granada, diſtant now from us about two hundred leagues. To effect this work, it was neceſſary we ſhould be furniſhed with proviſion wherewith to ſubſiſt us during the voyage; and we having none, this made us ſend away our half galley and four canoes, to ſeek for ſome at Pueblo Nuevo, while the reſt of the company went to tarry for us at the iſle of St. Peter, which is two leagues to windward of the river Chiriquita, and to finiſh ſomewhat that was ſtill wanting to the complete equipment of our canoes.

On the ſixth of April, about three hours before daylight, we were got near to the river of Pueblo Nuevo, and by a clear light of the moon we diſcerned a ſmall frigate at its mouth, as alſo a long bark, and a periaugue. We came within piſtol-ſhot of them as ſuppoſing them to be our Engliſh freebooters, from whom we had ſeparated. But we found ourſelves quickly miſtaken, for, after we had haled them, they anſwered us with an intire volley of great and ſmall ſhot, which made us now conjecture that they were, and it was too true, a detachment left by the Spaniſh fleet in that place, when they left us at St. John's iſland, as a guard to two ſmall ſhips, which we knew they were lading with proviſions at the port of this town, in order to tranſport the ſame to Panama. Our miſtake was the reaſon that we had twenty men diſabled to fight, by this firſt diſcharge of the enemy, before we knew well where we were; but, after we were a little recovered of the ſurprize this adventure put us to, we fought them ſtiffly for the ſpace of two hours, though we had the uſe of no other arms than our fuzees, and not one cannon to diſcharge upon them; and they, on their part, defended themſelves ſo much the more vigorouſly, in that they believed we,

Digitized by Google

we, after ſuch a ſurpriize as we had been expoſed to, would quickly ſlacken our courage, and give way. They did all they could to make ready during the fight, but we hindered them, and no man could appear in the ſhrouds, but we brought them down, as well as their grenadiers, from their round tops. But, finding the light of the moon now gone, we put off out of the reach of their cannon, as well to take care of our wounded men, which amounted to thirty-three, beſides four who were killed outright, as to wait for daylight, in order to terminate this affair, which we were not willing to leave undecided. But the enemy did in the mean time retire under the covert of a retrenchment which, I have ſaid already, they had upon the banks of this river, where the country people, who had heard the noiſe of the fight in the night, were alſo come, which made us conclude, that, if we went to attack them in that place, we could not have that advantage there, we had reſolved to take of them; ſo upon approach of day we ſteered our courſe to go and rejoin our canoes at the iſle of St. Peter, where we arrived on the eighth.

On the ninth we found ourſelves in great want of victuals, having now nothing at all to eat; and this put us hard to it, more eſpecially our wounded men, whom we ſent by our half galley (for their better conveniency) on board our two barks, whom we had appointed to rendezvouz in the bay of Boca del Toro. When this was done, we went aſhore to a town ten leagues to leeward of Chiriquita, where finding none, we left it, and on the eleventh, in our return to our canoes, we found, in order to ſtrengthen us under the languiſhment which hunger had reduced us to, a regale of an ambuſcade of five hundred men laid for us, againſt whom, for all our weakneſs, we made ſo good a defence, that we obliged them to leave us free

Digitized by Google

free paſſage, but yet not without the loſs of two of our men. We went on board in the evening, to go join our barks in the bay of Boca del Toro, where we arrived the thirteenth, and went a ſhore, ſpending our time to the ſixteenth in hunting, more eſpecially for the ſubſiſtence of our wounded men; and here we found the ſame ſort of deer and birds, as I have taken notice of in our paſſage over the continent, in great plenty.

On the ſame day we departed for the bay of Caldaira, after having renewed our enterprize upon the little town of Eſparſo, of which I have already ſpoken. On the 19th, being arrived in the bay, we went aſhore two hours before dayl ight, and reached the town; about eleven in the morning we found the place was in a manner intirely abandoned from the time we had taken the centinels, who, as I have already obſerved, diverted us from going thither, by the account they gave of the reinforcement that was come to them from Carthage: however, we took ſome priſoners, who told us all the people were retired to this laſt town, which is twenty-four leagues off; ſo that, finding our endeavours all fruſtrated, we returned on the twentieth to the ſea-ſide, to rejoin our canoes.

Eſparſo is reckoned to be three leagues diſtant from the ſea-ſide, and the way thither very bad; you cannot travel the length of a gun-ſhot in even ground, but the ſame is every-where rugged, and full of little mountains and hills, though beyond them the country appears to be very good and delightful. The town is built upon an eminence, from whence one may eaſily ſee all that comes in and goes out of the bay: this town is in a manner encompaſſed with a rivulet that runs round it: between it and Carthage are very curious plains, with royal ways made through them, and that as well as any in Europe.

On

Digitized by Google

On the twenty-firſt we victualled ourſelves with the fruit of a bananery in this bay, wherein our two barks came to join us, and next day we ſummoned our people athore upon this iſland, as well to conſult how we ſhould attack the town of Granada, which we had a deſign upon, as to take an account of what powder they had, as fearing many of them might uſe it in hunting: here we enacted orders whereby thoſe were condemned to loſe their ſhare of the booty got in the place, that ſhould be found guilty of cowardice, violence, drunkenneſs, diſobedience, theft, and ſtraggling from the main body without orders. When this was over, we left the bay the ſame evening, and a ſtrong eaſterly wind ſurprizing us in the night, ſeparated our veſſels from one another: at break of day we told thirteen ſail, wherewith we were amazed, knowing we had no more than a dozen, and this made us give our canoes the ſignal to chace, as well as we, that veſſel that did not belong to us; but, when we had continued the chace for about an hour's time, we perceived five more; and having come up with the foremoſt, we underſtood it was captain Townſley come from the coaſt of Acapulco: he had left his ſhip at the cape, over-againſt the mouth of the bay, where we had been, and went with his five canoes to find out ſome bananes, having very little proviſion on board. He told us that captain David, with his fleet, was on the ſouthern coaſt, and that captain Suams, with his ſhip, was gone to the Eaſt-Indies.

We, finding ourſelves now to be the ſtronger party, called to mind their former imperious dealings with us, and, to ſhew our reſentment of it, we made him and his men, who were in the other four canoes, priſoners: we boarded his veſſel immediately, of which having made ourſelves maſters, we made a ſham of taking it away; but our deſign being only to

Digitized by Google

to frighten them, we left them for ſome time under the apprehenſions of the danger they were in. Then we let the captain know we were honeſter men than he, and that, though we had the upper hand, yet we would not take the advantage of revenging the injuries they had done us, and that we would put him and his men in poſſeſſion of what we had taken from them four or five hours before. This moderation which we exerciſed towards them, together with their being informed by ſome of our crew of a deſign we had upon the town of Granada, engaged them to deſire we would take them in to be our aſſociates in the enterprize; and, they being an hundred and fifteen in number, we readily conſented to ſuch a reinforcement as muſt needs be uſeful to us.

On the twenty-fifth we departed all together, French and Engliſh, in our periaugues and canoes, leaving their ſhips and our two barks under the covert of Cape Blanck, which is twenty leagues to windward of the place where we were to go aſhore, and gave orders to thoſe who were appointed to guard them, to ſail away ſix days after, and to coaſt it till they came to an anchor at the place where we ſhould leave our canoes.

On the ſeventh of April we went aſhore on a flat coaſt, to the number of three hundred and forty-five men, under the conduct of a very good guide, who led us croſs a wood that we might not be diſcovered. We marched on night and day till the ninth, but, notwithſtanding all the precaution we took, we could not hinder our being diſcovered by the inhabitants of the town of Granada, who were fiſhing in a river about fifteen leagues off; and, though they made all the haſte they could to advertiſe the Spaniards of our march, they could not have been there time enough to have given the people notice to remove all their

Digitized by Google

their effects, considering the expedition we used to follow them, had not they had (unhappily upon our account) notice given them of us three weeks before by the inhabitants of Esparso, who having seen the great number of canoes we had, as we passed by there, grew suspicious of our design.

The fatigue we had undergone during our march, together with the sharp hunger that pressed us, obliged us to halt and rest the ninth in the evening, in a great sugar-plantation, that is about four leagues distant from Granada, and was in our way thither. It belonged to a knight of St. James's, whom, upon our arrival, we failed to take prisoner, our legs being at that time much more disposed to rest, than to run after him. On the tenth we set out, and, upon our approach near the town, we observed an eminence above it about a league off, and two ships upon the lake of Nicaragua, that carried, as we were since informed, all the wealth of the town into an island two leagues off. We took a prisoner in a village that was in our way, who told us the inhabitants of the town had intrenched themselves upon the place of arms, and compassed it with a strong wall, since our quarter-master, who had run away to them, had given information, that we designed to come amongst them: he told us farther, that that place was guarded with fourteen pieces of cannon, and six patereroes; and lastly, that they had detached six troops of horse to attack our rear, while our front should be engaged with the Spaniards, if so be we should come up to them.

This information, which doubtless would have terrified any other but free-booters, did not retard our design one minute, nor hinder us. About two in the afternoon of the same day we came up to the town, where, at one entrance into the suburbs, we met with a strong party lying in ambush for us, whom,

Digitized by Google

whom, after an hour's engagement, we fell with that fury on, that we made our way over all their bellies, with the loſs only of one man on our own ſide, and from thence entered the town, where we made an halt to wait for the anſwer of ſeveral of our company, whom we had detached to go round, and take obſervation of a fort which we ſaw in a direct line from the ſtreet by which we entered. Preſently after came a party to inform us, that it was a ſquare fort, and that, beſides the ſtreet we were in, they had alſo obſerved three more, that looked out to the other three ſides of that fort, by which the enemy could diſcover whatever came towards them through thoſe avenues, which were, moreover, all commanded by their cannon and ſmall arms.

We were not long in debate what we ſhould do; we could eaſily ſee we were too few to make our attacks by thoſe different ways all at a time. Wherefore, after we had got together all thoſe whom we had ſent out to ſcout, who, for ſome time, had been detained by ſome light ſkirmiſhes, we made ourſelves ready to fall on through that ſtreet alone where we then were; and it is well we did ſo, for if we had diſperſed ourſelves through the others, the horſe, which were in the rear of us, and obſerved our motion, would not have failed to hem us in, which they durſt not do while we kept all together.

After we had exhorted one another to fall on bravely, we advanced a round place towards the ſaid fortification: as ſoon as the defendants ſaw us within a good cannon-ſhot of them, they fired furiouſly upon us; but obſerving, that, at every diſcharge of their great guns, we ſaluted them down to the ground, in order to let their ſhot fly over us, they bethought themſelves of falſe priming them, to the end we might raiſe our bodies after the ſham was over, and ſo be really ſurprized with their true firing.

Digitized by Google

firing. As ſoon as we diſcovered this ſtratagem, we ranged ourſelves along the houſes; and having got upon a little aſcent, which was a garden-plat, we fired upon them from thence ſo openly for an hour and a half, that they were obliged to quit the ground, to which our hardy boys, who were got to the foot of their walls, contributed yet even more than the other, by pouring in hand granadoes inceſſantly upon them, ſo that at laſt they betook themſelves to the great church, or tower; but they wounded us ſome men: as ſoon as our people, who had got upon the ſame eminence, perceived that the enemy fled, they called to us to jump over the walls, which we had no ſooner done, but they followed us: and thus it was that we made ourſelves maſters of their place of arms, and conſequently of the town, from whence they fled, after having loſt a great many men. We had on our ſide but four men killed, and eight wounded, which, in truth, was very cheap: when we got into the fort, we found it to be a place capable of containing ſix thouſand fighting men; it was encompaſſed with a wall, the ſame as our priſoners gave us an account of. It was pierced with many holes, to do execution upon the aſſailants, and was well ſtored with arms. That part of it which looked towards the ſtreet, through which we attacked it, was defended by two pieces of cannon, and four patereroes, to ſay nothing of ſeveral other places made too open in the wall, through which they thruſt inſtruments made on purpoſe, to break the legs of thoſe that ſhould be ſo adventurous as to come near it; but theſe, by the help of our grenadiers, we rendered uſeleſs to them. After we had ſung *Te Deum* in the great church, and ſet four centinels in the tower, we fixed our court of guard in the ſtrong-built houſes, that are alſo encloſed within the place of arms, and there gathered

Digitized by Google

gathered all the ammunition we could get: then we went to viſit the houſes, wherein we found nothing but a few goods, and ſome proviſion, which we carried into our court of guard.

Next day in the evening we detached a party of an hundred and fifty men, to go and find out ſome women that we might put them to ranſom, and ſome booty which we were told they had in the ſugar-plantation a league off of the city: but they were gone by the time we got thither, as not believing themſelves ſafe in that place, ſo that our party came back *re infecta*. The ſame day we ſent a priſoner to the Spaniards, to require them to ranſom the town, or elſe we would burn it; whereupon they ſent a monk to treat with us, who ſaid the officers and inhabitants were in conſultation about it, but that one of our men whom they had taken as he lagged behind, through wearineſs upon the road, without the officer, that brought up our rear, having taken notice of it, aſſured them we would not burn it, becauſe our deſign was to paſs ſome months after to the North-ſea, by the lake there, and to furniſh ourſelves in this town with neceſſaries for our journey, which we ſhould not meet with if we fired the place: ſo that the ſaid man having given them ſuch aſſurance, they would no longer trouble themſelves about giving an anſwer to the propoſal we had made for their ranſoming the town, which at laſt conſtrained ſome of us to ſet fire to the houſes, out of mere ſpight and revenge.

The opportunity, which now offered itſelf unto us of paſſing through the lake to the North-ſea, was not at this time over favourable, and we ſhould not have failed to make uſe of it, if we had had canoes ready in this place to go and take two ſhips, and the wealth of the town, which the inhabitants had carried, for the better ſecuring of them, into the iſland,

Digitized by Google

iſland, which I have already ſaid was in the ſaid lake; which would have put a full end unto the trouble we had been in from the time we ſailed of ſeizing the flota before Panama; but the term of dangers and miſeries, which our deſtiny had ſtill in ſtore for us, being not yet come, we could not take the advantage of ſo favourable an opportunity to get out of thoſe parts of the world, which, though very charming and agreeable to thoſe who are ſettled there, yet did not appear to be ſo to an handful of men, as we were, without ſhipping, the moſt part of our time without victuals, and wandering amidſt a multitude of enemies, againſt whom we were obliged to be continually upon our guard, and who did all that in them lay to deprive us of ſubſiſtence.

Granada is a large and ſpacious town, ſituated in a bottom, inclined to the coaſt of the South-ſea, whoſe churches are very ſtately, and houſes well enough built: they have ſeveral religious houſes there, both of men and women: the great church ſtands at one of the ends of the place of arms; the country thereabouts is very deſtitute of water, they having no other there than only the lake of Nicaragua, upon the ſide whereof the city is built, and round about which you may ſee a great many fine ſugar-plantations, which are more like ſo many villages, than ſingle houſes, and, among the reſt, is that belonging to the knight of St. James's, where we lay in our march to the town, where there is a very pretty and rich church.

On the tenth we left the city, and took along with us one piece of cannon, with four patereroes, as not queſtioning but we ſhould meet with oppoſition in our way, before we came to the ſea-ſide, from which we were near twenty leagues diſtant, and therein we were not deceived; ſeeing the Spa-

Digitized by Google

niards waited for us, to the number of two thouſand five hundred men, within a quarter of a league of the town, and preſently charged us: but, not dreaming that we had brought any of their artillery along with us, they were ſo terrified when we had fired two cannon-ſhot upon their firſt ambuſcade, that they left us a free paſſage in this place only; for, though they ſaw a great many of their men ſprawling upon the ground, they ceaſed not all the way at certain diſtances to lay new ambuſhes for us, where they had no more ſucceſs than at firſt. We took one of them priſoners, who told us, there was a million and a half of pieces of eight long ſince ordered for the ranſoming of their town, in caſe the ſame ſhould be taken, and that the ſame was buried in the wall, ſo as that it could not be ſeen: but we had no inclination to go back in ſearch of this money, ſeeing we found difficulty enough to rid ourſelves out of the hands of ſo conſiderable a number of enemies as we had already to deal with.

We were forced that evening to leave our cannon behind us, after we had firſt nailed them up, for the oxen that drew them were dead for want of water, having travelled ſeveral leagues through very great heats, without one drop of water, and through ſuch a duſt, as choaked both man and beaſt. But we reſerved our patereroes which were carried by mules, who could better bear this inconveniency. At laſt we lay in a very pretty village, called Maſſaya, that ſtands upon the ſide of the lake, but from hence to the water there is ſo great a deſcent, that a man of full growth appears to be no bigger than a child: we were received by the Indians in this place with open arms, but the Spaniards that had retired thither, knowing the extreme thirſt wherewith we were afflicted, had ſpoiled all the water that was in the village, hoping thereby to reduce us to

Digitized by Google

to ſuch neceſſity, that we might go by night to drink to the lake, that ſo they might lay ſome ambuſh for us: but theſe Indians, that came to meet and pray us not to burn their village, remedied this evil, in aſſuring us, they would ſupply us with whatever we had occaſion for, as long as we ſtaid there, and particularly with water. Taken with this their ſubmiſſion, we granted them their requeſt ſo much the more willingly, ſeeing they gave us to underſtand upon ſeveral occaſions, that they were more our friends, than they were the Spaniards.

All theſe Indians are a miſerable people, whom the Spaniards endeavour to reduce and bring under their ſubjection by little and little, with a feigned gentleneſs practiſed towards them, to make them forgetful of thoſe cruelties and tyrannies they had heretofore exerciſed in thoſe parts, and which they are not wanting ſtill to keep in remembrance. They have, at preſent, a pretty number of them there, whom they have enticed down from thoſe mountains where they had taken refuge, and brought them to ſubmit in this manner. They have given them places to build boroughs and villages upon, but all their labour redounds to the advantage of the Spaniards; ſo that, being uſed as ſlaves by them, they are ſo weary of their dominion, and the barbarity ſhewed them, by being made uſe of as palliſadoes by the Spaniards when they fight us, that if we had been people fit to receive them, as often as they made an offer to take our parts, we ſhould have formed a very conſiderable army; and it is certain, that, if they had but arms and protection, they would have infallibly ſhaken off the yoke of their pitiful maſters, being three times more in number than they.

We

Digitized by Google

We reſted only one day in this place to refreſh our wounded men, where two died of the cramp, which contracted all their nerves; this is ſo malignant a diſtemper in this country, that, when it ſeizes upon a ſtranger that is wounded, it will certainly kill him: this ſame day came a father to us from the Spaniards, to redemand another father from us, who was one of our priſoners, who had taken up arms againſt us, and had his pockets full of poiſoned bullets: we required in exchange for him one of our men, whom they had taken, which they would by no means agree to; ſo that we carried the latter along with us as far as the ſea-ſide.

On the ſeventeenth we left this borough, and lay in another place three leagues beyond it, from whence we paſſed next day, and, as we came out of a foreſt to enter into a plain, we diſcovered five hundred men upon an aſcent, waiting for our coming, commanded by the above-mentioned Catalonian quarter-maſter that had deſerted us: they had put up bloody colours, to ſignify they would give no quarter, which obliged us to lay by our white colours, and diſplay our red as well as they. We marched directly to the place where they were without ſtopping, though they fired very thick upon us, and, when we came within muſket-ſhot, we detached our van-guard to beat them off their ground, which they did with wonderful bravery; here we took about fifty horſes: the enemy, in their flight, cowardly left part of their arms behind them, beſides their dead and wounded men, by which laſt we underſtood that theſe people were the reinforcement which the inhabitants of the town of Leon had ſent to the aſſiſtance of Granada againſt us, and who were returned home.

Digitized by Google

After we had reſted about an hour, we continued our march and lay at a little town which the inhabitants had forſaken. On the nineteenth we lay in a hatto, and the next day in an Eſtantia, where we reſted ſome days to refreſh ourſelves, and to ſalt our proviſions to carry on board our ſhips, where we knew very well there could be no victuals left. I always went before with an advanced party of fifty men, to go and inform thoſe who looked after our veſſels with our return. On the twenty-ſixth the reſt of our men came to the ſea-ſide, where we reimbarked all together, and underſtood that four of our men, wounded in the fight at Pueblo Viego, were dead, but more for want of ſuſtenance than their wounds.

On the twenty-ſeventh we ſailed for Realeguo, and on the twenty-eighth anchored in that port, where, upon our going aſhore, the centinels of Pueblo Viego diſcovered us, but that did not hinder us to proceed and arrive at the place about noon: the Spaniards, who had heard of our coming, fled every-where; but the heats are ſo exceſſive in theſe parts, that you cannot travel there this time of day; and this made us go and ſee rather for ſome ſhade or tufts of graſs whereon to ſet our feet, than to run after the enemy: however we took ſome priſoners. We tarried there but two days, and after we had gathered as much proviſion as we could find in the houſes, we ſent out a party to ſee for ſome horſes, whereof they brought us an hundred; we departed on the firſt of May, and carried our proviſion to the river-ſide at Realeguo, where our canoes were, who carried the ſame afterwards on board our ſhips, while we went out to ſeek for more, that ſo we might get together a good quantity, and not be obliged to conſume it as we brought it in.

On

On the ſecond we went to a ſugar-plantation to fetch off ſix cauldrons, which we brought away next day, and on the fourth ſet out for a borough two leagues from Realeguo, which they call Ginandego, which ſome of the inhabitants a few days before prayed us by way of raillery to go and viſit, as thinking themſelves ſufficiently ſecured by a retrenchment caſt up at the avenue leading to it, and that was defended by two hundred men: we got thither on the fifth, by break of day; but, being diſcovered by the centinel, he carried the Spaniards notice thereof, who gave us no occaſion to deſire them to quit it, after they had given us a few muſquet-ſhot; ſo that, to puniſh their rhodomontades, we burnt the place down to the ground: we took one of their people priſoner, by whom we underſtood that the corregidor of Leon, who was very deſirous to drive us away from that coaſt, had ordered all the Tements, as ſoon as we got to any place, to burn all the proviſion they had, which to our ſorrow was but too well executed, not only here, but every-where elſe, and was the cauſe alſo of that hunger and extraordinary toil which we were forced to endure in theſe ſeas, as long as we ſtaid there.

The ſame day about noon came about eight hundred men into a Savana from Leon to fight us; the centinels, which we had placed on the top of the ſteeple, rung the alarum-bell to give us notice to get together, and come out of the houſes where we were diſperſed; whereupon we marched in a body of an hundred and fifty men, with red colours, to fight them; but as they could not endure to let us come within muſquet-ſhot of them, for they fled without any more ado, we were obliged to retire, and on the ſixth went away to go on board our ſhips, which we careened next day, as we alſo cleaned our canoes.

Digitized by Google

On the ninth we had a conſultation together, about what way we ſhould take, and here we found ourſelves of two opinions; one party was for going up before Panama, being in hopes they had begun their navigation again, as knowing we were far enough from them; but the reſt repreſented, that many times they had ſuch years on that coaſt, whereof that might be one of them, that eight months thereof was ſad weather, in reſpect to exceſſive rains and ſoutherly winds which reign there, and that therefore it would be more adviſeable to go lower weſtward, and winter upon ſome iſland or other, and there to wait for fair weather.

Now theſe different ſentiments were purſued by us, and, every man having made choice of his ſide, next day our ſurgeons had orders to give in an account of thoſe among the wounded, who were crippled, to the end we might make them ſatisfaction before we divided. They told us we had four men crippled, and ſix hurt, to which we gave ſix hundred pieces of eight a man, and a thouſand to thoſe that were crippled, as it was our conſtant cuſtom in thoſe ſeas; and it was exactly all the money we had got together, that was applied to that uſe: we made a diviſion of the barks and canoes on the twelfth, and found ourſelves to be an hundred and forty-eight French men, ready to go up towards Panama (without comprehending the Engliſh under captain Townſley) and the ſame number of French ſailed alſo to the weſtward. Next day our proviſion was ſhared amongſt us, and now it was that we divided into two parts; thoſe who were for the weſtward put themſelves under the conduct of captain Grognet, and we, that were bound for Panama, were commanded by captain Townſley, and then we went to anchor at an iſland, half a league diſtant from that we left, to take in water

and

Digitized by Google

and wood: on the ſixteenth captain Grognet ſent his quarter-maſter to deſire us to put none of our priſoners aſhore, for fear they ſhould give the Spaniards notice of our ſeparation, for, as he had a deſign to make a deſcent upon them, he was apprehenſive that ſuch a diſcovery would make them more reſolute and hardy to oppoſe them.

On the nineteenth we made ready, and ſailed for Panama with captain Townſley's ſhip and one bark: we ſteered E. S. E. to S. S. E. and to S. S. W. till midnight, when we were overtaken with a ſtorm, which made us lie by till the twentieth at noon, when the weather proved fair, then we ſteered E. S. E. to the twenty-third, when we anchored in the bay of Colebra to take in water. We ſpent that day there to take tortoiſes, which are to be found in great numbers in that little bay: they are of different ſizes, and we found one ſort of them ſo large, that one was enough for fifty perſons to feed upon in a day. On the twenty-fourth we put an hundred and fifty men aſhore, in order to find out ſome town or borough, we having no guide with us that knew this country; and, after we had walked a league or thereabouts, we alighted upon three hatto's very near one another, where finding edibles enough, we ſtaid till the twenty-ſixth, when we returned on board; then captain Townſley propoſed we ſhould go and take the town of Villia, which is thirty leagues to leeward of Panama, to which all of us agreed, and that evening we weighed, having a wind blowing from the land, which ſerved us till the twenty-ſeventh at noon, when it blew very hard from the ſouth-eaſt, accompanied with rain till the twenty-eighth in the evening, when it began to allay; we were favoured all the twenty-ninth with a weſterly wind, and that evening were brought in ſight of Cape Blanch. On the thirtieth the weather was fair

Digitized by Google

enough; but on the thirty-firſt, two hours before daylight, it grew very boiſterous, ſo that we were forced to put in for that cape; we had a thunder-bolt fell upon the end of our great ſail-yard, which did no more than crack it: having moderate weather on the firſt of June, we ſteered eaſt-ſouth eaſt, and next day about noon had a ſight of land; but it was ſo hazy, that we could not tell where we were: however we ſteered eaſt by ſouth-eaſt, to come near. The weather being now ſomewhat cleared up, we found we were between the bay of Boca del Toro, and the point called Barica, when we ſailed ſouth and by ſouth-eaſt, to put out to ſea, and then bore to the north-eaſt, that we might reach the iſle of St. John de Cueblo.

On the ſeventh we put in at the iſle of Montoſa, ſix leagues to the ſouthward of that of St. John; we ſet out three canoes, with which we coaſted round about this laſt, and our ſhips anchored at another little iſland, which is half a league to the eaſt: while we were going round St. John's iſland with our canoes, we found nothing there but one of our priſoners, who having made his eſcape from us when we were there, and, being not able to get to the continent, returned to us: on the tenth we went back to our ſhips, and next day took in our ſtore of water and wood, and cleaned our ſhips: there aroſe the ſucceeding night a north wind that tore our cables, and made us think we ſhould be thrown aſhore; but, as good luck would have it, it came about, and gave us an opportunity to make ready, and to caſt anchor farther from the ſhore. By the favour of the lightning we diſcovered our canoes, and found their ropes alſo broken, and that the waves were throwing them aſhore alſo, unleſs we had ſaved them, though we could not hinder one of them from being ſtaved to pieces.

On

On the thirteenth we made ready, and ſailed for la Villia with a weſt-ſouth weſt wind, made land on the fifteenth, and knew it to be the cape called Morn a Puercos; then we bore off to ſea with a hard wind till the evening, when the weather grew ſo very bad, that we did nothing till the eighteenth, but let our ſhips drive with a ſouth-weſt wind, having terrible rain all the while till noon, when the weather grew better; and, being cleared up, we diſcerned three rocks, which are called the Three Brothers, ſtanding three leagues to leeward of the bay of Villia, whither we were going. On the nineteenth we ſaw the point Mala, which is leeward of that bay: we ſailed all night northward to get to the ſhore; and next morning at break of day we found ourſelves within five or ſix leagues of it, when we furled all our ſails except our ſprit-ſail: next evening we went on board our canoes, and put on all night after we had given our ſhips orders to lie by, and wait for us at the mouth of the bay where we were.

On the twenty-firſt in the morning we diſcovered the place where we were to go aſhore, and caſt anchor till night came, as we alſo took down our maſts, for fear they ſhould be diſcovered from the ſhore, and then made ourſelves ready to land, which we did on the twenty-ſecond an hour before day: but experience telling us we had not time enough before us to get to the place before daylight appeared, we put three leagues off where we anchored, having no where in this bay above fifteen fathom water. That evening we made for the ſhore again, which we could not recover before midnight, becauſe the currents were againſt us. After we had got footing we marched to the number of an hundred and ſixty men directly to the town, and took one of two Spaniards whom we found on the way, who told us that he was ſent

Digitized by Google

by the alcaide major to watch on the ſea-ſide, becauſe they had ſeen a ſhip and a bark aloof off, which yet they were ſo little alarmed with, that they had increaſed their guard with no more than twenty men: we continued our march, and, for all the expedition we were able to uſe, it was an hour after ſun-riſing before we could get to the town, where we found no reſiſtance, half of the people being then at maſs: of men and women we took three hundred priſoners, by whom we underſtood there were three barks in the river, on which the town was ſituated. We ſent preſently out a party to take them, but the Spaniards, having loſt no time, ſunk one of them, hid the ſails and rudder of the other two, and cut down their maſts by the middle; ſo that the party, going on further, gave notice to thoſe of us whom we had left to take care of our canoes, which they found at anchor at the river's mouth, that we had taken Villia; we gathered together that day the merchandize which the fleet had left in this town, computed by the Spaniards to be worth a million and a half, and to the value of fifteen thouſand pieces of eight in good ſilver, which was an inconſiderable prize to what we ſhould have found there, if the Spaniards, in all theſe countries, who are always apprehenſive of the viſits of the free-booters, had not hid their treaſures out of our ſight, many of whom choſe rather to be killed, than to diſcover the places where they had buried them.

On the twenty-fourth we ſent a party of fourſcore men to conduct a like number of horſes laden with bales of goods to the river-ſide, where we knew there were two canoes belonging to the Spaniards, on board of which, after they had put them, they were to bring them to the river's mouth where ours were; but one of our men, ſent upon this occaſion, was taken by

by the enemy: the ſame day we ſent a letter to the alcaide major (as they call him) in order to know whether he would ranſom the town, and buy the effects we had ſeized: he ſent us anſwer, that all the ranſom, that he took upon him to give us, was powder and ball, whereof he had a great deal at our ſervice; that, as to the priſoners we had taken, he committed them to the hands of God; and moreover, that his people were getting together as faſt as they could to get the honour to ſee us. Upon the receiving this anſwer, which angered all our men, we fired the town, and went our ways to lie in a place where our booty was kept by our fourſcore men, which was about a quarter of a league off: we were alarmed ſeveral times that night, and on the twenty-fifth put the beſt and fineſt effects on board the two Spaniſh canoes, becauſe we could not carry off all. For our own canoes, as we have ſaid, were at the mouth of the river, on board of which we could have laden the reſt; but they durſt not come up thither, becauſe of the ambuſcades of the Spaniards who had already killed them a man, as they were endeavouring to come up to us, purſuant to the orders we had before left with them: wherefore, having laden the two Spaniſh canoes, we put nine men on board them, and the reſt guarded them by land, all along the river-ſide, while ſix hundred Spaniards did the ſame on the other ſide, without being diſcovered by us, becauſe of a great many trees, buſhes, and thickets that grew along the banks thereof. When we had marched on about a league, we came to a place ſo full of theſe trees and thickets, that we could not paſs it, ſo that we were obliged to take a turn about, which brought us off from the river-ſide about two hundred paces, which was the occaſion, as you will hear, of the loſs of all our booty, and the death of ſome of our men.

As we quitted the place where we lay, we ordered thoſe who had the charge of our canoes to ſtop in this river, at a place where there were three Spaniſh barks, to the end we might endeavour to bring them away; but when they came there, they were ſuddenly ſurprized with an ambuſcade, of which the Spaniards were never niggard to us, and, as they defended themſelves againſt them, the current of the river drove them beyond the three barks, and conſequently far from us; which was exactly what they would have, for, as ſoon as they ſaw them in a place where we could not relieve them, they diſcharged ſixty muſket-ſhot at them, with which they killed four and wounded one. The reſt made their eſcape to the other ſide of the river, and abandoned their canoes, which a dozen Indians, who ſwam the river, carried to the Spaniards, who cut off the head of one of our men, who was only wounded, and ſet it on the top of a pole, that we might ſee it as we came down the river.

After we had finiſhed the tour we had taken, we drew near the river again; and being to come to the place where the three barks were, and not finding our canoes, we thought they were ſtill behind; but about an hour after we ſaw three of thoſe who had the charge of them coming through the thickets toward us, who gave us a relation of the diſaſter that befel them, and ſaid, that, as they paſſed the woods, they found the rudders and ſails of thoſe three barks, in two of which we embarked ourſelves all together, and ſent out conſtantly fifty men by land before us, to ſeek out thoſe ſails and rudders, giving them a ſignal, that we would fire off three guns, and that they ſhould anſwer us with as many, to ſhew where they ſhould find us, to the end they might join us there. But, at the ſame time that we fired our three pieces, we heard the report

Digitized by Google

report of above five hundred, which made us immediately conclude our men were attacked, wherefore we delayed not to go aſhore, in order to relieve them; but, by the time we came up, the engagement was over; and, had not the river been between them and us, the matter had not been ended ſo. We found one of our people in this place, who had eſcaped out of our veſſels, after we had brought away the ſhip-tackle that were hid in the woods.

After we were embarked, we aſked the captain of horſe of Villia, that was our priſoner, where it was the Spaniards could lay other ambuſcades for us; he anſwered it might be about the river's mouth, and not only ſo, but that we ſhould miſtruſt all thoſe places, which ſeemed to give them any advantage over us, and then we came to an anchor, becauſe of the coming in of the tide.

On the twenty-ſixth we went aſhore at a place where they had killed our men the day before; we found the two canoes daſhed to pieces, and the bodies of our men whom they had wounded in ſeveral places after they were dead: one of them they had thrown into the fire, and put the other's head upon a pole, as we have ſaid already. Theſe objects ſo enraged our men, that they cut off, at the ſame time, four of their priſoners heads, whom they ſet up alſo upon poles in the ſame place. Then we took the bodies of ours to bury them on the ſea-ſide, and, before we got thither, we were forced three times to go aſhore to break through the ambuſcades laid for us all along the river, at the mouth whereof we found alſo that we were warned of by the captain of horſe aforeſaid; but we happily freed ourſelves from it, though with the loſs of three men, and one wounded. At laſt we rejoined our canoes, where one of our wounded men died ſoon after.

The river of Villia is very large, and, at low-

Digitized by Google

water, it breaks at the mouth of it as on a flat ſhore. About a league to windward ſtands a great rock, which night and day, and at all ſeaſons, is covered with a vaſt number of birds called fregates, maubies, and great goziers, that live altogether by fiſhing: great ſhips cannot enter into this river, they being obliged to anchor within cannon-ſhot in the ſea, but, for barks of about 40 tons, they can go up a league and a half within it: the port, or place of embarking belonging to Villia, is ſtill a league and a half higher, and the town a quarter of a league diſtant from it; it is very well ſituated, but its churches are almoſt fallen to ruin, though they are very rich on the inſide: its ſtreets are very ſtraight, and the private houſes pretty well built; on the outſide of it are a great many hatto's, accompanied with very fine ſavanas: the town of Nata, which is the higheſt, ſtands ſeven leagues diſtant from it.

On the twenty-ſeventh came a perſon on board us to re-demand our priſoners, with whom we agreed for ten thouſand pieces of eight ranſom, and threatened to cut off all their heads, if they did not ſend us the money by the twenty-ninth. But, inſtead of that, he returned to tell us, that the alcaide major had ſeized upon thoſe of their people, who were our priſoners, whom we had ſent aſhore to get wherewithal to ranſom their wives; in revenge whereof we preſently cut off the heads of two priſoners, and gave them the meſſenger to carry to the alcaide, telling him, if he ſent us no other anſwer, we would cut off the heads of the reſt, and, after having put the women upon an iſland, we would go to take himſelf: the ſame perſon in the evening returned to tell us, that all the ranſoms would come, and that, beſides them, they would beſtow upon us ten beefs, twenty ſheep, and two packs of meal, the leaſt whereof

Digitized by Google

whereof uſually weighed an hundred pound, every day as long as we ſtaid.

On the thirtieth they brought us back the man whom they had taken, in exchange for the captain of horſe that was our priſoner; and as they ſhewed themſelves very fond of having French arms, they pretended to have loſt them that belonged to our man, for which we made them pay four hundred pieces of eight: they propoſed to buy them one of the barks we had taken from them, and agreed with us for ſix hundred pieces of eight, and one hundred pounds of nails, of which we ſtood in great need; whereupon we delivered her up, after we had firſt taken out her tackle and anchors. They alſo required a paſſport from us, that we would not retake the bark, in caſe we met with her out at ſea, but only the goods wherewith ſhe ſhould be laden, which we alſo gave them.

Next day in the evening they brought us the ten thouſand pieces of eight, as had been agreed upon; then we weighed, in order to go anchor at a place that ſerved as a little port to an hatto, where they were to give us an hundred and twenty ſalted beefs: we departed from thence on the fourth of July, and anchored at the iſle of Iguana, to ſee and get us ſome water, not daring to go and get us any on the continent that was guarded with four thouſand men: but after we had cruiſed in ſome places, and found that the water was brackiſh, we reſolved, rather than we would die for thirſt, to make a deſcent with two hundred men on the terra firma, in order to procure us ſome in ſpight of the Spaniards, whom we found about an hundred paces from the ſea-ſide lying upon the graſs, and, after a ſhort fight, put them to flight, ſeeing we were a people would hazard all for a ſmall matter: this being over, we preſently filled ſome caſks with water, and re-imbarked again.

Or

Digitized by Google

On the ſeventh we weighed anchor, and ſailed for the King's Iſles, and on the ninth anchored at Morne a Puercos, fourteen leagues to leeward of the iſland Iguana, to take in more water, there being nobody there to oppoſe us: we departed on the tenth with a favourable weſt-wind, and that day one of our wounded men died. On the thirteenth we diſcovered an iſland called Galera, which is to leeward of all the King's Iſlands; and on the fourteenth we began to perceive the currents that reign all the year round between thoſe iſlands, which made us put farther off to ſea. On the fifteenth we had a north-weſt wind, a freſh gale which brought us near land, and three days after, which was the eighteenth, we diſcovered cape Pin, and kept all day at the cape, for fear of being diſcovered by the inhabitants of thoſe many iſlands that were round about us.

On the twenty-firſt in the evening, we went on board our canoes, and landed at midnight, but, for all the precaution we had taken, we were diſcovered by the people that were fiſhing for oyſter-pearls, which are to be found in great numbers, ſticking to the bottom of the rocks that are round about theſe iſlands: on the twenty-ſecond in the evening we diſcovered, from one of theſe iſlands where we had made a deſcent, a ſhip under ſail, to whom we gave chace, and came up with her two hours before daylight, whom, without any more ado, we boarded, and made ourſelves maſters of her: the men on board told us, the inhabitants of Panama did not think we were ſo near, and that, as we had come from the taking of Villia, they believed we had choſe rather to have gone and wintered at St. John's iſland, where they thought ſtill we had built a fort, grounding their perſuaſions upon thoſe ſhams, I have before obſerved, we had formerly made, and ſtill did, as we found occaſion. They told us alſo that ſix and thirty Engliſh

and

and French were come from Peru in a bark, with an intention to paſs by the way of the river Boca del Chica to the North-ſea, but that the Spaniards, having intelligence thereof from the Indians, with whom they had made peace, ſince they had granted us paſſage through their country by that ſame river into the South-ſea, went out to meet them in great numbers, had defeated the greateſt party, and brought one priſoner to Panama: moreover, that two Engliſh parties conſiſting of forty men each, having an intention to paſs from the North to the South-ſea, had been all of them maſſacred but four, who were ſtill priſoners at Panama; and, laſtly, that there was a bark in the river of Boca del Chica, that tarried for eight hundred pounds in gold, dug up in the neighbouring mines, in order to carry it to Panama.

On the ſame day we returned on board our ſhips, and found them at anchor by the greateſt of the King's Iſlands, and ordered our carpenters to make an half galley of the bark we had taken on the twenty-ſixth. We put ſome queſtions afreſh to the captain of the ſaid bark, who told us, they were in daily expectation at Panama of the arrival of two ſhips laden with meal, which were to carry alſo the pay of their ſoldiers from Lima; upon which information we ſent out our half-galley, which was now finiſhed, to ſcout without the iſlands. On the thirtieth we departed with our canoes, and went aſhore upon one of theſe iſlands, where we ſurprized a perſon that was come from Panama, whoſe maſter was captain of thoſe Greek periaugues, whereof we had formerly ſpoken, who came on purpoſe thither to be taken, to the end he might endeavour by artificial ways to lead us into a ſnare, of which I am ready to give an account. This man immediately pretended a great deal of ſincerity, in telling us ſeveral things, which he

he knew we were not ignorant of, and ſome others, which we could not quickly and eaſily come to know; and among the reſt, that there were in the river of Seppa two merchant barks, and a periaugue with ſixty Indians on board, whom the Spaniards had armed ſince they made a peace with them; that beſides, the governor of Villia had acquainted the preſident of Panama, that one of our men, whom they had taken, had aſſured him that thirty more of us, who had not been informed of the peace and good underſtanding there was between the Indians and the Spaniards, were about to paſs from this ſea to that of the North, by the ſame way we all of us had come into the South-ſea; and that, upon this information, the preſident had ſent an hundred men into the river of Boca del Chica to wait for them: but to compaſs his deſign, which was to draw us under the forts of Panama, he told us in the laſt place, that they had a little frigate which came laden into that port, and a galley that was ſent out every evening upon the ſcout; we reſolved to take the advantage of this information, which we took to be candid and real, and not to neglect this opportunity of getting ſome veſſels for ourſelves, whereof we ſtood in great need.

On the firſt of Auguſt we ſent our galley for this purpoſe into the river of Seppa, in order to take one of the barks our captain ſpoke of, and at the ſame time we departed alſo with four canoes to go and ſeize thoſe ſhips in the port of Panama, being accompanied by our Greek intelligencer, who intended to be our guide upon this occaſion. He brought us two hours before daylight before the town, and, as the moon ſhone very bright, we ſtaid for ſome cloud to obſcure it, to facilitate our approach undiſcovered to the ſhips in the port, whereof we ſaw one already, which, to our thinking, had her

Digitized by Google

her ſails looſe: and here was the lure and ſnare to which the captain led us; but by the effect of mere chance, or rather our own good fortune, we turned away to a ſhip which we unexpectedly ſaw going out of the port, and gave her chace, believing the ſame to be the galley that uſually went out to ſcout, as we had been told: we took her without a gun-ſhot, and, upon examination of the captain who commanded her, he diſcovered unto us that the preſident of Panama had ſent us a Greek, who was to ſuffer himſelf to be taken by us, and to whom he had promiſed a very great reward, if he ſucceeded in the project he had formed of deſtroying us; that the means that had been agreed upon, to effect it, were to bring us under the forts of that town, allured with the hopes of taking thoſe ſhips there, wherewith he had amuſed us, and whereof that which ſeemed to us to have her ſails looſe was but a ſham ſhip, a piſtol-ſhot from the port, which was built upon firm land, of ſorry planks ill ſet together, in which they had ſet up maſts, and adorned her with ſome ſails: and as this was the moſt apparent object, and the firſt that offered itſelf in ſight, it was not to be queſtioned, but that we, who muſt believe the ſame to have been on the water, being deceived with the darkneſs of the night, would not have failed (being ſo greedy as we were to take her) to row up to her, where our canoes muſt infallibly run far aſhore, and that, in the time that muſt neceſſarily have been ſpent in getting them off, the Spaniards would have leiſure to fall upon us, where they did not doubt, but ſo great a number of men, as they had in ſo conſiderable a town as that was, would quickly overpower and deſtroy us.

This information, which came ſo ſeaſonably, that it ſaved us from the certain danger we were going to

to throw ourſelves into, was not ſo advantageous to our Greek captain, who being known by the captain of the bark for the ſame perſon, of whoſe treachery he had now advertiſed us, we paid him for his trouble, by ſending him to the other world, where he deſigned to have ſent us; after which we went to take the iſland of Tavoga, which had been reinhabited ſince we had left the coaſt of Panama.

From the ſecond at night to the third, we left this iſland, and went to take that of Ottoqua, which is two leagues north and ſouth from it, and which we found peopled again: we made ready on the fourth to go and join our galley, whom we had appointed to rendezvous at the iſle of Sepilla; but we found her in our paſſage with a prize ſhe had taken, being one of the barks that were in the river of Seppa, from whence, in coming out, ſhe had met with an ambuſcade that had killed her two men, and broke the arm of another.

On the fifth we ſaw five ſail between Tavoga and Panama; we preſently bore up to them, and found they were our own ſhips that had given chace to a bark come from Nata, laden with proviſion. The maſter thereof, finding he could not defend it, threw himſelf into the water, and ſwam aſhore, after he had made ſome diſcharges with his ſmall arms upon them: on the ſixth we went with our prizes to anchor at Tavoga, and from thence writ to the preſident of Panama, that, if he would not give up the five Engliſh and French priſoners he had in that place, we would cut off the heads of fifty Spaniards we had in our hands: but, hearing no news of him, on the ſeventh we weighed, and ſailed for the King's Iſlands: we anchored on the ninth to ſtop the leaks of our ſhips, and, while that was doing, we departed with our galley and four canoes for the river Boca del Chica, as well to be informed whether

whether it was true, that the Indians of Sambo had made peace with the Spaniards, as we had been assured, as to go and burn all that was built of the town called Terrible upon this fine river, that it might be a defence to a gold mine they had near. We went also to fight the hundred men, which the Greek told us lay in wait for thirty of our free-booters that were to pass into the North-sea.

On the eleventh we arrived at the mouth of the river Boca del Chica: we lay at anchor there till midnight, when we weighed, and, as the sea swelled, we suffered ourselves to be carried up the river at the pleasure of the current. About two in the morning our guide, still believing we were far from the place whither he was conducting us, made us put on a pace, which did us great harm, for, instead of going to surprize others, we were surprized ourselves; for, about a quarter of an hour after, we saw fire, but there was no going back now, for the river made a bow, from whence the rapidness of the tide coming in threw us, in spight of our teeth, upon those fires, which we came quickly to know were kindled by those hundred men we were in quest of, for they presently asked us from whence our canoes were bound, and being answered by our guide, pursuant to our order, from Panama, they asked again who was the commander, and we being long in pitching upon a Spanish name, they gave us a full volley; but two patereroe-shot, which we made at them, having forced them to quit their ground, we passed on, and anchored out of the reach of their arms, to wait for the ebb of tide, that we might get out again; for, as we could find no place to go ashore above them, for the country was full of marshes, except at the place where they were, we resolved to take them lower down, and so an hour before day-light

light we went back before their intrenchment, after we had put all our men under deck, and fired four patereroe-ſhots, wherewith we ſaluted them ſo opportunely, that we wounded them a great many men, and they made no great firing upon us.

On the twelfth we took a ſmall veſſel upon this river, wherein were three Indians; then we went aſhore, with an intention to attack the Spaniards from behind their intrenchments, which commanded the river only; but they preſently ſent out their periaugue to take ours, which made us expeditiouſly return on board our veſſels to defend them, and to alter the manner of our attack, by reſolving to go to them before their court of guard, at the foot whereof we went aſhore in ſpight of all the fire they made upon us, which laſted not long: for our patereroe and muſket-ſhot killed them a great many men, which made them quickly fly, and leave us their intrenchment, where we found a great many dead and wounded men, and took ſome priſoners, among whom there was one named Alfier: he was an Indian, who, out of a blind zeal he had for the intereſts of the Spaniards, took us for them as we were going on board our canoes, and reproached us highly; but we quickly diſabuſed my gentleman, letting the traitor know, to whom we had before been ſo kind in our paſſage by the ſame river, that we were become his enemies, ſince he was become ours, and then put him out of a condition ever to ſerve the Spaniards, or to injure us.

Thoſe whom we took priſoners informed us, that we were diſcovered at the new town la Terrible, and confirmed the account we had before of the maſſacre of the three parties already mentioned, as well thoſe who would have gone to the South-ſeas, as the other who were minded to return by the way of that river to the north. Within this intrenchment

Digitized by Google

ment we found a letter written by the preſident of Panama to a camp-maſter that commanded in the town la Terrible, which is as follows:

'When the enemy took la Villia, one of their 'men was taken, who gave us information that 'thirty men were to ſet forth by the way of the 'river Boca del Chica, to return to the North-ſea, 'as believing there was ſtill a good underſtanding 'between them and the Indians. I have ſent you 'three hundred men to defeat thoſe enemies of 'God and goodneſs; be ſure to keep upon your 'guard, be afraid of being ſurprized, and your 'men will infallibly be gainers in defeating of 'them.'

Here it may be ſaid, that the priſoners whom we took were highly uſeful to us, as well by giving us means to ſubſiſt in theſe parts, as to deliver us from a great many ambuſhes and dangers, whereinto, had it not been for them, we muſt have fallen: witneſs this ſame, where the Spaniards would have ſpared our thirty men the pains of going to the North-ſea. At laſt, when we had burnt their court of guard, we took their periaugue, with ſome pounds of gold-duſt we found there, and then went down the river: as for thoſe three Indians whom we took in the boat, we ſent them to tell their comrades that we had killed him who was with the Spaniards, but that we had given them quarter, becauſe they were not amongſt them; and this we did to endeavour to make them kind to us, and ſo diſunite and ſeparate them from the Spaniards.

Being got down on the thirteenth at noon to the mouth of the river, we met with one of our barks, whom we had ordered to come and attend us thither. Thoſe within her told us, that, while they waited there, two Indian periaugues, being deceived with the ſight of three or four Spaniſh priſoners

Digitized by Google

ers whom they had put upon the deck for that purpose, came of their own accord, and delivered themselves up into their hands, with some pounds of gold they had found there; and that one of those Indians, who bore great sway amongst his own nation, had a commission from the president of Panama to arm several periaugues, and to make war upon us: we weighed that evening to go and join our ships that were cruizing between Cape Pin and King's Islands, and there we waited for those of the Spaniards, who, we were told, were to come from Lima.

We got on board our ships on the seventeenth in the morning, and that evening, in our passage by the King's Islands, anchored to leave our bark there to be careened: our people, during our absence, had put forty prisoners ashore upon one of those islands, who accidentally happening to meet with some canoes, which the Spaniards had hid thereabouts, they made use of them to get off, and to go to Panama, to inform the governor of the course we were to take, and that the ships we had left there were but weakly manned, which induced the president to send some force to attack them: but God was pleased so to order it, that we were returned with them to the rest of our company.

On the twentieth we made ready to go to cruize about Tavoga, and that evening anchored before the port of Panama, in order to learn some news: we saw two ships in the road, whither the town canoes went, and came all along without intermission; but, not dreaming they armed them against us, we anchored on the twenty-first at Tavoga.

On the twenty-first by break of day we descried three sail just upon us, which we could not discover before, because of one of the points of the island, which kept them out of our sight, insomuch that

Digitized by Google

one of our ſhips, that had not time to weigh anchor, ſlipped her cable. As ſoon as they ſaw us make ready, they gave us ſome guns, and, as they had the weather-gage, they did not ſpare to make uſe of the advantage they had over us. We made five tacks to get to windward of them, and they could not hinder us; but they loſt the wind for want of reſolution, not daring to paſs between the iſland Tavaguilla and a rock, where there was indeed paſſage for no more than one ſhip, but we ventured it, and at laſt got the weather-gage: we fought them till noon, and knew not on which ſide the advantage lay, and, though they plied our decks very cloſe, we ſtill perſiſted to keep them clear of us, which was the occaſion that they loſt a grand opportunity of mending their tackling. We threw a great many granadoes into their biggeſt ſhip, one of which had ſo good an effect, as to ſet fire to ſome looſe powder they had, which burnt a great many men, and this brought the fight to an end ſooner than otherwiſe could have been expected: for we came up at the ſame time with the ſaid ſhip now all on fire, and boldly boarded her, where, notwithſtanding the vigorous reſiſtance they made from the ſtern, whither they had all retired, we at laſt forced them to beg for quarter, and made ourſelves maſter of the ſhip: at the ſame time one of our barks boarded one of theirs, and took it: the third that was a kind of a galley, who ſtaid to the laſt, before ſhe began to make her eſcape, as truſting to her good ſailing, ſeeing herſelf now purſued by our galley, and two periaugues, ran herſelf aſhore, where ſhe preſently ſtaved to pieces, and but very few of her crew were ſaved.

They had in their little frigate fourſcore men killed and wounded, out of an hundred and twenty that were on board: as for the bark there were no more out of ſeventy, than eighteen unhurt: neither could

could we ſee above ten or a dozen in all that ſwam aſhore from the other veſſel that was ſtaved: all their officers were either killed or wounded, and among others the captain, who received five muſquet-ſhot. He was the ſame perſon who fought ſo ſtoutly at Pueblo Nuevo, where he had received five more, and that had alſo laid an ambuſcade for us at la Villia: but this laſt engagement rid us of him, for he died ſome time after.

While we were buſy in mending the rigging of thoſe ſhips we had taken, and throwing the dead overboard, we diſcovered two ſail more come from Panama, which bore up towards us, whereupon we interrogated our priſoners, in order to know what they ſhould be: they ſaid they did not queſtion but this was the relief they ſent them: at the ſame time we bethought ourſelves of a ſtratagem to amuſe and make them believe we were taken, which was by putting up Spaniſh colours in our own ſhips, and in the prizes, with Engliſh and French ones under them: as ſoon as theſe two ſhips approached, they came up to our ſhip, who received them quite after another manner than they expected; being thus ſurprized, they fired upon us with precipitation, and made off towards the little frigate which they ſuppoſed ſtill to be theirs, who calling to them to lie by, and the others not doing it, they threw ſome granadoes into one of their barks, which ſent her to the bottom, while one of our periaugues boarded the other, wherein they found four packs of cords, but all of the ſame length, which they had made ready to tie us up with: but they reckoned their chickens before they were well hatched, and theſe ropes was the occaſion that no quarter was given to thoſe in the bark where they were found: we afterwards read the commiſſion of the captain of the little frigate, which imported he ſhould chace us as far as St. John's Iſland,

Digitized by Google

Iſland, and that, when they boarded us, they ſhould ſpare none they found upon deck, but only our ſurgeons, whom they were willing to ſave; and that troops of horſe ſhould march along the ſhore, to take care that none of us made our eſcape to land in any canoe.

On the twenty-third, as we ſailed away to go to anchor at Tavoga, we diſcovered another ſail going back to Panama, whom we chaced and took; ſhe was a ſhallop whom the preſident had ſent to fetch off our anchor, which we had not time to hale up the day before, which he came to know by the means of a canoe, who, paſſing that way, ſaw the buoy. But, for all the fatigues we had undergone in theſe adventures, we could not but ſcoff and laugh at the preſident, who had ſent us ropes to hang his men, and alſo ſent away to take this anchor, wherewith to anchor our ſhip in his port, which he believed his men would bring in: we anchored this evening at Tavoga.

We had but one man killed in all the fight, but there were twenty of us wounded, among whom was captain Townſley, who died moſt of them of their wounds: on the twenty-fourth one of our men died, and the ſame evening we ſent one of our priſoners to the preſident of Panama to carry him a letter, wherein we required his giving up the five Freebooters who were his priſoners, and to ſend us ſome medicines for (as we ſaid) the uſe of his own people, though, in truth, they were for our own; we alſo complained heavily of the little quarter they had given to the three parties whereof I have ſpoken, whom they had inhumanly maſſacred. He ſent to us that night the commander of Seppa, who ſpoke a little French, with the following letter.

Digitized by Google

The president of Panama's letter.

'Gentlemen,

'I WONDER that you, who should understand how 'to make war, should require those men of me 'that are in our custody: your rashness hath some-'thing contrary in it to the civility wherewith you 'ought to treat those people that were in your 'power: if you do not use them well, God will 'perhaps be on our side on another occasion: and, 'as for the little quarter you complain we have 'given, you see the contrary by those that have 'been in our hands for some time past: if you please 'to put our men you have in your power ashore, 'we will take care to have them cured of their 'wounds.'

We ordered the said officer to carry him our answer by word of mouth, that, if they would not send us our prisoners, we would send them the heads of all the Spaniards in our possession. On the twenty-fifth we weighed anchor, and sailed away for fear they should, for an answer, send a fireship, as they had done by the English two years before, and burn us: on the twenty-sixth in the morning we anchored at the isles of Pericos, that are not above a league distant from Panama. Towards noon we discovered a ship under sail, and sent out our galley to know what she was; it was our own long bark that was come from careening, wherein were sixty men that were not present in the fight. This day two of our wounded men died, though all of them were but slightly wounded, which is no matter of wonder, for all the Spaniards bullets were poisoned.

On the twenty-seventh in the morning came one to us from the bishop (who concerned himself much in this

Digitized by Google

this buſineſs, for he had ſtirred up the preſident to fit out ſhips againſt us) who brought us a letter, which in ſubſtance was the ſame that follows:

The biſhop of Panama's letter.

'Gentlemen,

'THOUGH the preſident of Panama hath writ to you very inconſiderately, I earneſtly deſire 'you to ſhed no more of the innocent blood of 'thoſe that are in your power, all of them having 'been engaged by conſtraint to make war againſt 'you: the preſident obeys the king's orders, who 'forbids him to reſtore any priſoners of war; I 'will do my endeavour to get the men releaſed, 'take my word, and reſt ſatisfied.

'I am to acquaint you that all the Engliſh are 'Roman Catholicks, that there is now a church at 'Jamaica, and that thoſe four that are with us, 'having changed their religion, are willing to live 'amongſt us.'

This we ſaw was only a pretence to detain our men, and this fly refuſal, together with the trouble we were in, for the loſs of thoſe who died continually of their wounds, through the violence of the poiſon that had got into them, forced us, though with reluctancy, to reſolve to ſend twenty of his people's heads to the preſident in a canoe, and ordered him to be told, that if by the twenty-eighth he did not ſend us all our men, we would ſend him the heads of all the reſt of the priſoners. I confeſs this was a violent way of proceeding, but we had no other method left us to bring the Spaniards to reaſon; and we knew them to be a people, who, without we had ſhewed this reſolution, would deſpiſe,

Digitized by Google

and be so much the more bent to ruin us in a short time, by how much the more indifferent we shewed ourselves; for they are usually no otherwise courageous, than when they believe their enemies are of a dastardly nature.

On the twenty-eighth, betimes in the morning, came a person on board, who brought us our five men, whereof four were English, and the other a French man, together with some refreshments for the wounded men, and a letter to this purpose:

The president of Panama's letter.

'I SEND you all the prisoners I had in my power, and, if there had been more, you should have had them delivered: but, as for those that are in your custody, I will leave that to be managed according to your own honesty and the practice of war.'

Hereupon we sent him a dozen of the most wounded amongst their men, and writ to him the following letter:

A letter for the president of Panama.

'HAD you used us in this manner when we sent to you for the releasement of our five men whom you sent us, you would have saved the lives of those wretches, whose heads we have sent you, and whose death you have been the occasion of: we give you a dozen men by way of exchange, and require twenty thousand pieces of eight for the ransom of those that are still behind: but, in default thereof, we shall put them out of condition to send us poisoned bullets again; which is so manifest a contravention of the laws and maxims

'of a juſt war, that if we were minded to puniſh 'according to the rigour of thoſe rules preſcribed 'thereby, we ſhould not have given one man of 'them quarter.'

Our five men, whom the Spaniards gave up to us, farther confirmed us in the account we had of the maſſacring of the three fore mentioned parties in the river of Boca del Chica, whereof they themſelves were eye-witneſſes. About twelve a clock of the ſame day, which was the twenty-eighth, we weighed, and anchored again at Tavoga to take in water: and whilſt matters were concluded on between the Spaniards and us, in reſpect to the ranſoming of their people, we required they ſhould come to a treaty with us, which they conſented to, and ſent us daily divers canoes full of merchandize and other refreſhments, all which we had dog-cheap of them, except meal, biſket, meat, and other proviſions which they kept back, the reaſon whereof might be eaſily gueſſed at.

On the twenty-ninth their meſſenger returned, who gave us an account that he had been about the city to get the ranſom, and that they had not got above ſix thouſand pieces of eight together; but, as we were eager to be gone, we told them they muſt ſend us ten thouſand pieces of eight, or elſe we would go into the city to fetch them. The effect of this bluſtering was, that on the firſt of November came a canoe to tell us that a bark would bring us next day the ſum we demanded; and on the ſecond two of our men died.

As we ſaw nothing coming from Panama, we made ready and entered into the port, and when we had hung out our main flag, we fired a gun; they anſwered our ſignal by putting up a white flag upon one of the baſtions of the fort, to give us

Digitized by Google

notice that the money was not yet ready, which made us put out again, and lie all night at the cape before the mouth of the port. Next day came to us a knight of Malta in a bark, wherein he brought us ten thouſand pieces of eight, and received the priſoners from us. On the fifth we anchored at Ottoqua, in order to victual our ſhips; on the ſeventh two of our men died.

On the eighth, the Indians who had been our guides in our paſſage from the North to the South ſea, and who kept cloſe with us ever ſince, were taken or murdered by the Spaniards upon this iſland of Ottoqua, in revenge for the ſervice they had done us: on the eighth in the morning we put fifty men aſhore, to ſee if they could find the place whereunto the Spaniards had withdrawn themſelves, whom we could not find in their habitations, that we might know what they had done with thoſe Indians; but we could find nothing, ſave their money and baggage, which they had hid in a vault.

The ſame day at noon captain Townſley died of his wounds: we threw his body into the ſea, according to his deſire, with ſuch ceremonies as are uſual upon theſe occaſions: on the tenth we weighed, and came to an anchor at King's Iſlands, and two days after died one of our wounded men. On the ſeventeenth we put out with the little frigate and long bark, to ſail to the port of Panama, to ſee whether they had any ſhips there that might come to inſult us, while our veſſels were a careening. We had a N. W. wind, ſo that we could not reach the iſles of Pericos before the tenth, when we found ourſelves under the forts of that town. We furled our low ſails, and, as the Spaniards ſaw us bring to, they gave us three guns, after they put up Burgundian colours upon the windward baſtion: but when we underſtood there was no ſhip in that place whereof

Digitized by Google

whereof we might be afraid, we went out a cruizing between Favega and Sippilla, we being reſolved to watch thoſe two ſhips that were to come from Lima, and in the mean time we ſent one of our periaugues to bid our men careen the veſſels with all expedition, and that they need fear no danger from Panama We had very bad weather in this channel; it blew round all the points of the compaſs with ſuch violent whirlwinds, that the ſea grew very boiſterous: but, on the twenty-eighth, the weather proving more moderate, we diſcovered a ſhip ſailing all along the coaſt of the main land, after which we ſent two periaugues in chace: ſhe would have entered into the port of Panama, but they firing upon her from the fort, as believing ſhe was one of our ſhips, ſhe paſſed by, and our periaugues took her: ſhe came from Nato, and was laden with proviſions and ſugars, which ſhe was carrying to our enemies, who had the charity to put her back to us.

On the eleventh, being not able to ſee any thing of what we waited for, we ſailed for the King's Iſlands, and, as the moon ſhone bright, we found the currents very ſtrong there alſo, which obliged us to anchor in the channel, with all the tides contrary to us, from twenty to forty fathom water: we arrived on the ſixteenth at the iſland where our ſhips were careening, and found them all ready done.

The ſea round about theſe King's Iſlands, whereof I have ſpoken ſo much, is full of a great many very large whales, who are infeſted by a fiſh they call eſpadon, that aſſaults them continually with a kind of fiſh-bone, like unto a ſabre, faſtened to their heads; and this makes thoſe monſtrous animals to give ſuch leaps and rebounds, that they raiſe themſelves continually above the water: but to return from a great fiſh to a ſmall one, I ſhall ſay, that, beſides pearl-oyſters, which are to be found in thoſe

Digitized by Google

parts in great numbers, there are alſo others that are exceeding good, and ſo large that they are forced to cut them into four parts to eat them, and they are, when roaſted; exceeding white.

We departed on the eighteenth, and ſailed for thoſe iſlands that are in the main, where we came to an anchor on the nineteenth in the morning, and on the twentieth put out with our galley and two periaugues to go to a ſugar-plantation which ſtands two leagues to leeward of Panama, giving orders at the ſame time to our ſhips to come and anchor there three days after us. We poſſeſſed ourſelves of the ſaid plantation, and ſeized all the people belonging thereto, who told us there was a courier come from Chiriquita to Panama, who reported he had ſeen two ſhips, and as many barks, belonging to the Free-booters, anchor at the port of that town, who came for proviſion there, wherewith we were ſomewhat ſurprized, and could hardly believe thoſe Free-booters would have left ſo good a coaſt as that of Peru was (whither we knew they were gone) to come thither, which is much worſe; which difference ariſes from no other than the abundance and quality of the proviſions that the former produceth, whereof I ſhall give you an account hereafter: we were alſo informed by theſe priſoners, as it was very true, that a galley, which we knew well enough was in building at Panama, was finiſhed, that ſhe carried fifty-two oars, five pieces of cannon, and forty patereroes; that there were, what with thoſe come from Carthagena and Porto Bello, five hundred men come to go on board her and two periaugues, and that they watched the opportunity of our paſſing before their port, as we had uſed to do, to the end they might put out in the night, and ſurprize us during the abſence of our other ſhips, whom they ſuppoſed to be ſtill a careening. On the twenty-fourth we anchored

at

at Ottoqua, to gather mace and rice that were ſtill ſtanding on the ground; and next day being apprehenſive, according to the report of our priſoners, that there might be free-booters at Chiriquita, we ſent a bark thither, to give them notice, if ſhe found it to be really ſo, that we would come up to them as ſoon as we had taken in ſome proviſions along the coaſt: we put nineteen priſoners on the twenty-ninth aſhore, and made ready to depart with an eaſterly wind: we were got, on the thirtieth in the morning, over-againſt the bay of La Villia; we ſtraitened our round top, being afraid to come by it: we embarked in the evening on our canoes, and on the thirty-firſt at midnight went aſhore. We were quickly diſcovered by a party that went the rounds, which made us uſe all the diligence imaginable in order to get into the town, before they had time to make themſelves ready: but our guide having led us out of the way, another party making the round paſſed by, who no ſooner ſaw us, but they made all the haſte they could to get away, yet we fired upon them preſently, which diſmounted three of them, and one we took priſoner, who told us we were ſtill three leagues diſtant from La Villia, and that we were gone out of our way, that all the people there were at their arms, and that they had had a reinforcement of ſix hundred men ſent them from Panama. Upon this information we ſtopped ſhort, and were forced to return back again, becauſe we knew very well that we were diſcovered, and that ſo we loſt all our labour. Before we went on board, we went to eat to an Eſtantia that was half a league off from the ſea-ſide, from whence the Spaniards brought us back, by charging our rear from time to time, till that we had rejoined our canoes, whereon when we had reimbarked, we found ourſelves ſo weary and fatigued, that we deferred till next day to go and join our ſhip; and this being

perceived by the Spaniards, they fired ſo furiouſly upon us, that we were conſtrained to go and lie at anchor farther from the ſhore.

On the ſecond of November we rejoined our ſhips that were cruizing in that bay. In the evening we anchored between the iſland of Iguana and the continent over-againſt ſome hatto's we ſaw there, with a deſign to go and ſee for ſome proviſion; to which end we went aſhore on the third at noon, where we found the Spaniards got together, with whom we fought for half an hour; they killed us one man, and wounded another: but they could not hinder us to go to the next hatto, where we found no ſort of cattle, for the Spaniards had carried away and drove them before them; here we lay this night; but the Spaniards being unwilling to let us have any reſt, we were forced at midnight to march out againſt them, and made them quit the field to us.

On the fourth we returned on board our veſſels, having brought only ſome little refreſhments along with us to our wounded men; and that evening ſailed away with a weſt wind, keeping out to ſea to the fifth at noon, when we returned to land; at midnight we ſteered S. S. E. as near the wind as we could till the ſixth, that we were brought back to the ſhore; about the middle of the following night we diſcovered a veſſel under ſail, and joined her: it was the bark that we had ſent to Chiriquita, who meeting with very bad weather, was conſtrained to put back under the morn or cape of Puercos. On the ſeventh, being not able to double the morn, becauſe of the contrary weſt winds, we ſent our galley to Chiriquita, inſtead of our bark; we could not double the morn bfore the twelfth: and we had a blaſt of wind on the night, that, in itſelf, was favourable enough for our courſe, but the currents carried us ſo to leeward, that we were ſtill on the

thirteenth

Digitized by Google

thirteenth ſix leagues to leeward of the morn We ſteered W. N. W. bearing upon the Iſle of Tygers, the which ſtands ſix leagues N. and S. from the continent, between the river of St. James and this morn or cape of Puercos: on the fourteenth at night we were apprehenſive, leſt we ſhould be drove too near the ſhore.

On the ſixteenth we arrived at St. John's iſland, where we met with our galley returned from Chiriquita, having found nothing of what ſhe ſought for in that place; which ſtill increaſed the ſuſpicion we had already entertained, that the preſident of Panama had cauſed a falſe report to be ſpread abroad, that ſome free-booters had been there, that ſo he might get us to quit his port, and make way, by our abſence, for thoſe ſhips that were expected from Peru to enter into Panama; and this ſo much the more heightened our courage, in that we came to underſtand, one day after another, the cowardice and daſtardly nature of this proud nation, who, with her three-decked ſhips, mounted each of them with eighteen pieces of cannon, and having four hundred men on board, were afraid of pitiful barks, who had but four guns and ſome patereroes in all, with which, however, we waited for them.

On the eighteenth we brought our gallies and canoes aſhore, in order to clean them; two days after we departed, with an intention to take ſome priſoners, from whom we might obtain certain intelligence of the truth or falſhood of any free-booters having been at Chiriquita, for they might have been gone before we had ſent thither, and, upon our departure, we appointed our ſhips to rendezvous at the iſle of St. Peter, there to tarry till we returned. On the morning of the twenty-fourth we went aſhore two leagues to the leeward of the river Pueblo Nuevo, where, after we had travelled till about four in the

Digitized by Google

afternoon, to diſcover ſome houſes, we ſaw two horſemen, one of whom we diſmounted, but he made his eſcape, and took the other, of whom we aſked where we were; and being informed that there was, about half a league from thence, a borough called St. Lorenzo, we went that way, and arrived there in the twilight: here we took a great many priſoners, who told us they had heard of no free-booters from the time we had taken Chiriquita, which now fully confirmed us in a belief of the amuſement the preſident of Panama had entertained us with: on the twenty-ſixth we returned to the ſea-ſide with our priſoners, and diſcovered our ſhips that were ſailing to the place of rendezvous, to whom we ſent a canoe, to give them notice to come and anchor at an iſland which is over-againſt, and three quarters of a league diſtant from the port of St. Lorenzo.

This borough ſtands a league and a half within land, and is, in my opinion, no more than a village; it is inhabited partly with Spaniards, and partly Indians, who, as I have already ſaid, have been reduced by degrees, and ſubmitted themſelves to the Spaniards: it is a very open country, and a man is ſo far from being ſure of what place he is in, that he would believe himſelf to be at Chiriquita, when here, ſo like is the one to the other, as well in reſpect to the borough and places adjacent, as for the courſe and diſpoſition of the rivers wherewith it is watered.

On the twenty-ſixth in the evening we went on board our ſhips with our priſoners, and agreed with them upon what quantity of proviſion they were to give us for their ranſom; on the twenty-ſeventh we ſent the father or curate of the place aſhore, to diſpatch the ſending of it: on the twenty-eighth the Engliſh, who made part of our fleet, deſired us to come together, in order

order to make a diviſion of the ſhips and artillery we had taken, as being deſirous to be in a ſhip by themſelves, which was preſently done. On the firſt of December we ſent a canoe to the continent, and the men that were in her told us, they had ſeen a troop of horſe who threatened them at a diſtance with their cutlaſſes, which made us at night, to the number of a hundred men, go aſhore to ſee them: on the ſecond we waited for them in their town of St. Lorenzo, but, no body appearing, we burnt it. As ſoon as the Spaniards ſaw the fire, the commander of the place came to offer us a ſum of money for the ranſom of the priſoners, which we refuſed, becauſe we had much more need of proviſion: we told them, if they did not ſend us the ſame, purſuant to the agreement we had already made with their people, they ſhould have no more to do than to ſend for their heads away from the iſland. In the ſaid commander's houſe we found the following letter writ by the tenient of Chiriquita:

A letter from the tenient of Chiriquita to the commander of the town of St. Lorenzo.

'SIR,

'I HAVE ſent you, by way of reinforcement, all the men which I could get together: uſe your endeavours to take one or other of the enemy, to the end we may know what they deſign to do, about which our generals are mightily concerned: order the cattle to be drove away from the ſea-ſide, and put them into a place fit to lay an ambuſcade, to the end that the enemy, ſevering from one another, according to their uſual manner, in order to kill them, it may be ſo much the more eaſy for you to ſecure ſome one of them: but, if you cannot do that, lay an ambuſcade at a place where

'you

Digitized by Google

'you think they will put our priſoners aſhore, and 'let them ſhew you thoſe perſons whom they have 'obſerved to be moſt reſpected on ſhip-board; ſo 'that, if God gives us the advantage over them, 'do not you cut them off, but ſend them to me; 'eſpecially interrogate the women, that you may 'know whether they have met with ſome weak fel-'low that hath made any diſcovery unto them.'

This letter made us keep more upon our guard than otherwiſe we would have done, and we returned on board our ſhip that evening: on the third we went in a canoe aſhore, to ſee whether they had brought the proviſion agreed upon for the ranſom of their people, but, inſtead of that, we ſaw them buſy in raiſing an intrenchment near the place where they expected we ſhould make our deſcent, which gave us to underſtand they purſued the orders preſcribed to them by the foreſaid letter. On the fourth we put thoſe priſoners aſhore upon the iſland where we had anchored, and left them there, without any further expecting of their ranſom, that ſo we might ſecure ourſelves againſt that ambuſcade whereinto we muſt have fallen, had we ſent them to the ſame place where we took them.

In the evening we weighed and ſailed for the bay of Boca del Toro, with an eaſterly breeze that put us forward: on the fifth we doubled the point of Porica, which is ten leagues to leeward of that bay; at the height whereof we were becalmed till the tenth; when, towards evening, a ſmall wind blowing from the ſea aroſe, which brought us to the mouth of the bay: but the ſame was followed by ſo terrible a tempeſt, that our ſhip lay for an hour in ſuch a manner, that ſhe was under water as far as her great ſcuttle; and what amazed us was, that our ropes, ſheets, and clulings were cut ſo cleverly,

as

Digitized by Google

as if the ſame had been done with an hatchet: however, this tearing of our rigging ſerved us in good ſtead, for, had it not been for that, we had quickly gone to be meat for fiſhes; for our ſails, being held by no other than the wind and arms alone, the ſail-yards, yet ſtretched themſelves out along the maſts, and our ſhip, by little and little, happily recovered herſelf: the wind was allayed in the duſk of the evening by a great deal of rain that fell, wherewith we were becalmed; and on the eleventh we had a ſoutherly wind, which brought us to an anchor in the bottom of the bay.

The mouth of this bay of Boca del Toro is about four or five leagues in extent from one point to another, and eight in depth. If you would enter into it with ſafety, you muſt keep the whip of your rudder to ſtarboard, becauſe it is dangerous to keep to the eaſt ſide. Here is good anchorage every-where, and alſo a covert; one may anchor in the bottom of the bay within piſtol ſhot of land.

There are four iſlands contained in it, that ſtand very near unto the main land to the eaſt and north-eaſt; but it is not ſafe to lie near them, becauſe of the many rocks that are there. Several fine rivers diſcharge themſelves into it, and lead us up them to divers Indian carbets, who have neither peace, nor are in amity with any people whatſoever, no more than thoſe whom I have mentioned when I ſpoke of cape la Vella and Boca del Drago; which yet does not hinder the Spaniards from paſſing their caravans through the midſt of their country, when they come from Coſta Rica to Panama: but then they muſt be very well guarded; and the great road, through which they paſs, is not above ſix leagues from the ſea-ſide.

On the twelfth we went to find out trees fit both to make canoes of for carrying our water, and canoes of

Digitized by Google

of war: on the twenty-fifth, being Chriſtmas day, after we had, according to cuſtom, ſaid our prayers in the night, one of our quarter-maſters being gone aſhore, in order to take care about our eating ſome victuals (for our ſhips being a careening, all our proviſions were then put out) one of our priſoners, who ſerved us as cook, ſtabbed him with a knife in ſix ſeveral places, wherewith crying out, he was preſently relieved, and the aſſaſſin puniſhed with death.

CHAP. IV.

The Free-booters voyage to the South-ſeas in 1687.

ON the firſt of January, 1687, our canoes being ready, we left this bay and ſailed for that of Caldaira, that we might victual there, and make an end of careening our ſhips: we left them there on the ſecond, after we had given orders to thoſe who had the charge of them, to come and join us in the bay, and we embarked two hundred men in our canoes, to croſs over to la Cagna, which is a ſmall iſland very inconvenient to draw near to, and ſtands about a league north and ſouth from the main land, between Boca del Toro and Caldaira. We were ſix days in our paſſage before we could get thither, having only put forward in the night, for fear of being diſcovered: being come on the ſixth at night into the bay, our guide made us put in under a covert, and told us that, to prevent our being diſcovered, we ſhould go aſhore in that place; which we had no ſooner done, but we were conducted into a mariſh, in the ſoundeſt places whereof we ſunk in the mud to the very middle, inſomuch that five of our men, of whom we could ſee no more than their heads, did not give us a ſmall trouble to pull them out with cords we made faſt to mangles, which are trees of that

Digitized by Google

that name growing in this mariſh: ſo that, not knowing how we ſhould be able to free ourſelves from this wretched place, we lifted up our guide to the top of a tree, to endeavour, by the help of moonlight, to diſcover how far we might be from ſound land: but he, finding himſelf now at liberty, ſkipped like a monkey from tree to tree, and railed all the while at us, who could neither ſee him, nor do any more than threaten him, which I believe he little mattered. We ſpent the reſt of the night in making about an hundred ſteps in this ſweet place, where we exactly went the rounds, and from whence we could not come out till break of day, and not then neither, without being bedaubed all over from top to toe, and having our arms laden with mud. When we were in a condition to reflect a little upon ourſelves, and that we ſaw two hundred men in the ſame habit, and ſo curiouſly equipped, there was not one of us who forgot not his toil, to laugh at the poſture he found both himſelf and the reſt in. At length, after having inveighed againſt our guide who had ſo cunningly ſaved himſelf when he ſaw us ſtuck faſt in the mire, we went into our canoes again, where we cleaned ourſelves as well as we could, as we did alſo our arms, and, after having left our covert, we met with a very pretty river, whereinto we entered, and went up it about two leagues, where we landed at an intrenchment. There we found the remains of the two ſhips which the Spaniards had burnt, when an Engliſh free-booter, whoſe name was Betſharp, came to careen in this bay, which made us ſuppoſe, according to the relation that had been given us concerning it, that it was the embarking place belonging to Nicoya. We followed the road we found there, and marching about two leagues, at the end of them we entered, by the help of the barking

Digitized by Google

ing of the dogs, into a borough called Sancta Catalina, where we took all the inhabitants priſoners. Now as we were informed by them there, that there was no more than three leagues to Nicoya, we mounted ſixty men on horſeback, in order to go thither; but we met half way with horſemen, whom we could not reach, and who, returning back with full ſpeed, gave the inhabitants notice of our march towards them, inſomuch that, by the time we got thither, they had already hid all their effects, and were expecting our coming upon the place of arms, from whence we drove them, after we had ſuſtained their firſt diſcharge, with which they neither killed nor wounded one of our men. While we were gathering what proviſion we could together, we ſent out ſmall parties into the neighbouring places, who brought us ſome money, and, among other things, the governor's plate and all his moveables.

On the eighth we left the town, and went to rejoin our people at Sancta Catalina, where we ſtaid the remainder of that day: at night came two of the enemy's centinels thither, one of whom we killed; for they, not knowing we were in the town, were come to give the Spaniards notice that they ſaw three ſail of ſhips enter into the bay, and that they were enemies: but this intelligence came too late. On the ninth we left this place to go join our canoes again, on which being embarked, we left one of our priſoners aſhore to go and raiſe the ranſom of thoſe we carried along with us; and, on the tenth, we got on board our ſhips that lay at anchor in the bay. We had found among the governor of Nicoya's papers three letters, which were theſe that follow.

The

Digitized by Google

The governor, or general of the province of Coſta Rica his letter to the preſident of Panama, dated May 2d, 1686.

'SIR,

'THIS letter is to let you know of the taking of our dear town of Granada by pirates on the tenth of the laſt month: they came aſhore at a place where we had no centinels, we ſuppoſing there was no occaſion for it, becauſe the ſea is ſo high there; they paſſed on croſs a wood like ſo many wild beaſts: we had the good fortune to have notice of it by our fiſhermen, though we were already upon our guard ever ſince the news we had concerning them from Leſparſo and Nicoya. They lay on the ninth at the fine houſe of don Diego Ravalo, knight of St. James; we were very well prepared to receive them, but the way of fighting practiſed by theſe men did ſo much aſtoniſh ours, that we could not make that reſiſtance we had promiſed ourſelves we ſhould do. They fell on briſkly, ſinging and dancing, as if they had been going to a feaſt; at length, after we had been fought bravely by them, they won the place of arms, with the loſs of thirty of their men, according to the eſtimate of don Antonio de Fortuna, a perſon of good experience in war, who came to us ſome months before. We are alſo of opinion that they have loſt their general, for we ſaw a man, that diſtinguiſhed himſelf from the reſt by his habit, fall.

'After they had ſtaid for the ſpace of four days in our fort, they ſent to require us to ranſom the town and priſoners they had taken; but, we being not very forward to return an anſwer to their propoſal, they burnt it, and went their ways.

'Seignior

'Seignior don John de Caſtilla, ſerjeant-major, 'went out to obſerve them with his men; but, not 'knowing they took away our artillery, he attacked 'theſe enemies of God and goodneſs about a mile 'from the town; but they, being reſolved to make 'their way through, or to die upon the ſpot, ſlew 'ſo great a number of his men, that the reſt fled, 'and left their commander alone.

'We have taken one of their men, who told us 'they came to our province upon no other deſign 'than to know the ſtrength of it, though it is not 'to be doubted, if they had found our veſſels at 'anchor, but they would have made uſe of them 'to paſs by the way of our lake, to the North-ſea, 'and have abandoned their comrades, who looked 'after their ſhips, and their way would have been 'infallibly by Carthage. Monſieur, the governor, 'takes his meaſures thereupon, and continues to for-'tify his retrenchment. I ſhall give you a more 'ample account of this buſineſs by the firſt ca-'ravan.'

The preſident of Panama's letter to the governor of Coſta Rica.

'SIR,

'THIS is to give you notice of the advices I have 'received from Carthagena, by the way of 'Puerto Bello. The king of France, ſuppoſing 'he had received ſome affront from our nation, ſent 'eighty ſail of all ſorts before Calix, to demand 'contribution; and, ſeeing there was ſo vaſt an in-'equality of force upon this occaſion, we agreed to 'give him half a million to withdraw his ſhips, 'and return to their ports.

'You know that my lord biſhop, on the twenty-'ſecond of Auguſt, forced me to ſend out three 'ſhips

Digitized by Google

ſhips to fight the pirates, that continued ſtill before our port, and took all the barks and canoes that were coming on. Our ſhips ſurprized them at break of day, which made one of the pirates ſlip his cable; and this was done, not for to fly away, but through the ſkill of the commander. I ſaw the flight from my ramparts, the honour whereof I thought infallibly to have appertained unto us. Having ſeen them draw near the ſhore, I ſent a ſhallop to bring away the anchor of that veſſel that had ſlipped her cable, in order to faſten her in our port. As ſoon as ever I ſaw them ungrappled, I diſpatched away two long barks, or gallies, to go and learn the news, and to bring thoſe of the enemy that ſurvived before me, though my orders were, that no quarter ſhould be given to any that were found upon deck, to the end we might rid the world of theſe enemies of God and his Saints, who prophane his churches and deſtroy his ſervants. In the evening they ſent one of our men to require me to give up five men of theirs, that I had priſoners in my town, and, as my prince forbad me to do ſo, I refuſed it: but theſe new Turks ſent me twenty heads, and I bethought myſelf, that, for the preventing of the ſlaughter of ſo many Chriſtians, I ought to ſend them their men, with ten thouſand pieces of eight, for the ranſom of ninety of our people, that were almoſt all wounded, which they ſent us, out of three hundred and thirty they had taken with them. Thus you ſee how God is pleaſed to afflict us on all ſides, let us take all for the ſake of his ſufferings for us.'

The

The tenient of Sanſonat's letter to the preſident of Panama.

'CAptain Francis Grognet is ſeparated from his 'fleet at Realeguo, and gone aſhore with an 'hundred and fifty men upon the iſles of Napalla: 'we took three of their men, who told us, that 'thoſe of them, that were gone up towards Pa'nama, had a deſign to return to the North-ſea. 'The peace we have made with the Indians will do 'us more hurt than good: we were concerned, at 'leaſt, to obſerve their motion, and ſtop at that paſ'ſage. Thoſe people, ſeeing no place whereunto 'to retire, became as ſo many enraged dogs: we 'had no need of that, for wherever theſe irreligious 'wretches ſet their feet on land, they always win 'the victory. If you pleaſe, let them have free 'paſſage, that we may be at reſt; they came ten or 'a dozen times aſhore, without knowing what they 'wanted. Send us a man who underſtands the way 'of ſea-fighting, for I am of opinion they will never 'be able to get off from theſe iſlands, and ſo it 'will be convenient to go and take them there.'

On the twelfth, as we ſaw no ranſom come, we ſet out to go ourſelves to Nicoya to fetch it, where we arrived next day; we ſent out ſeveral parties alſo in ſearch of ſome victuals, which the people had hid, and ſent one to treat with them about the ranſoming of their town. The tenient told us the governor was gone for relief to Coſta Rica, and that he had no orders to pay any ranſom, farther than what had been agreed on for the priſoners, which was all ready, and that he would not have us be impatient, if we received not the ſame as ſoon as we deſired it, becauſe they having no canoes whereby to

Google

to ſend the money to us by ſea, which might have been done in half a day's time (the paſſage was ſo ſhort that way) had been obliged to have it carried on mules backs by land, which was four days journey. When we had received this anſwer, we ſent again to tell him that our intention was to have been gone next day; but that, however, ſeeing he waited in expectation of ſuccours, we would wait alſo; but, at length, growing impatient that things were ſo long retarded, we went our ways on the ſeventeenth.

Two days after, being the nineteenth, they came to the ſea-ſide, over-againſt the place where our veſſels lay at anchor, and brought us the ranſom they had promiſed for the priſoners, whom we ſent aſhore at the ſame time. We gave them a letter which we writ to the governor, wherein we ſent him word, if he would let us know when his reinforcement came, we ſhould not fail to attend him and that, in the mean time, if he did not ſend us ſo many horſe-load of biſcuit and mace, as we required of him, for the ranſom of the town, he might aſſure himſelf we ſhould go and burn it.

On the twentieth we weighed anchor, and went to one of the iſlands in this bay to careen our veſſels. On the twenty-ſecond we went off in our canoe, leaving no more men with our ſhips than were neceſſary to careen them, and ſought out ſome hatto's, where we might get neceſſary ſubſiſtence, to the end we might lay by, and keep in ſtore thoſe proviſions we had got together on board, and whereof we ſhould have occaſion in the execution of an enterprize we had formed upon the town of Queaquilla. On the twenty-ſecond, at night, we went aſhore at Caldaira, where we were diſcovered by the centinels, who, as they made their eſcapes, ſet fire unto the Savanas, in order to ſtop our paſſage; however, this did not hinder

Digitized by Google

hinder us to reach the little town of Leſparſo, which had been almoſt intirely abandoned ſince the time of our being there before.

On the twenty-third we had the curioſity, or rather humour, to purſue the firſt road that offered itſelf to our view at our departure; and, after we had marched about a league on, we diſcovered about two hundred horſe upon our flank and in our rear: a Spaniard, who was advanced before the reſt, made a thouſand mouths at us, and reviled us as much, which gave us an occaſion to hide five of our men that were behind the reſt, in the graſs, that was exceeding high upon both ſides of the way, and leave our main body to march on; ſo that when our Spaniard, who ſtill followed our people, went to paſs forwards, he was quickly diſmounted, and we made him make a grimace in good earneſt: we queſtioned him according to our uſual ceremony, that is to ſay, by putting him on the rack, about the place where we were: he told us we were on the highway of Carthage, and that all places were quite forſaken from thence to this town, which was no leſs than twenty-ſeven leagues, out of an apprehenſion his country had, leſt we ſhould go and force them to grant us paſſage to the North-ſea, as their chief officers had cauſed it to be reported among them. He alſo gave us information, that they had four hundred men making their rounds, whereof the two hundred we ſaw were of that number, being detached to obſerve the time of our landing, that ſo they might retire to a ſtrong retrenchment they had ſix leagues on this ſide the town, for to beat us back, in caſe we made that way. Being thus pre-admoniſhed, we thought it not convenient to go any further, our deſign being no other than to know the country, and to get us ſome victuals; ſo we returned to Leſparſo, and on the twenty-fourth rejoined our canoes.

On

Digitized by Google

On the twenty-ſixth we went aſhore, under the guidance of our new priſoner, who brought us to a ſugar-plantation, where we divided into two companies to go to two hatto's, and took all the people we could meet with there, who informed us, that ſeveral other hatto's, and ſugar-plantations in the neighbourhood, had all together ſet out two hundred armed men, who were gone in the evening to beat back the crew of three of the enemy's canoes that had landed at Colebra, where they had killed and wounded divers Spaniards. We preſently imagined it muſt have been captain Grognet that was come up that coaſt, and therein we were not miſtaken; we immediately returned back to the ſea-ſide, to go with our canoes to meet him, and in our way heard the noiſe of ſeveral cannon-ſhot and ſmall arms, towards the place where we had left our ſhip careening, which made us double our pace, and reimbark in our canoes.

As ſoon as we were got on board our ſhips, we found captain Grognet, with three canoes there, who, with his crew, had been conducted to the ſaid place by one of our canoes, whom they had fortunately met in croſſing this bay; and the firing we had heard was made by the one and the other, for joy of their meeting together.

Grognet told us, that he came up this coaſt with an intention to find out an uninhabited place, to the end he might land without oppoſition, and to fetch a compaſs croſs the country to get to the North-ſea. We laid the danger whereunto he muſt neceſſarily expoſe ſo ſmall a number of men before him (they being no more than ſixty in all) that if he were reſolved to undertake ſo dangerous an enterprize, it were better he would ſtay with us until we found a favourable opportunity to repaſs together to that ſea, as being better able conjointly to ſurmount thoſe dif-

Digitized by Google

ficulties which we might be expoſed to thereby. Being overcome with our reaſons, he ſtaid with us; and after we had given him an account of the adventures we had had ſince our ſeparation from him, he alſo, in his turn, entertained us with a recital of his, and told us, he had made ſeveral deſcents in the bay of Napalla with various ſucceſs, and that, among other things, in one of thoſe deſcents, the Spaniards had taken three of his men, who had been exchanged ſome time after for other priſoners. But that the Spaniards had ſo far corrupted thoſe three men with the fine promiſes they made them, while they were in their cuſtody, that, upon their return, they inſinuated into their comrades, in order to betray them, a deſign of going to a very conſiderable gold mine, which was fourteen leagues off from the ſea-ſide, and as many from Tinſigal, and that, being prepoſſeſſed of making their fortunes there, they had left the iſland where they were, to the number of an hundred and twelve men, and went aſhore upon the continent, with an intention to go to that mine, under the guidance of the priſoners, who knew the way, and towards which they journied only in the night-time, for fear of being diſcovered; that thoſe three men who had been exchanged, and ſold their friends to the Spaniards, pretended they were weary, and had occaſion to reſt, that ſo they might not go with the reſt; that, for all this, they departed two hours after, bringing to the Spaniards (who waited in a convenient place for them) all the priſoners that were aſhore in the ſaid bay, and, after ſome time, carried off the arms and ammunition of all the reſt of our company that ſtaid behind upon the iſland, who had no miſtruſt of them, whereof they laded a canoe; but that the treachery, in the mean time, had not had all the projected effect; and that he and his men got to the mine without oppoſition, becauſe

Digitized by Google

cauſe the Spaniards, who had made all things ready for maſſacring of them, when going aſhore, got thither later than they ſhould have done, and that through the fault of our renegadoes, who had too much precipitated the departure of their comrades, whom they thus ſaved by preſſing them on to their ruin: that they had got no great purchaſe at the mines, becauſe there had been orders given before for ſaving their treaſure; though, after all, it was not above an hour's ſpace that they had got away four hundred and fifty pounds of gold, that was already prepared. That yet they found ſome pounds ſtill left, and took ſome priſoners, who were ſurprized by them, as not expecting their company ſo ſoon, and that they alſo did believe they had been defeated by the way, as the deſign had been formed againſt them.

That when they had ſtaid two days at this mine, and being intent upon returning with his men to the ſea-ſide, he met with a body of Spaniards on the way, waiting for his coming, and making a mean, as if they would, now upon his return, make amends for the fault they had committed, in not preventing his deſcent. Their commander ſent a trumpet to captain Grognet, to know if he were minded to fight, who being anſwered, that he deſired nothing more: the Spaniards ſent a ſecond time to tell him, that if he would give up his priſoners, that they would grant him free paſſage; but he boldly anſwered, That, if they deſired to have them, they muſt come and fetch them by the help of their arms; and, as for the paſſage, he would open his way through in ſpight of them. That, having made themſelves ready, the Spaniards had not the courage to ſtay for them, contenting themſelves only with firing a few muſquets at a diſtance, and ſo fairly took to their heels, while he purſued his march towards his canoes,

which had, as good luck would have it, been left in a place where the renegadoes could not ſhew them to the enemy.

He told us moreover, that, ſome time after his return from that mine, they had been at Pueblo Viego, by the way of a river that runs not above four leagues, and diſcharges herſelf into the bay of Napalla; that they had ſurprized the town, and that, after having reſted there for ſome days, as they were coming back to rejoin their canoes, they had met with an ambuſcade laid for them under the covert of a retrenchment, guarded by ſix hundred men out of the garriſon of Realeguo, which began to be inhabited again, with whom they had fought a long time: but, finding the Spaniards ſtood to it more tightly than ordinary, they threw themſelves into their retrenchment, where, killing all about them that made any reſiſtance, they wrought a great ſlaughter amongſt them; that one part of them continued priſoners, while the other fled without any more ado, and forſook their retrenchments as well as the three colours they had ſet up there: that the free-booters had loſt no more than three men, but that the Spaniards in the heat of the action killed ſeveral priſoners of the one and the other ſex, which the other had brought away from the town, who after this went on board their veſſels: that ſome months after, not concurring with a deſign which fourſcore-and-five of his men had taken, of going down towards the iſles of Calynfornia, he had reſolved with the ſixty that remained with him to go up towards Panama, where happening, as I have told you, to meet us, we gave both him and his men room in our ſhips, where we learned this whole relation from them.

On the thirtieth we quitted our ſhips, and went in our canoes into ſeveral rivers which diſcharge themſelves

Digitized by Google

themſelves into this bay of Caldaira; and, amongſt the reſt, into a very fine one, whereon we went up ten leagues, in all which ſpace we always found her of the ſame depth and breadth. Several Spaniards told us, that, a matter of forty or fifty leagues higher, there was a mountain, from whence ariſes the ſpring of this river; and, on the other ſide of the ſame mountain, ariſes alſo a ſpring, from which runs the river St. John, that diſcharges itſelf into the North-ſea at the White Point.

We took a large canoe, laden with tallow, in this river, which ſome time after was of great uſe to us, by way of food, as we went to Queaquilla: we alſo found ſome hatto's on this river's ſide, where we refreſhed ourſelves till the ſixth of February, when we returned on board our ſhips. On the twelfth we departed, in order to go the third time and viſit Nicoya; we arrived there next day in the evening, and preſently detached ſeveral parties to get us intelligence concerning the Spaniards, who never appeared ſince they had threatened us with their ſuccours, inſtead of the ranſom we required of them for ſaving their town, which they ſtill refuſing to ſatisfy us for, we burnt it this third time, and, on the ſeventeenth, went our ways.

But though we were forced to chaſtiſe the Spaniards in this manner, we ſhewed ourſelves very exact in the preſervation of the churches, into which we carried the pictures and images of the ſaints which we found in particular houſes, that they might not be expoſed to the rage and burning of the Engliſh, who were not much pleaſed with theſe ſorts of precautions; they being men that took more ſatisfaction and pleaſure to ſee one church burnt, than all the houſes of America put together. But, as it was our turn now to be the ſtronger party, they durſt do nothing that derogated from that reſpect we bore to all thoſe things.

Digitized by Google

Nicoya was a ſmall town, pleaſant enough taken altogether; its churches are very fine, and the houſes as ill built; they have a pretty river there, that runs about one half of the town round; but, when one is within, you cannot know which way it is you have entered, nor how to go out, becauſe of the height of the mountains wherewith it is ſurrounded every way.

We were no ſooner gone from this town, but the Spaniards ſent to ſet fire to the roads through which we were to paſs, which yet we happily eſcaped, becauſe they had but juſt begun to do it: we took one of their men who was hemmed in between us and the five, and who conducted us to ſeveral Eſtantia's, from which we did not return before the twentieth. And on the twenty-ſecond we put forty priſoners aſhore, who were too chargeable to be kept on board with us.

Some men perhaps may be amazed at what I have ſaid concerning the burning of the roads, but they would be much more ſo, had they ſeen it, as we have done: there were two ſorts of places where this burning was wont to be practiſed, to wit, in the ſavana's and woods: when the former were ſet on fire, whoſe graſs was almoſt as high as our heads, and alſo as dry, in a manner, as powder, we found ourſelves ſo beſieged on the right and left ſide of the road with the flame, that it made us feel it to ſome purpoſe, though the ſame were of no long duration: but when theſe roads lead through covert and woody countries, as in the preſent occaſion whereof I am ſpeaking, and that once fire be ſet thereunto, one may ſee, according to the courſe of the wind, the country for ſeveral leagues burnt in a little time, to which the dryneſs of things doth very much contribute, the ſun being exceeding hot at that ſeaſon.

On

Digitized by Google

On the twenty-third we ſent our quarter-maſter on board the Engliſh, to make an agreement with them: we propoſed to go in conjunction with them to take Queaquilla (where the Spaniards drove a great trade by ſea) upon condition that, if we took two ſhips, we ſhould caſt lots who ſhould chooſe, and that, in caſe there were but one taken, that then we would put fifty men of each nation on board her, till ſuch time as we could take another, which they would not agree to, as inſiſting upon the firſt choice: ſo that, ſeeing we could not bring them to comply, we parted as well from them as from captain Grognet and fifty of our men who ſtaid on board him; ſo that they had an hundred and forty-two men in their ſhip, and we an hundred and ſixty-two in our frigate and long bark.

On the twenty-fourth we weighed, and ſet ſail for Queaquilla, which is the firſt maritime town on the ſouth coaſt, as you go thither from Panama; we made all the ſail we could to get thither before the Engliſh, who had formed the ſame deſign as we had done; we lay by till the twenty-fifth to get out of the bay, and, in paſſing from the White Cape, we ſteered S. S. W. S. and by S. W. and directly S. to the twenty-eighth in the evening, that we had on our ſtarboard-ſide a W. N. W. wind, bearing us to the S. which laſted till the twenty-ninth, when we were becalmed in the night. On the firſt of March towards noon aroſe a pretty freſh gale from the north, which made us bear S. S. W. and S. S. E. till the fourth in the morning, when an eaſterly breeze took us, and made us bear ſouth; on the fifth aroſe a N. W. wind; and on the eighth at noon we paſſed the equinoctial line, leaving the iſles of Galapa, which are below to the weſt, a dozen leagues to leeward.

Digitized by Google

Theſe are eight iſlands that ſtand N. and S. of the White Cape, and E. and W. from Queaquilla; they are full of ſea tortoiſes, that land there every hour of the day, and you cannot find a place to tread on or walk along in the woods, for the great number of land tortoiſes, lizards, and agoutils that retire thither: the ſea thereabouts is alſo ſo fruitful in the production of fiſh, that they come to the very ſands to die there; but theſe advantages, on the other hand, are encountered with the want of water, whereof theſe iſlands are entirely deſtitute.

The wind, towards evening, came to N. N. E. and made us bear E. and by S. E. to keep to the continent; the weather, on the tenth in the morning, grew very dark, and, we having a ſoutherly blaſt, we bore eaſt, and E. by S. E. till the eleventh, when we were becalmed. On the thirteenth aroſe an eaſt wind, and we bore to the S. S. E. upon a tack, and N. N. E. and then lay by for ſome time, becauſe we did not know the currents: on the fourteenth, having a N. E. wind, we bore E. S. E. and accordingly, as it blew freſh, we ſteered E. and by S. E. and E. On the fifteenth, two hours before day-light, we had a ſtorm, and then a S. wind; we ſteered eaſt all that day, but we had ſuch bad weather the following night, that we could not carry our ſails; next day about noon the weather grew better, and an eaſterly breeze preſented; we lay by till the eighteenth at noon, when we diſcovered a ſhip to windward of us, to whom we gave chace till the evening; ſhe proved to be the Engliſh ſhip that had parted from us when we came out of the bay of Caldaira, who, knowing who we were, put into the cape. We came to leeward of her, but ſhe ſpread out her ſails, and got to leeward of us. After we had given one another this ſalutation, we put out for two hours to ſee which ſailed beſt, but knowing

Digitized by Google

knowing at laſt they were the better ſailors, and fearing they might reach Queaquilla before us, we deſired them to join with us in our deſign, to which when they agreed, we ſet ſail together; we found ourſelves much perplexed to know what latitude we might be in, ſince we had not ſeen the ſun for ten days together; but it happily fell out, that it appeared on the nineteenth: our pilots computed we might be about twenty-five leagues to windward of Queaquilla, and ſixty leagues from land; but the winds varied to that degree, that we could make no way, and many times went contrary.

On the twentieth we had a weſt wind, and ſteered E. and by S. E. till the twenty-firſt, when we were becalmed: on the twenty-fourth aroſe a S. wind, and on the twenty-ſixth an eaſterly breeze; at laſt, the wind perſiſting to be contrary, we were reduced to great want of victuals, for we had already been upon our paſſage longer than our proviſion would allow us: to which we may add, that fiſh had, till now, been ſo ſcarce and hard to catch, that we had but little ſupport from them: ſo that, having on the twenty-eighth taken an account of the remainder of our victualling, we were forced to retrench ourſelves ſo far, as to eat but once in forty-eight hours: we alſo wanted water, and, had it not been for the help of rain, we had certainly died of thirſt; but what made us amends for one part of our wants was, that we found ourſelves, all of a ſudden, in a kingdom of large fiſhes, ſuch as emperors, tunnies, germons, galdenies, negroes, bonitoes, and ſeveral others, to whom we gave no quarter, no more than to the ſea-wolves, who, for all their ill ſmell, could not eſcape us. During that time we bore to the N. E. the wind not allowing us to keep on our deſigned courſe, that, if the worſt came to the worſt, we might, by this courſe, reach the iſle of St. John, purſuant to

the deſign we had formed, upon meeting with this contrary wind, of putting in there, in caſe the ſame continued all the way: on the twenty-ninth, after we had taken the latitude, our pilots computed us to be oppoſite the iſle of Platta, thirty leagues to leeward of Queaquilla: on the thirtieth, being Eaſter-day, we were but one degree north-latitude; in the twilight the wind began to blow freſh, and bore us E. N. E. Next day the wind came S. S. W. we ſteering eaſt, eaſt and by ſouth-eaſt, and E. S. E. On the third of April we were becalmed; and as we had for the ſpace of two days, by the computation of our pilots, ſailed towards land, they were of opinion that the currents deceived them, of which we made ourſelves ſatisfied by the following manner: on the fourth, the weather being very calm, we furled our ſails, and put out one of our periaugues, about whoſe fore-caſtle we ſpun ſixty fathom of our ſmalleſt rope, made faſt unto a grappling-iron, and, from that coaſt ſhe made from, the tide ran along her ſide with as much ſwiftneſs as the current of a river, and bore to the N. E. On the fifth we caulked our ſhips; towards midnight a S. W. wind preſented itſelf, and we bore S. E.

On the ſixth in the morning we diſcovered land both to windward and leeward of us; we veered to, leſt we ſhould be brought too near, and ſteered S. On the eighth we were about four or five leagues off, and our coaſting pilots knew the place to be cape Paſtao, which is under the Line thirty leagues to leeward of the iſle of Platta; we had all hands aloft, and ſteered S. On the ninth we bore to the S. S. E. till the evening, and to the S. W. till ten at night, when we ſteered to the S. S. E. and on the eleventh we were got to the height of the iſle of Platta, eighteen leagues out at ſea.

On

Digitized by Google

On the twelfth at noon we ſaw the point of Sancta Helena, which is fifteen leagues to leeward of Queaquilla, and forms the beginning of the bay that bears the name of that town. About twelve at night we ſaw fire to windward of us; we lay by till break of day, when we diſcovered a ſhip three leagues to windward of us, and, as we were becalmed, we ſent three periaugues to know what ſhe was; they found her to be a prize, laden with wine and corn, which captain David had taken as ſhe came out of Naſca, and which was ſeparated from him; he had put eight Engliſhmen on board to conduct her, who were to have their rendezvous, in caſe of a ſeparation, at the iſle of Platta: theſe men told us, that, after they had left St. John's iſland, they made ſeveral deſcents, and in ſeveral parts of that country, among others, at Sagua, Arrica, and Piſca; that, in the laſt of theſe places, a relation of the vice-roy of Lima came at the head of eight hundred men to attack them with ſword in hand, but that they were vigorouſly repulſed; that they had alſo taken a great many ſhips, which, when they had pillaged, they let go again, ſo that, finding they had got to the value of five thouſand pieces of eight a man, they had reſolved to return to the North-ſea, and that, as they ſailed away for the ſtreights of Magellan, they fell to gaming, whereat many loſt all they had got; that they had anchored in the road which leads to the iſles of Dom Fernandez, that ſtand upon the brink of the ſtreight, to which place came captain Willnet, an Engliſhman, who had left them long before, and was come thither upon the ſame deſign with themſelves, of repaſſing into the North-ſeas by the ſame ſtreights; but that captain David had altered his reſolution, for that thoſe of his crew, who had loſt their money, were not willing to leave thoſe ſeas, nor the ſhip, till they

had taken another: that, as for thoſe who had won, they went on board captain Wilmet, out of which ſhip went alſo, at the ſame time, ſuch of his crew as were without money, in order to go and get ſome with captain David, and that ſo they were come back into the South-ſea, to the number of ſixty Engliſh and twenty French, as Wilmet was gone through the ſtreight for the North-ſea; that captain Peter Henry was gone for the Eaſt-Indies, preſently after captain Suams; and laſtly, they told us (though we had been informed thereof before) that the Spaniſh fleet was a careening at Puerto Callao, which, as I have already ſaid, is the place of embarking that belongs to Lima.

As theſe eight Engliſhmen did not think that captain David's frigate would rejoin them ſo quickly at the place of rendezvous, they propoſed going with us to Queaquilla; which we ſo much the more willingly agreed to, in that they gave us a ſhare of their victuals and drink, and a little revived amongſt us that uſual merriment, that had now for ſome time been exiled from us by the abſtinences we were forced to undergo, wherewith we were extremely weakened; then we ſailed all night in their company, ſteering S. E. and by E.

On the fourteenth we furled all our ſails for fear of being diſcovered from land, near unto which we were: about two aroſe a fog, by favour whereof we made uſe of our main-ſail of all, as well to come ready rigged into the bay, which is thirty leagues in length, as to get to windward of the river Queaquilla, and to ſpare ourſelves alſo the labour of rowing ſo much, for, being ſo extraordinary weak, we had not ſtrength to do it.

We ſteered all night S. E. and on the fifteenth diſcovered the White Cape, which is the windward cape of this bay; about ten in the morning, we embarked

Digitized by Google

barked to the number of two hundred and ſixty men on board our canoes, after having given our ſhips orders to lay by in the bay, till they heard news from us. We ſteered all day long for the iſland Sancta Clara, with which we came up at ſun-ſetting; this little iſland is in reality nothing elſe but a rock, ſtanding E. and W. ſix leagues diſtant from the continent; we were obliged to caſt anchor with all the tides contrary to us, it being impoſſible to put into this bay againſt the currents, where we found ſix fathom water: and on the ſixteenth we found ourſelves between Sancta Clara and la Puna, about five leagues from the ſhore.

La Puna is a very pretty iſland, and may be diſcovered at a great diſtance at ſea, becauſe of the form of it, reſembling a cardinal's cap; it is twenty leagues in circumference, and ſtands E. and W. two leagues from the continent, and over-againſt the mouth of the river Queaquilla: there is a large borough built upon it, where, in former times, were kept the king of Spain's magazines. Great ſhips, that is, ſuch as are two or three deck'd ones, that cannot come into the river, anchor between it and the iſland: we hid ourſelves in this iſland all day, and that with the good luck of not being diſcovered by the centinels, who were there to the number of forty of them, though we knew nothing of it; we departed in the evening, and got more ſoutherly, that we might not be diſcovered from the continent.

On the ſeventeenth we hid ourſelves again in a covert place upon the ſame iſland; where, after we had got an exact account from our priſoners of the ſtate, ſituation, and diſpoſition of the town of Queaquilla, which we were about to go and take, we diſpoſed of our forces in the following order: there were fifty men making the forlorn hope, led by captain

Digitized by Google

tain Picard, who commanded our frigate, to attack the great fort; fourſcore grenadiers, commanded by the captain of our bark, were to be in the nature of reſerves, and to ſerve any where, as there ſhould be occaſion for them; captain Grognet with the main body was to make himſelf maſter of the town and port; and captain George Hewit, who was commander of the Engliſh ſhip, with fifty of his men, was to attack the little fort, and a thouſand pieces of eight was promiſed to any one of the enſigns, whereof I was one, that ſhould pitch the firſt colours upon the great fort. Things being thus regulated, we left our covert in the evening, believing we might be able to enter into the river of Queaquilla that night, before day-light appeared; but, for all that, all we could do was to gain one of the points of the iſland, which is over-againſt the river, for we could have the advantage of the tides coming in but for three hours, which was the reaſon that on the eighteenth, as we put off again, that we might the more readily get under the covert of the iſland, day overtook us, and ſo diſcovered us to a centinel, who ſet a cottage on fire as a ſignal to the other centinels that were poſted at convenient diſtances on both ſides the river, that he ſaw us, that ſo theſe might advertiſe the town of it: as ſoon as we got aſhore, we marched croſs a wood to get to the ſaid fire, where we found ſome of thoſe that had kindled it; whereof two were killed as they fled to ſave themſelves, and a third was taken, but we could get no intelligence from him, for he was but a little boy.

This day we diſcovered a ſhip entering into the river; we let her paſs, being unwilling to come out from under our covert to fall upon her, for fear of being diſcovered by thoſe on the main land, who, we ſuppoſed, knew nothing of us, becauſe the inhabitants of Queaquilla had not anſwered the fire-

ſignal

ſignal which the centinel of la Puna had given them. Upon the approach of night we made ready, and entered into the river of Queaquilla by one of the two mouths we found there, and by which goes in and out with the tide ſo rapid a current, that it is enough to carry a canoe two leagues in an hour, ſo that we made four in the ſpace of two hours.

There are two very fine iſlands in the two largeſt parts of this river (which may be about half a league over) under the covert whereof we hid ourſelves on the nineteenth all day long. We made ready in the evening, and had the pleaſure to be carried up by the current, without the uſe of our oars, for fear leſt the centinels, who are always placed on this river's ſides, ſhould hear the noiſe of our rowing: the deſign of our guide was to paſs by and land beyond the town, becauſe he knew it was weaker, and worſe guarded on that ſide than on the other; but his project failed him, for the tide, now going out, was as injurious to us, as before it had been favourable, and forced us to go aſhore, two hours before day, within cannon-ſhot on this ſide the town, from whence we diſcovered a great many lights, which they uſually keep in their houſes all night long.

This place, where we landed, is a country full of water and ſhrubs, acroſs which we were forced to cut our way with our ſabres; but we did not know we were unhappily landed over-againſt a centinel, nor that, half an hour after that, one of our men, who was left behind to look after our canoes, ſtruck fire to light his pipe with, which he raſhly did, contrary to the expreſs prohibition we had given him; which being perceived by that centinel, he made no doubt but there muſt be enemies near, becauſe the Spaniards, upon pain of death, forbid their people to ſtrike fire in the night; inſomuch that he preſently diſcharged a ſmall patereroe, to give the fort notice

of

of it, who readily anſwered the ſame with a whole diſcharge of their cannon. Being overtaken at that inſtant of time with a ſtorm of rain, we were obliged to put in for ſhelter into a great houſe we found before us, to light the grenadiers matches, and wait till day appeared; during which ſpace the enemy fired continually from the town, to frighten and let us underſtand they were ready to receive us.

On the twentieth at break of day we marched out in order towards the town, with our drums beating and colours flying; and, upon our approach, found ourſelves ſtopped by ſeven hundred men, who attacked us from under the covert of a wall four foot and a half high, and of a ditch, wherewith the ſame was encompaſſed towards the river's ſide, which made us preſently ſuppoſe it to be their fort, having had no good intelligence of the ſituation of the place. They did all they could to repulſe us, and preſently killed ſome of our men. Being encouraged with this little advantage, they had the boldneſs to ſally out upon us with ſword in hand; but, ſeeing we gave them a moſt vigorous reception, they fled without any more ado, and contented themſelves with breaking down the bridges, to hinder us from advancing: but this could not prevent our croſſing the ditch, and getting to the foot of the wall, whereof we rendered ourſelves maſters, in ſpight of all the reſiſtance made by them, who were not proof againſt our grahadoes, that drove them into the very houſes, which are all of them built on purpoſe for places of defence, in caſe they be attacked, and from whence in a ſhort time we alſo drove them. They fled to the place of arms, and intrenched themſelves in a ſtrong caze, which we call a redoubt, and which, when they had defended for an hour's time, they were all forced to abandon, inſomuch that we purſued them from fort to fort, till we came to a third, which is the greateſt and

Digitized by Google

and moſt conſiderable of them all: here they defended themſelves a long time; for they fired continually upon us, by favour of the ſmoke of their cannon, which hindered us from ſeeing them. When we were got to the foot of the palliſadoes, they ſallied out again with ſword in hand, and, having wounded ſome of our men, they took one of them priſoner; but we quickly made them leave him, and to run back into their fort, after they had loſt a great many men. At laſt, being weary with about eleven hours fight, and our powder being now almoſt ſpent, we redoubled our efforts in ſuch a manner, that we broke in upon them, and made ourſelves maſters of this laſt fort, but not without loſs on our ſide, ſince we had nine men killed, and a dozen wounded. We ſent out ſeveral parties at the ſame time to purſue thoſe that fled, who were ſtill in ſight of us, while the other Roman Catholicks went to ſing *Te Deum* in the great church, after we had firſt put a garriſon into the fort.

The town of Queaquilla is almoſt built round about a little mountain, whereon ſtand thoſe three forts, two whereof are commanded by the third, which is the largeſt; and all of them command the town. The greateſt, which is that againſt which we had moſt to do, is no where ſtrong, but to the river-ward, and the two leſſer ones are upon the deſcent of an hill, which alſo looks towards the river, and are each of them ſurrounded with a thin but very high wallon the outſide; we found none but patereroes to defend it: there is a communication between theſe laſt two, and the other by a covert-way, on each ſide whereof are two rows of palliſadoes filled with earth, and defended alſo with patereroes. In the great fort, which is alſo beſet with palliſadoes, we found ſeven pieces of cannon, carrying from twelve to eighteen pound ball; but they could not, becauſe of the elevation

Digitized by Google

elevation of the place, bring their guns to bear low enough to incommode thoſe that were in the town, unleſs, by thundering againſt the houſes, they ſhould be buried in the ruins of them. The magazines of powder ſtand in the middle of the fort, and are ſlightly enough built. The town, as I have obſerved, is to the river-ward, encompaſſed with a wall, four feet and a half high, and three feet thick: the ſtreets are very ſtraight: the pariſh churches, as well as the convents, are very curiouſly built; the houſes are almoſt all built with boards, and founded upon piles, for that in the rainy time of the year, which continues from the beginning of January to the end of April, they are ſo incommoded, as to be forced to make bridges, and raiſe banks of earth in all the ſtreets, to keep off the water and mud. Their chief commodity is cocoa, of which they make chocolate. We took ſeven hundred priſoners of both ſexes in this place, and amongſt the reſt was the governor and his family: he was wounded, as were ſeveral officers and men of quality, who fought more bravely than five thouſand other men that defended the place.

We found in the place ſeveral ſorts of merchandiſes, a great many pearls and precious ſtones, a prodigious quantity of ſilver plate, and ſeventy thouſand pieces of eight at leaſt; though there were three millions among them when we came thither: but, as we were all wholly taken up to make ourſelves maſters of the forts, they laid hold of that opportunity to make their eſcapes along the river, with the greateſt part of their moſt valuable moveables: when our canoes were come to anchor under the town, we were not backward to ſend four of them away, in purſuit of the ſhallops that carried the ſaid riches of the town away, but then it was too late: they only took twenty-two thouſand pieces of eight, and

Digitized by Google

and a vermilion eagle gilt, that had ſerved for a tabernacle to ſome church, weighing ſixty-eight pounds, and was exceeding rare, as well for the workmanſhip, as two great rocks of emeralds, wherewith the eyes of it were made: there were fourteen barks in the port, with the gallies, againſt whom we fought at Pueblo Nuevo, and two of the king of Spain's ſhips upon the ſtocks, almoſt finiſhed: we agreed with the governor in the evening about the price of his family's, the town, fort, cannon, and ſhips ranſoms, they being to give us a million of pieces of eight in gold, and four hundred ſacks of corn; and, in order to forward the payment of the ſaid ranſom, which was to be brought from the town of Quitto, eight leagues off, he deſired us to releaſe their vicar-general, who was a man of great authority and credit amongſt them.

We found this governor's houſe ſo richly furniſhed and filled with ſuch precious moveables, that nothing in Europe could be more magnificent: the women in this town are very pretty; but moſt of the fathers or monks live here at great eaſe, and in ſuch familiarity with the fair ſex, that it is far from being a good pattern and example unto others: the fathers hated us to that degree, that they perſuaded the women, who had never ſeen any free-booters, we were altogether unlike them, that we were not even of human form, and that we would both eat them and their children; which made them conceive ſo much horror and averſion for us, that they could not be diſpoſſeſſed thereof, till they came to know us better. But then, I can boldly ſay, they entertained quite different ſentiments of our perſons, and have given us frequent inſtances of ſo violent a paſſion as proceeded ſometimes even to a degree of folly.

It is not from a chance ſtory that I came to know the impreſſions wrought in theſe women, that we were

Digitized by Google

were men that would eat them; for, the next day after the taking of the town, a young gentlewoman that waited upon the governeſs of the place happening to fall into my hands, as I was carrying her away to the place where the reſt of the priſoners were kept, and to that end made her walk before me, ſhe turned back, and, with tears in her eyes, told me, in her own language, 'Senior, pur l'Amor de Dios 'no mi como;' that is, 'Pray, Sir, for the love of 'God do not eat me;' whereupon I aſked who had told her that we were wont to eat people; ſhe anſwered, the fathers, who had alſo aſſured them, that we had not human ſhape, but that we reſembled monkies.

On the twenty-firſt ſome of our men, who had made a fire in the day-time in one of the houſes of the town, came to the court of guard in the evening, without extinguiſhing of it; ſo that at night it ſet the town on fire; but the fear we were in, leſt the ſame ſhould reach our court of guard, whereon was lodged all the powder in the place, and part of the merchandiſe and riches of the town, we were obliged to get all carried on board the barks that were in the port, and to bring all our priſoners into the fort; and, when that was done, we endeavoured to put a ſtop to the fire, which yet burnt down one third of the town, notwithſtanding all the pains we took to put it out.

We returned on the twenty-ſecond in the morning to our court of guard, and fearing leſt the Spaniards might refuſe to pay the ranſom agreed on for the town, becauſe of this accident, we having promiſed by our treaty with them not to burn it, we took upon us to believe they were the cauſe of it, and ſent them a letter, wherein we gave them to underſtand we were much ſurprized at their manner of procedure; that they ſhould, after our agreement with them, come

come with a miſchievous intention to burn the merchandiſe and corn that were of ſo much uſe to us, and that we repented we had not left all the town to be burnt: that, if they did not pay us what we had ſuffered by the fire, we ſhould ſend them fifty of the priſoners heads: they thereupon excuſed the matter to us, ſaying, they muſt be ſome raſcally ſpightful people that had done this, and they would take care to ſatisfy us.

On the twenty-third the governor furniſhed us with a coaſting pilot, whom we ſent in one of our canoes to ſee for our ſhips (to whom we had given orders they ſhould lay by in the bay) to bring them to an anchor at the iſle of Puna, whither we were to go at our departure from Queaquilla, to wait for the promiſed ranſoms: on the twenty-fourth, finding one of our men was ſick with the ſtench which the dead carcaſes, to the number of above nine hundred, lying up and down the town, occaſioned, we went our ways, after we had firſt diſmounted and nailed up the cannon in the fort, and carried five hundred priſoners, being the beſt of the inhabitants, along with us, into our barks; wherein we arrived with them on the twenty-fifth at Puna, where we found our ſhips ready to caſt anchor.

On the ſecond of May captain Grognet died of the wound he had received that day we took the town, when the ſeven hundred Spaniards oppoſed our entering the fort, and the ſame day died four of our men alſo. On the fourth we ſent our galley to the iſle of Platta, to ſee if captain David's frigate was come to rendezvous there.

The time allowed for the payment of the ranſom of Queaquilla being expired on the ninth, we granted them four days longer; but then we began to be weary of this delay, when a Spaniſh bark, that was wont to carry us proviſion, brought an officer in her,

Digitized by Google

her, who desired us not to be impatient, for the ransom would be quickly paid: now this dilatoriness made us begin to suspect very much that there was some treachery in the case, and that they entertained us with hopes for no other end than to amuse us, till such time as the enemy were reinforced. And our guess was right enough, as will appear hereafter, insomuch that we were constrained to use such severity towards our prisoners, which we knew would strike a terror into our enemies. We made them throw dice for their lives, and, the lot falling upon the head of four, we cut them off presently, and sent them to Queaquilla in the same vessel that had brought the said officer unto us, by whom we let the tenient understand, that, if the ransom did not come within four days, we would send them the heads of all the rest of the people that were in our power.

Our galley on the fourteenth returned from the isle of Platta, and related that she had been chaced about the point of Sancta Helena by two ships, which she could not discover what they were; and this made us that evening send out one of our canoes that sailed well, to see what those ships might be: on the sixteenth she found they came to join us, they being captain David's frigate and a prize he had taken after the other had been separated from them, which we met before we went to Queaquilla; they came with full resolution to make a descent at Paita, in order to get some refreshments for their men who had been wounded in a fight they had had with a Spanish ship called Catalina, which they met fifty leagues to leeward of Lima, and was one of those that we had for so long a time waited for before that town.

This ship Catalina was separated from two more with whom she was returning to the port of Callao, when,

Digitized by Google

when, unfortunately for her, ſhe met with captain David's frigate, that ſailed much better than ſhe, and could have taken her, without making, as he did, two days fight of it, had it not been that the greateſt part of his crew, being continually drunk, ſailed twenty times to come up cloſe to board her, and ſuffered themſelves to fall to leeward, becauſe of their ill rigging, as often as they found themſelves to windward of her; which being obſerved by the Spaniards, they thought, by putting up a bloody flag, they would be quickly brought to ſtrike, but therein they were miſtaken, and the quite contrary fell out: for David's people growing ſober on the third day, and putting their tackle and rigging into better order than before, the Spaniards were ſo terrified thereat, that they ran aſhore, where their ſhip did not keep whole two hours: David's men, in a canoe, went to ſave two Spaniards, who were about ſwimming to land; and now, having eſcaped the danger of drowning, told them that their captain, having had his thigh ſhot off with a cannon ball, had deſired his lieutenant before his death to loſe no time, but to go without tarrying to acquaint the vice-roy of Lima of the dangerous eſtate the frigate was reduced to, that he might ſend without delay to her aſſiſtance.

Our canoe, which on the twenty-ſecond came to rejoin us, and gave the foreſaid information, brought alſo along with her captain David's prize, which he had ſent to deſire us to get a main-maſt to be brought him from Queaquilla, as ſomewhat of our ranſom, his having been very much damnified in the laſt engagement; and that, till it came, he would cruiſe without the bay to prevent our being ſurprized by the Spaniards.

I forgot to take notice that this ſhip's crew had, at Paita, ſurprized a courier that was going from Quea-

Digitized by Google

Queaquilla to Lima the third time, to carry the following letter unto the vice-roy; which clearly made out unto us the ſuſpicions we had entertained before, that the Spaniards deferred to pay us the promiſed ranſom, that they might have time to prepare themſelves to come and pay us in a ſort of coin we had no occaſion for, and which we did not require at their hands.

A letter of the tenient of Queaquilla to the vice-roy of Lima.

'SIR,

'I AM to inform your excellency the ſecond time, 'that the Engliſh and French are ſtill at Puna; 'it is ſeveral days ſince the term they had allowed us 'for the redemption of our priſoners is expired; I 'have done it on purpoſe that your excellency might 'gain time. They have ſent me four of our peo'ple's heads: I will amuſe them with ſome thouſands 'of pieces of eight from time to time (though they 'have no reaſon to be weary) while your excellency 'may pleaſe to come; and, though they ſhould yet 'ſend me fifty heads more, I ſhall eſteem that loſs to 'be much leſs prejudicial to us, than to ſuffer ſuch 'evil diſpoſed people to live. Now, Sir, we have 'a brave opportunity to get rid of them, provided 'your excellency loſe no time to do it.'

We could not have received a more certain teſtimony of the thoughts and deſigns of our enemies, than thoſe diſcovered by his letter unto us; ſo we took our meaſures accordingly.

CHAP.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. V.

The remaining actions of the free-booters in the South-sea, during 1687.

THE beſt winter-quarters which we had met with in theſe ſeas, and that of longeſt duration, was that of the time of our ſojourning upon this iſland of la Puna, where, for the ſpace of thirty odd days that we ſtaid here, we lived mighty well; for, beſides the victuals which the Spaniards brought us daily from Queaquilla, we had brought thither ourſelves a great many refreſhments, neither did we want charms for our ears in this place, for we had all the muſick of the town among our priſoners, which conſiſted of lutes, theorbs, harps, guittars, and other inſtruments I never ſaw any where elſe, wherewith they made a very fine concert.

Some of our men grew very familiar with our women priſoners, who, without offering them any violence, were not ſparing of their favours, and made appear, as I have already remarked, that, after they came once to know us, they did not retain all the averſion for us that had been inculcated into them, when we were ſtrangers unto them: all our people were ſo charmed with this way of living, that they forgot their paſt miſeries, and thought of no more danger from the Spaniards than if they had been in the middle of Paris.

Amongſt the reſt, myſelf had one pretty adventure; among the other priſoners we had a young gentlewoman lately become a widow of the treaſurer of the town, who was ſlain when it was taken: now this woman appeared ſo far comforted for her loſs, out of an hard-heartedneſs they have in this country one for another, that ſhe propoſed to hide

Digitized by Google

me and herſelf in ſome corner of the iſland, till our people were gone, and that then ſhe would bring me to Queaquilla to marry her; that ſhe would procure me her huſband's office, and veſt me in his eſtate, which was very great. When I had returned her thanks for ſuch obliging offers, I gave her to underſtand that I was afraid her intereſt had not the maſtery over the Spaniards reſentments; and that the wounds they had received from us were yet too freſh and green for them eaſily to forget them: ſhe went about to cure me of my ſuſpicion, by procuring ſecretly from the governor and chief officers promiſes under their hands, how kindly I ſhould be uſed by them. I confeſs I was not a little perplexed herewith; and ſuch preſſing teſtimonies of good-will and friendſhip towards me, brought me, after a little conſultation with myſelf, into ſuch a quandary, that I did not know which ſide to cloſe with; nay, I found myſelf at length much inclined to cloſe with the offers made me: and I had two powerful reaſons to induce me thereunto, one of which was the miſerable and languiſhing life we lead in thoſe places, where we were in perpetual hazard to loſe it, which I ſhould be freed from by an advantageous offer of a pretty woman, and a conſiderable ſettlement; the other proceeded from the deſpair I was in of ever being able to return into my own country, for want of ſhips fit for that purpoſe: but, when I began to reflect upon theſe things with a little more leiſure and conſideration, and that I revolved with myſelf, how little truſt was to be given to the promiſes and faith of ſo perfidious, as well as vindictive a nation as the Spaniards, and more eſpecially towards men in our circumſtances, by whom they had been ſo ill uſed; this ſecond reflection carried it againſt the firſt, and even all the advantages offered me by this lady: but, however the matter was, I was reſolved, in

Digitized by Google

in ſpight of the grief and tears of this pretty woman, to prefer the continuance of my troubles (with a ray of hope I had of ſeeing France again) before the perpetual ſuſpicion I ſhould have had of ſome treachery deſigned againſt me. Thus I rejected her propoſals; but ſo as to aſſure her I ſhould retain, even as long as I lived, a lively reſentment of her affections and good inclinations towards me.

On the twenty-third, we ſent one of our canoes to Queaquilla, to carry one of the fathers thither, they being a people as much obeyed and reſpected by that nation, as the vice-roys themſelves. The governor gave this man a full power to act as he pleaſed, even in oppoſition to the obſtructions which the tenient made againſt the payment of the ranſom aforementioned. After his departure came a bark, which brought us four-and-twenty ſacks of meal, and to the value of twenty thouſand pieces of eight in gold: they deſired us, moreover, to grant them three days time for the payment of the reſt; which we allowed them, but withal threatened, upon their failure therein, we ſhould ſeize upon their fort and burn their town and ſhips.

Our canoe returned the twenty-fifth, who gave us an account they would pay no more than two-and-twenty thouſand pieces of eight for the reſt of the ranſom, and that the tenient would purſue his prince's orders, who forbad the payment of any: that he had five thouſand men at hand, with which he waited, to ſee if we would put our threats in execution. Upon this fierce and bold anſwer, we had a conſultation together whether we ſhould cut off the heads of all the priſoners: the plurality of voices, together with mine, was, that it were better we ſhould go and look after the two-and-twenty thouſand pieces of eight, than ſhed any more blood; ſeeing alſo, that, our deſign being to leave theſe ſeas, we had no fur-

Digitized by Google

ther occaſion for theſe executions, to make us be feared; and that, after all, we were but too well aſſured by the tenient's letter, that the Spaniards were ſetting all things in order, to come and act their utmoſt efforts againſt us, which, perhaps, would adminiſter matter of repentance unto us, if we ſtill perſiſted in our reſolution: that therefore we ought to accept of the offer, and to give up unto them no other than the meaneſt of the priſoners, without diveſting ourſelves of thoſe of quality, who would be a ſecurity unto us for the reſt: that, while we waited for them, it was our beſt way to take them along with us, and put off from the ſhore, ſteering towards the point of St. Helena, where we ſhould be out of danger of the ſurprizes of our enemies, whoſe motions we could every way diſcover at a diſtance. Things being thus concluded on, we ſent our canoe to Queaquilla, who returned again the twenty-fifth, and told us, that next day the Spaniards would, without fail, bring us the two-and-twenty thouſand pieces of eight to the iſle of Puna, where we then were.

We put, the ſame day, fifty of our beſt priſoners on board our ſhips; and, at the ſame time, weighed anchor, and quitted our good winter quarters, where we left the reſt of our priſoners, with two canoes to guard them, and to wait for the money promiſed us; giving our men orders to tell thoſe that brought it, that they ſhould ſend us the remainder of what was agreed on to the point of St. Helena; and, upon default thereof, that they ſhould ſee the people no more. Our canoes, on the twenty-ſixth in the evening, came to join us, as we lay by to get out of this bay, and brought us the two-and-twenty thouſand pieces of eight.

Next night the Engliſh frigate's prize, who thought we lay ſtill at anchor at la Puna (from whence ſhe met us

Digitized by Google

us about eight leagues) came to give us notice, that two Spaniſh armadilla's waited our coming out of the bay, and that David's frigate lay by, as they did, to ſtay for us: on the twenty-ſeventh by break of day we diſcovered them between the iſle of St. Clare and the point of St. Helena, to the windward of us. Captain David's frigate, upon ſight of us, made up preſently to us, and, having got all together, we conſulted what we were beſt to do: we put fourſcore of our men on board him, becauſe he had not number enough of his own to manage his guns; and, as we had not men enough to manage our prizes, we reſerved only but two ſhips, and a long bark, and ſent the reſt with our periaugues upon the flats, where the Spaniſh ſhips could not come, as drawing more water than they did. We lay by till noon, to get the weather-gage, which yet we could not do, becauſe at this time of the year the winds blow from the ſea, and are very fixed, and that beſides, as we came out of the bottom of the bay, we could not well hope to gain it, the Spaniards being at the mouth thereof.

About noon our enemies came upon us, and ſo we fought till the evening with our cannon, which the Spaniards call gallant fighting, without much hurting of one another: we caſt anchor upon the approach of night, as they did alſo about a league to the windward of us: we fired a gun for our prizes to come up, which they did, and caſt anchor near us, for their greater ſecurity.

We ſent them back about an hour before day-light to their former ſtation, and, as ſoon as ever light appeared, we made ready, and the Spaniards did the ſame; but no ſooner were we got under ſail, but we were becalmed: unhappily it fell out that we were without our periaugues to row us to windward, becauſe we had ſent them back with our prizes, to

avoid the trouble they might have cauſed us; and therefore all we could do, now, was to make uſe of our little canoes, which we had ſtill with us; the Spaniards alſo rowed to the windward to diſpute the matter with us; however, with much ado, we got a cannon-ſhot to the windward of them; but, as they knew better how to bear cloſe up to the wind in theſe ſeas than we, in half an hour's time they recovered the weather gage of us. We lay by till two in the afternoon, and ſeeing we could do no good with them, we put in to the cape, to wait for two of our ſhips that were behind. In the mean time theſe armadilla's bore up to us, and, when they had got within a good cannon-ſhot, we fought till it was dark night; they very much ſhattered us, yet wounded but one man; we anchored in the evening, as we had done the day before, and they did the ſame alſo to the windward of us.

We remained at anchor on the twenty-ninth, as well as they, till three in the afternoon, when they weighed to go and attack the biggeſt of our prizes, becauſe ſhe had anchored only on the ſide of the ſhallows, and we made ready to defend her: we came to ſuch a cloſe fight with them, that all our ſmall arms, as well as great guns, came into play on both ſides; yet we loſt not one man, though they on their ſide had a great many killed, which we knew by the blood that ran out of their ſkupper-holes, and at our parting they cried, *A la manana la partida*, that is, To-morrow to it again.

On the thirtieth both they and we prepared to put out of the bay, and the Spaniards, who were ſtill to windward, did all they could to hinder us to get the weather-gage. We came to an anchor towards noon, to diſarm one of our prizes that ſailed very badly, and to fit up another in the room of her, which captain David gave us, as well as the twenty French-

men

Digitized by Google

men that made part of his crew, and were minded to leave him. We wrought all night to unrig her, and, when we had ſo done, we ſent her into the bottom. We put ourſelves under ſail on the thirty-firſt, and about two in the afternoon came to an anchor, becauſe of the tide's being againſt us: preſently after the two armadilla's came up with us, which made us weigh, and then to put in at the cape, to wait for one of our prizes that was far from us, which not being able to join us as ſoon as the enemy, her crew left her, and went into her periaugue, wherein they came to throw themſelves on board one of our men of war: they had left four Spaniards in that ſame prize, who, by the favour of a good wind, put back into the river of Queaquilla, where they made their eſcape, and, what was worſt of all, took along with them almoſt all our proviſions that was in her.

When we were got within half cannon-ſhot of our enemies ſhips, we fired upon one another, and that without intermiſſion, till an hour within night: we received ſeveral cannon-ſhot in our ſides during this engagement, had almoſt all our tackle ſpoiled, and our ſails ſifted, becauſe the Spaniards did all that ever they could to bring our maſts by the board; and indeed the fore-maſt of the frigate received five cannon-ſhot, and the main-maſt three, but they came only ſlanting, and, as good luck would have it, we had not one man killed or wounded.

We ſaw the enemy on the firſt of June, by break of day, a league's diſtance from us; we were not ſlow to do all we could to put out: about ten they lengthened their boltſpring ſails, and returned upon us; but, as we ſaw them bear up towards our frigate, we thought they intended to board her, and this made us preſently put into her the crew of our long-bark, by way of reinforcement. As ſoon as

ever the Spaniards were come up, they put out their Burgundian colours, having till then put out none: when we were come pretty near, they gave us a volley of muſquet-ſhot, together with a diſcharge of their cannon, laden with cartouches; but we got clear of them, ſo that they could not come to grapple with us.

After we had left them to make all the fire they could, we gave them a diſcharge of all our cannon, and a full volley with our ſmall arms in our turn, and then we were ready to board them; but they, finding themſelves much damaged, very readily got aloof to hinder us.

They took up an hour's time to refit, then bore up to us again, renewing the fight, which laſted till night; but they had been ſo well banged, that they had no mind to feel us this time ſo near, and that day we had three men wounded.

On the ſecond, by break of day, they were ſtill to the windward of us, at about two leagues diſtance, and bore up to us; we, having a freſh gale, put into the cape, and, when they were come within a good cannon-ſhot of us, they plied us very tightly with their great guns, and then approached within a muſquet-ſhot of us, as believing we were now out of condition to make any long reſiſtance: but, as we had a better advantage of uſing our fuſils, we made ſo great a fire upon them, that they were forced to cloſe up their port-holes, and bear up to the wind. We received ſixty cannon-ſhot this day in our ſides, whereof two thirds were between wind and water; beſides which, all our rigging was torn, and we had two men wounded, whereof myſelf was one.

About two hours within night they made a ſhew of coming to board us, but, finding we were as well prepared to receive them by night as by day, they bore upon the wind: we ſpent ſome part of this night

Digitized by Google

night at anchor, to ſtop up our cannon's mouths, which otherwiſe might have ſent us into the deep.

We were aſtoniſhed next morning at break of day, that we could not ſet ſight on the two armadilla's, with whom we had made ourſelves ready to renew the fight; and, in all appearance, they grew weary of it before us, though they had ſo great an advantage as that of the wind, which yet, as we heard ſince, could not ſecure them from loſing a great many men, and having their ſhips at leaſt as much ſhattered as ours: ſo that ſuppoſing well with ourſelves, that they had ſteered their courſe to port Callao, we ſteered ours for the iſle of Platta, where we anchored in the evening, and continued there two days to caulker our ſhips.

We had, during theſe ſeveral engagements, brought up upon our decks the governor of Queaquilla, and the other chief officers that were our priſoners, that they might be witneſſes of the vigour with which our men fought, and the cowardice of their own people, who durſt not enter our ſhips, though they came board and board with us twice.

We weighed on the ſixth, and ſailed along the coaſt, that we might find a convenient place to take in water. This coaſt is very level, ſafe, and very good to land upon, which is the reaſon that the ſame is throughout, as far as Barbacoa, inhabited by the Spaniards. We anchored between cape Paſtoa and that of St. Franciſco. On the tenth we put our priſoners aſhore, and gave them their liberty, being not able to go to the point of St. Helena, to ſee whether their ranſom was come, which I ſuppoſe would have been to little purpoſe, for thoſe two armadilla's had been ſent to pay us with cannon-ball.

On the eleventh we went about dividing the gold, precious ſtones, and pearls we had found in Queaquilla; but as theſe things could not be divided,

nor eaſily valued, the gold not being coined, and he ſtones of different value, we put up all by way of auction, that thoſe who had ſilver might bid for them, and ſo every man have his part according as he bade; and as there were ſeveral among us who, having got conſiderable ſums of money at play, were ſure, and if it pleaſed God they ſhould once get ſafe out of theſe ſeas, their way muſt be no other than over land, where the weight of their ſilver muſt hinder or retard their going; they bid for thoſe jewels that kept but little room, and weighed not much, ſo exceſſive a price, that the gold alone that was coined was worth eighty and an hundred pieces of eight an ounce, and each piſtole fifteen of the ſaid pieces: but, though theſe things were ſold ſo dear, we made no more a diviſion of the booty of that town, than what came to four hundred pieces of eight a man; the whole might amount to about five hundred thouſand pieces of eight, or fifteen hundred thouſand livres; which money, as we were out of hopes to carry along with us, ſerved us to play for on board our ſhips for our diverſion: ſo that, in the deſcents we made, we ſought now for nothing but gold and precious ſtones, which we did not find ſo plentifully as ſilver; of which, I muſt be plain, we made ſo little account, that we thought it not worth our while to take along with us a great quantity of plate and other things, whereof the town of Queaquilla was full: we alſo neglected to ſend a canoe after the hundred caons of coined ſilver, each conſiſting of eleven thouſand pieces of eight, which the Spaniards had ſent away to the other ſide of the river, when we were engaged with them, and which were yet in ſight of us when the fight was over. There is ſuch a vaſt quantity of that rich metal in this country, that moſt of thoſe things we make in France out of ſteel, copper, and iron, are made

made by them in ſilver: this indifference in us gave ſome of their people many times occaſion to intermix with us, to pillage from their own fellow-citizens what we neglected, and of which they were not ſo ſqueamiſh as we, or rather ſo put to it for the carriage of them, they being in their own country, and we far from ours.

On the twelfth captain David's frigate left us, he deſigning to go and careen at the iſles of Galapas, and then to ſail away for the ſtreight of Magellan, in order to return to the North-ſea; but, as for us, our veſſels were ſo ſmall, and withal ſo bad, that it was impoſſible we ſhould get up higher than the coaſt of Peru; neither could they alſo contain ſuch a quantity of water as we had occaſion for, which is very hard to come by on that coaſt, where you muſt go two or three leagues up the country before you can meet with any. Theſe difficulties made us reſolve to return to the weſtern coaſt, that ſo we might endeavour to find out a way alſo to return to the North-ſea, but that muſt be other than over land.

Before I leave this coaſt, I cannot but take notice, that Peru is one of the richeſt countries in the world, not only in reſpect to the great quantity of gold and ſilver which the Spaniards dig out of the mines they poſſeſs there, but alſo upon account of the great fertility of the earth, that produceth to the tillers of it three crops every year, as well of corn as wine; and that, beſides thoſe fruits that are peculiar to all America, you have alſo many of thoſe here which grow in France, inſomuch that this great diverſity of ſpecies is the occaſion that you have continual ſupplies of freſh fruits in all the ſeaſons of the year.

The inhabitants of this country reckon but two ſeaſons, which divide the whole year into a ſummer of nine months, and a winter of three, during which it freezes oftentimes very hard on the moun-

tains, though the ſame is hardly diſcernible in the plains: amongſt their other cattle they breed ſheep, that weigh two hundred and fifty, or three hundred pounds weight: theſe animals are of great uſe to them, having the very ſame inſtinct as camels. They make them carry jars of water, oil, or wine, which are a ſort of earthen-ware made like ſugar-pans, two of which hold about five-and-thirty quarts, and, when empty, weigh as much as the liquor that fills them: when they are minded to fill them, theſe ſheep will kneel down, and, as ſoon as they are full, get up very gently; when they are come to the place whither they are to carry them, they lay them down in the ſame manner, and continue till they are diſcharged of their burthen.

We weighed on the thirteenth, and on the fifteenth anchored twenty leagues to the windward of Point Mangla; we put aſhore in a canoe, where we ſurprized a watch of fifteen Spaniſh ſoldiers, who were ſet upon the ſide of a curious river: the entertainment we gave them forced them to own unto us, that they were to guard the river, which they called Emeralda, becauſe of the many rocks, or great pieces of emeralds which their countrymen take up there; and that we might, in the ſpace of eight hours, go very eaſily from the mouth of it in our canoes, to ſurprize the town of Quitto, but not ſo by land, becauſe then we muſt fetch a compaſs of fourſcore leagues, through a country full of inhabitants, who would not fail to oppoſe us; and for theſe reaſons it was that they endeavoured all they could to keep from ſtrangers the knowledge of theſe advantages: this town of Quitto is well peopled, and was formerly the capital of the kingdom that bears its name, but now it depends upon the government of the vice-roy of Lima.

On

Digitized by Google

On the ſeventeenth we got ready and ſaled away for the iſle dell Gallo, which ſtands at the mouth of the little bay of Barbacoa, an hundred leagues to the leeward of Queaquilla. On the nineteenth we diſcovered, by break of day, a ſhip whom we chaced, and, towards ten in the forenoon, took her; ſhe was a bark come from Panama to go and buy negroes, which the Engliſh in Jamaica ſend them by the way of Puerto Bello, and which they were going to trade with at Paitas; they got very conſiderably by theſe blacks, for the Engliſh ſell them to the Spaniards for four and five hundred pieces of eight a man, and are worth three and four hundred with them. We anchored on the twentieth at the iſle of Gallapo, where we examined the priſoners we had taken in the ſaid bark, who told us, that the galley of Panama was gone into the bay of Mapalla, in queſt of the Frenchmen that were gone aſhore upon thoſe iſlands, which, I have already ſaid, are there; and that, in her return, ſhe was to carry the preſident of Guatemala and his wife to Panama.

On the twenty-fifth we weighed and ſailed for the iſle Cocas, which ſtands N. and S. of Realeguo, an hundred leagues diſtance: we had a S. W. wind, and ſailed W. N. W. On the thirtieth we diſcovered land, we pinched upon the wind, that we might know what place it was; we found towards evening, it was the iſle of Mapalla, that ſtands forty leagues ſouthwards of that of St. John's, and from thence we ſailed to the bay of Mapalla, inſtead of going to the iſle of Cocas, from whence the wind blew, and conſequently was contrary to us.

From this day forward to the eleventh of July, we had the ſame S. W. wind, which allayed not, but when it blew from the E. and S. On the thirteenth we took our latitude, and found we were thirty leagues out at ſea from Realeguo, and ſteered north

north to get to land: on the ſixteenth at noon we diſcovered the mountains, and put into the cape for fear of being obſerved: on the ſeventeenth we ſent two of our canoes to endeavour to take ſome one priſoner, that ſo we might know how things were before we brought our ſhips into the bay.

In the evening our canoes, having diſcovered what coaſt it was, returned, and told it was St. Michael's bay, whither the currents had driven us in making the cape, and which we took for that of Mapalla, whither we would have gone, and which ſtands fourteen leagues to windward of the former, which might the more eaſily have been miſtaken from the ſea, in that the mountains of theſe two bays are very like one another. We lay by to windward of it in the night; and on the eighteenth put out our canoes, and, continuing at the cape till the twentieth, we made uſe of them to go and join our friends at one of the iſlands: as we entered in on the twenty-third, we were taken with a breeze of wind that ſeparated us from one another; and, of five ſail whereof our fleet conſiſted, we had no more than two of the leaſt and weakeſt of our ſhips left together; but we did not loſe ſight of the other three, though they were got very far to leeward, and overtaken with a calm. In the mean time we anchored at the iſle of Tigers, which is the neareſt to the mouth of it.

On the twenty-fourth about eight in the morning we diſcovered three ſail of ſhips that doubled the point of Harina, which is to the windward of that bay, and ten leagues to the leeward of Realeguo; we preſently fired a paterero to call in our canoes who were aſhore to take in water: as ſoon as they were come on board, we made ready and bore up to thoſe ſhips with a full wind, though we had then but very little of it.

Thoſe

Thoſe three veſſels, which were a galley and two periaugues, bore alſo towards us, though they ſaw us not; but, as ſoon as we were got out and diſcovered by them, they doubled the cape upon us with their ſails and oars, and the two periaugues, that ſailed better than the galley, got behind us, and fired fifteen cannon-ſhot upon us; but as our arms could reach them, theſe periaugues were forced to fall a-ſtern, and to wait for their galley: when ſhe had joined them, they held a council, and then put out to attack us; our ſhips, not being able to give us any relief, put to the cape to wait for us; we fought them all along till we had rejoined our veſſels, which we did about two in the afternoon, when the Spaniards left us, to go bury their dead upon the iſland where we had been to take in water when we firſt diſcovered them: they did us ſome damage in our main-maſt and rigging, and wounded few of our men: towards evening a wind aroſe from the ſea, and we ſailed in queſt of them, but they kept to the ſhore.

On the twenty-fifth we paſſed round the iſland in ſearch for our canoes, which the enemies galley fought for alſo, rightly imagining they were aſhore, as not having ſeen them with us during the action: about two in the afternoon they diſcovered us, and, coming out from under their covert, gave us the ſignal, which we on our part anſwered; they had hid themſelves there for four hours, expecting our coming, and had a full ſight of the engagement, but could not poſſibly, any more than the reſt of our ſhips, come in to our aſſiſtance. The Spaniards, who ſaw us take them with us, durſt not hinder it, though they were at anchor very near them; then we attempted with one of our ſhips to board the enemy's galley, but ſhe ſaved herſelf upon the flats, where our ſhips could not come near her. On the twenty-ſixth we anchored at an iſland in the bay, where

Digitized by Google

where we put two of our veſſels to careen, while the other three guarded them. On the twenty-eighth we ſaw a canoe under white colours, croſſing from the main land to the iſlands, where one of ours met and took her: it was a Spaniſh captain, who, believing us to be his own people, came to congratulate the commander upon the victory, which he, from the ſhore, thought they had got over us. We put him upon the rack, to know whether he came not by ſome wile or other to draw us into a ſnare laid for us by the galley, as the Greek captain had formerly done; but he ſolemnly proteſted it was not ſo, and informed us, that there was a periaugue with thirty men in the ſame bay where we were, who were gone aſhore ſome time ſince, and had fought in the race of Savannas againſt ſix hundred Spaniards, whoſe captain, called don Albarado, who was accounted the braveſt and moſt valiant man in the province, they had killed; and that, when we had met with their galley and two periaugues, there had eight hundred armed men come, not with a deſign to look after us, but to fight thoſe thirty Frenchmen, who could not be conquered by his ſix hundred countrymen; an admirable inſtance of the valour of the Spaniards in thoſe parts!

The bay of Mapalla is a very curious place, and full of divers great iſlands, not inferior in beauty to thoſe of Panama: they were formerly inhabited, and there are ſtill three boroughs there which the people have forſaken, by reaſon of the deſcents of free-booters. As for anchorage, it is very good here, but no good ſhelter to be found in this place from any corner of the wind, great blaſts whereof come over thoſe great mountains that are at the bottom of it, ſo that there are very few cables that are proof againſt them.

On

Digitized by Google

On the ſixth of Auguſt, one of our men, who was hunting upon the iſland where we were careening, found two men who had been there for the ſpace of eight days to obſerve our motions, and, who taking us to be Spaniards, durſt not come near us: they were two Frenchmen belonging to the periaugue, of which the forementioned officer ſpoke to us, and who had defended themſelves ſo valiantly againſt the ſix hundred Spaniards; we found them to be of the number of fourſcore and five, who had ſeparated themſelves under captain Grognet, to go to Calinfornia; they preſently gave notice to the other eight-and-twenty, who came and joined us; and of whom we learned that they had ſaved themſelves upon this iſland, after they had been chaced a whole night by the Spaniſh galley, that did not ſail ſo well as their periaugue. They told us alſo, that they had gone down a matter of forty leagues to the windward of Acapulco, without being able any more than once to go aſhore; and that then they ran a great riſque, ſo boiſterous is the ſea in theſe parts, wherewith they were ſo diſcouraged, that they had forſaken fifty-five of their companions, in order to come and find us out, and left them to continue their courſe for Calinfornia.

Having made an end of our careening on the tenth, we made every thing ready for our departure, after we had given thoſe thirty men room in our ſhips: we ſailed from the coaſt of Acapulco, with a deſign to find out the other fifty-five men ſpoken of, who were to make a deſcent there, and to rid them from a miſerable ſtate, whereunto, in all appearance, they had gone to plunge themſelves, without any hopes of reprieve; being too ſmall a company to find out proviſions (whereof they ſtood in great need) in the beſt peopled country upon the continent, where alſo it could not be believed they could

Digitized by Google

could arrive, having but a little ſorry bark under them, that could not carry them far without ſplitting in two.

We had, at our departure, an eaſterly breeze, wherewith we were favoured till we came to the height of Sanſonnat; from the fifteenth to the one-and-twentieth we were becalmed all along in the day-time, and the winds were ſo high in the nights, that we could not carry our ſails; on the twenty-ſecond we had a pretty good gale from the ſouth-eaſt; and on the twenty-ſeventh we drew near land, to know where we were: we found ourſelves to the windward of the bay of Tecoantepequa, and put out our canoes to go in thither, while, at the ſame time, we appointed our ſhips to rendezvous in the port of Vatulco, which is twenty leagues to the leeward: we came very near land in the evening, but the ſea runs ſo high along that coaſt, that it was impoſſible to go aſhore.

On the twenty-ninth we found an embarking place, where there was a very ſtrong intrenchment, guarded by a conſiderable number of Spaniards, and, ſuppoſing it would coſt us dear to go aſhore in that place, we ſailed two leagues to the leeward, where the ſea was ſomewhat more pacifick, but found here alſo about three hundred men upon an eminence waiting for us: we detached fifty of ours to go and meet them, but the Spaniards, after having made a fooliſh diſcharge, fled; however, we took two of their number, and aſked them whither that way led upon which we were; they told us, it would bring us to the town of Tecoantepequa, according to whoſe name that bay was called, and that we had but four leagues to it: we lay next night upon the road, under the canopy of heaven, according to our uſual cuſtom; next day, which was the thirtieth, we reſolved to go to the ſaid town,

town, and directed our courſe that way in ſuch a manner, that about two in the afternoon we had a ſight of the place from an aſcent, which is about half a league off.

As it is encompaſſed and beſet every way with eight ſuburbs, it ſeemed to be ſo large, that we were a long time deliberating with ourſelves whether ſo ſmall a number as we were ought to go thither, as being no more than an hundred and fourſcore men, whereas there were three thouſand of the enemy in the place: in the mean time the extreme neceſſity we were reduced to, for want of proviſions, preſſed us to advance, and would not let us deliberate long upon the danger that lay before us, ſo that, all our apprehenſions being reduced to the fear we had of ſtarving to death, we purſued our march to go and confront our enemies.

When we had marched about half an hour, we found ourſelves near the town, and upon the brink of a great and very rapid river, which ſeparates it from four of the ſuburbs that adjoin to it; this river we croſſed over, being up in the water to the middle, in ſpight of the Spaniards, who were intrenched on the other ſide, to diſpute the paſſage with us, which they were forced to leave open for us, after a good hour's ſharp diſpute: as ſoon as we were maſters of the intrenchment, we entered the town, where, after we had fought hand in hand with the enemy, like men enraged with hunger, we became maſters of the place of arms about four in the afternoon: but our work was not yet done, for the enemy, having again intrenched themſelves in a very fine abbey, built in the manner of a platform that commanded the town, we went, to the number of fourſcore men, to diſlodge them, which was ſo readily executed, that, having chaced them thence, we made our court of guard of it, and then every

Digitized by Google

every one endeavoured to ſatisfy that hunger where-with we were extremely pinched.

When we were got into this town we found it yet much more ſpacious and larger than it appeared to be unto us from the fore-mentioned aſcent; its houſes are well built, the ſtreets very ſtrait, and the churches exceeding ſtately and ornamental. The abbey of St. Francis, from whence we drove the enemy, appeared more like unto a fort than a religious convent, and it was built to ſerve for that uſe in caſe of need.

On the thirty-firſt we ſent to require them to ranſom their town, or elſe we would burn it; we had no anſwer returned, which made us conjecture they had a mind to come and attack us; for which they had ſo much the more advantage, in that the river, which began, from the time that we paſſed it, to overflow, was about to hem us in; wherefore we decamped, and lay in one of the ſuburbs that ſtands on the other ſide, where we continued to the third of September; when we departed to return to our canoes, without reaping any advantage by the taking of this town: we reimbarked on the fifth, and went to join our ſhips in the port of Vatulco, where we arriyed the ninth: on the fifteenth we went off again in our canoes without a guide, and, having landed, marched ten or a dozen leagues up the country, where we took divers villages, and in one of them the old governor of Marida with his family, who was retired to this place, and who promiſed us a quantity of proviſions for his ranſom; in expectation whereof we carried him on ſhip-board, where we arrived on the twenty-fifth. The ſame day, about ten in the morning, we diſcovered a ſhip; and put out our canoes to know what ſhe was; ſhe bare to the cape, and put up Spaniſh colours; but as the ſea ran very high, and that our canoe could not

Digitized by Google

not well weather it, we returned again into port. Now this ſhip believed it was her colours that hindered us to come on board her, wherefore ſhe took the ſame down, and put up a white flag in the room of them; we at the ſame time fitted up our galley to go and hale her, but ſhe could never get out of the port, whereupon ſhe ſailed away, and, as our ſhips were much out of order, we could not follow her. She was undoubtedly a frigate built in the North-ſea, but it was impoſſible for us to know what nation ſhe belonged to.

The ſea being calm on the twenty-ſixth, we went with our galley about twenty leagues to the windward of Acapulco, to ſee if the above-mentioned ſhip were not put into port, we judging by her rigging ſhe wanted to put in ſomewhere to land, but we returned without any news of her: we waited till the fourth of November for the ranſom of the governor, which we did not overmuch preſs for, as finding in this port, and parts adjacent, plenty of victuals, particularly of tortoiſes, which we had there in great numbers, and hatto's, that are to be met with up and down frequently here, furniſhed us with all other neceſſaries; beſide that, we had here a place of ſecurity from the inſult of the Spaniards.

It is impoſſible to go aſhore from Sanſonnat to Acapulco, unleſs it be in the ports or bays; and though that which they call the Salt-pits be difficult of acceſs, becauſe of the ſmallneſs of it, and that the ſea there runs very high; yet they eſteem it a bay for all that: it is the next you meet with after Sanſonnat, and ſtands twenty leagues to the windward of that of Tecoantepequa, which the Spaniards ſet down alſo for a bay in their charts, though it be ſo far from being deep, that it can ſcarce be diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the coaſt: there is a lake

Digitized by Google

lake at the bottom of this laſt place bearing the ſame name, with which it had formerly a communication, but whoſe mouth at preſent is ſtopped up by a bank of ſand which the waves have drove thither: this lake hems in three iſlands that are not far diſtant from one another, and all of them very near the mouth thereof: ſome years ſince the hourqua of Acapulco, that went to the Eaſt-Indies, in its return entered into this lake through the bay, and we underſtood that ſome Spaniards had entered by the other end of it into the river of Vaſtaqua, that diſcharges itſelf into a bay of New-Spain, and conſequently to the North-ſea.

When the hourqua returns from the Philippine iſlands, where the Spaniards drive a great traffick, it is one of the richeſt veſſels that ſails upon the ocean; it is of a prodigious bigneſs, and built ſo ſtrong, that ſhe is afraid of nothing but land and fire; ſhe is provided with forty pieces of cannon, whereof one half is of no uſe to her, for her lading makes her ſink ſo deep in the water, that her battery between the two decks is rendered uſeleſs: ſhe goes out yearly from the port of Acapulco, convoyed with a patach of twenty-eight guns, and laden with ſeveral ſorts of merchandiſes that ſhe carries to the inhabitants of thoſe iſlands, who, by way of barter for the ſame, give a great deal of thoſe curious china and japan ware we ſee in Europe, and, what is yet more valuable, pearls, gold-duſt, and precious ſtones.

This ſhip had great advantage in making this voyage, that is, that, in making choice of a proper ſeaſon, ſhe goes and returns in a twelve-month's time, comprehending the while they ſtay in that country, without being put to the trouble of veering about, and ſifting the ſails; and it is beyond diſpute, that ſhe cannot be met with by any that wait for

Digitized by Google

for her, before the port of Acapulco, at a certain ſeaſon of the year, which I ſhall take no notice of here, for reaſons I have ſpoken of in the beginning of this journal.

I ſhall not forget alſo to remark in this place, that it will be ſo much the more eaſy to take her, in that, when ſhe returns from thoſe parts with the patach, all her crew are in ſo ſickly and dying a condition, that, of four hundred men that make up the compliment, there is not one fourth of them in a condition to defend it; and this diſtemper which they call ſcorbut, never fails them in their return from the Philippines, inſomuch that a ſhip which goes from the North-ſea with a deſign to look after this hourqua, might, in leſs than eighteen months time, abating the perils and accidents ſhe might be liable to at ſea, return with immenſe riches.

About twenty leagues to leeward of the bay of Tecoantepequa ſtands the port of Vatulco, ſo ſmall, that it cannot contain above ten or a dozen ſhips; but yet they muſt have an anchor fore and aft, for, if they had no more than an anchor out at the fore-caſtle, they would fall foul upon another, in endeavouring to avoid it upon the change of wind or tide.

At the entrance into the port, which is very narrow, there is a whirlpool to the leeward, which the Spaniards call Boſadera, whereinto the water enters in ſo violent a manner that it makes a noiſe that may be heard above four leagues off.

Four leagues lower there is another port, where you cannot anchor with ſafety, becauſe of the rocks, whereof the bottom of it is full: in the paſſage to it ſtands a great rock, called the Fourillon, which is all over as well as continually ſo covered with thoſe ſorts of birds which we had before ſeen in the river of Villia, that there remains nothing of the ſurface

Digitized by Google

ſurface of it to be ſeen; and a little further is an iſland called Sacrifice.

About eight leagues lower there are three ſmall ports of a league's diſtance one from another, whereof that called the Angels is the beſt; it is no difficult matter to find the paſſage to it, provided you ſail along the ſhore, but it is impoſſible to perceive it from the main; there is a rock ſtands at the mouth of it that has an hole therein reſembling a large gate: from this port to Acapulco, which is ſixty leagues off, we have no harbour.

The country, which extends itſelf from the bay of Salt-Pits as far as Acapulco, is that upon the South ſea that is beſt peopled, and where there are moreover ſeveral famous and very rich towns; more gold mines are alſo found there than in Peru, though the metal is not ſo fine; and thoſe of Tinſigal alone are more valued by the Spaniards than the mines of Potoſi; and therefore it is not without reaſon that this weſtern coaſt is called by the name of Coſta Rica, though, in our geographical maps, they beſtow this name only upon a ſmall part of this vaſt tract of land.

On the ſeventh we went to make a deſcent upon a little town called Muemeluna, which is eight leagues to the windward of Vatulco, and ſix up the country, about four leagues from the ſea-ſide, and two from the town; we found a very ſtrong intrenchment made upon a rock that ſtands upon the river, but the Spaniards therein made no great reſiſtance, no more than in the town where we completed our victualling: the priſoners we took told us, that, about a month before they had ſeen a frigate paſs by, that ſent a ſmall canoe with ſeven or eight men in it to their embarking place, where they found ſome Spaniards, who made them embark again with ſo much precipitation, that one of their men was drowned,

Digitized by Google

drowned, and whom indeed we found dead upon the ſhore, whither the ſea had thrown him, with his fuſil lying ſome paces from him, which would not have lain ſo long there, no more than the dead carcaſs, if the Spaniards had eſpied it: for they believe themſelves revenged, when they cut into pieces, or burn the dead body of an enemy; and we were aſſured that, when we buried any of our men in their country, they dug them up when we were gone, if they knew the place, for to exerciſe their cruelty upon thoſe carcaſſes, which, when alive, they could not make us feel.

We returned on the ſixteenth aboard our ſhips, and on the twenty-ſixth, not being able all along the coaſt to hear any news of the five and ſixty men we were in queſt of, we weighed anchor, and directed our courſe for the bay of Mapalla, where we were minded to agree upon the place by which we were to repaſs to the North-ſea: on the twenty-firſt we had a north wind that carried us to a certain latitude where the weſt winds reign; and this continued to the twenty-third, when we were becalmed: on the firſt of December, at night, we had a ſtorm which ſeparated us one from another, and thus we continued alone, and without any water, for all our caſks were run out, whereby we were reduced to the greateſt extremity, though we were but two leagues from the ſhore: but it was impoſſible for us to go aſhore, for it is a bank of ſand that reaches from the bar of St. Mark as far as Sanſonnat, for the ſpace of about fourſcore leagues, where the ſea breaks with great violence: believing ourſelves on the ſixth to be to the windward of this bank, we armed our periaugue to go near the ſhore, and look out for a place where the ſea was calmer; next day one of our men, being more impatient than the reſt, and egged on with drought, that tormented

him four days, ſwam to land; but, thinking to return in the ſame manner, he was drowned, without our being able to ſuccour him, notwithſtanding all the cry he made unto us to ſave him: on the ninth, in the beginning of the night, we thought to have ſeen a little bay, before which we anchored, that we might know in the morning what it was, during which time we heard the firing of about ſix hundred muſquets on the land. As ſoon as day-light appeared, on the tenth, we ſaw that what we took for a bay was a kind of a covert that ſtands fifteen leagues to the leeward of Sanſonnat, where we could ſee no likelihood of entering in. In the mean time we ſaw a very pretty ſhip upon the ſtocks in that place, which made us conclude there muſt of neceſſity be a paſſage for her to come out; we anchored pretty near the rock to wait for a tide, during which time a wind blew from the ſea, and we adventured with the help of our ſails and oars to get in, where we were ſaluted with three waves that had filled our periaugue in the very ſight of the Spaniards, who watched our entering in.

We put up to one ſide of the ſaid covert, and fired for the ſpace of half an hour upon their magazines built by the ſide thereof, without their returning us one ſingle ſhot; but at laſt, we being tormented with violent drought, which we were deſirous to allay, whatever it coſt us, we hoiſted up our ſail, and run up our periaugue before them, who believing we were going to their town, that was but half a league off, they went off. But as we were no more than two-and-twenty men, inſtead of running after them, we improved their flight, in filling our caſks with water, and to furniſh ourſelves with what proviſions we found in the magazines, and ſome of that ſhip's rigging, which were more neceſſary for ours; but not daring all at once to lade our periaugue with

with them, for fear of ſinking in her paſſage out, we ſpent the night on the other ſide of thoſe magazines, that we might be under covert from the ſurprizes of our enemies, for we computed very well, by the ſix hundred muſquet-ſhot we had heard, that there were a great many armed men in that place.

On the eleventh we departed from under the covert to go and join our ſhip, which we found on the twelfth, in the morning, lying at anchor eight leagues to the windward of Sanſonnat, where ſhe had found the ſea ſomewhat more favourable: we ſpent that day to take in water, and ſent twenty men to take a village that was about half a league from the ſea-ſide, from whence we returned the ſame day with ſome refreſhments, that put life into our ſhip's crew, now much weakened with the thirſt they endured, as well as we who were in the periaugue, as alſo with hunger, which failed not to waſte us away, though we had victuals to ſatisfy the ſame; but we durſt not eat for fear of being made dry: we weighed anchor in the evening with a weſt wind, and on the fifteenth arrived in the bay of Mapalla, where we found the reſt of our veſſels at anchor near one of thoſe iſlands that lie within it.

I am to obſerve, that, as long as we were going up this coaſt, continually in the night-time there blew winds from the land, which were very favourable to ſailors, provided they were not far out at ſea; for ten leagues off there could be but very little of it felt; and there are certain reaſons when it blows ſo violently, that they are obliged to lower their ſails, and even to furl. On the ſeventeenth we had a conſultation together about what paſſage, according to the priſoners relations, was leſs dangerous for us to return to the North-ſea over land; it was thought our beſt way was by Segovia, ſeeing we

Digitized by Google

had no more than ſixty leagues to go before we came to the head of a river, upon which they told us we might go down to the North-ſea, whereunto it diſcharged itſelf; and that, in the way we were to take by land, we could have no more than five or ſix thouſand men to deal with, and that the way was very good to carry our wounded and ſick men along with us: but we were not fully convinced of the ſincerity of this advice; we ſent two of our canoes to ſhore, to take ſome other priſoners, that ſo we might ſee whether they ſhould confirm or contradict this information, and thereby be the more fully inſtructed concerning thoſe things that might be an obſtruction to our paſſage, and others that might facilitate the ſame.

We went aſhore on the eighteenth, to the number of ſeventy men, and marched all day long without meeting one ſoul, as we did alſo the next day till noon, without any more diſcovery than in the preceding one, wherewith we were ſo fatigued, that we reſolved to return back again; and here we may add, that the greateſt part of our men were not over-content to repaſs by land to the North-ſea, becauſe of the five or ſix thouſand men wherewith we were threatened, wherefore we left thoſe that were minded to return to their canoes, and eighteen of us, who found ourſelves leſs weary than the reſt, ſtaid behind: we followed a great road which we met with ſoon after they had left us, and had not walked above an hour, when we took three horſemen, who, when we had aſked where we were, told us, that about a quarter of a league off there was a little town called Chiloteca, wherein there were four hundred white men, beſides negroes, mulattoes, and Indians, and aſſured us we had not been yet diſcovered. We had a mind to run after our men to acquaint them with this account,

Digitized by Google

account, and engage them to go back with us to the town; but the apprehenſions we were under of being diſcovered, and thereby giving the inhabitants time to put themſelves into a poſture of defence, hindered us to do ſo, and made us undertake, perhaps, the boldeſt, moſt reſolute, and, if you will, the raſheſt action that could be thought of; which was, that being no more of us than eighteen men, as I have ſaid before, we ſhould adventurouſly enter that town, where we ſurprized and frightened the Spaniards to that degree, that we took the tenient and other officers, to the number in all of fifty perſons, including the women priſoners: they were ſeized with ſuch a panick fear, ſuppoſing us to be far more numerous than we were, that all the reſt would doubtleſs have been taken and bound by us, had it not been for their horſes, which are always at hand, which they mounted to ride away upon. And ſo it was as we would have it, for if they had had courage to ſtay behind, they might have cut out work for us, whereof we had already but too much, which was to watch our priſoners.

We aſked the tenient where the galley of Panama was, who made anſwer, ſhe lay at anchor in the embarking place of Carthage, which is Caldaira, where ſhe waited for us, as hoping we would paſs that way to go to the North-ſea, and that the king of Spain's ſhip, the St. Lorenzo, was in the port of Realeguo, mounted with thirty pieces of cannon, and four hundred men on board, to hinder us from coming near that place, which they began to ſettle in again: as we had a deſire to lie in this little town where we now were, we farther aſked him what number of men we ſhould have occaſion for to guard us, if we ſhould ſtay there; he told us, there would be ſix hundred men next day there, but that they had no more fire-arms than for two hundred.

Digitized by Google

The Spaniards, who during this time were a little recovered of their aſtoniſhment, being got together, entered into the town again; and after we had ſeveral times conflicted with them, we intrenched ourſelves in the church, where we had put our priſoners; who, ſeeing us go in with precipitation, believed their people purſued us cloſe, and were juſt upon falling on us; which made them ſo bold, as to run to the ſwords and other arms we had got together, wherewith they wounded us one man. We preſently got to the doors, and from thence fired upon them ſo long, till there were no more than four men and their wives left alive of them: at the ſame time we mounted the horſes which we had taken, and, with our four priſoners of each ſex, went away with as little noiſe as we could, which the other Spaniards obſerving, they ſent one to treat with us; but we refuſed, and fired upon him, for fear, if he came too near us, he ſhould come to know how few we were. Next day, which was the twentieth, we rejoined our other people, who had reſted themſelves at an hatto they had met with in their return, and who gave us aſſiſtance againſt ſix hundred of thoſe Spaniards who followed in the rear of us; then we gave the women priſoners their liberty. On the twenty-firſt we went on board our canoes, and next day reached our ſhips, where we interrogated our four new priſoners concerning the paſſage we had projected; but they laid ſo many difficulties before us, that we grew almoſt out of conceit with it: but yet, when we conſidered we muſt either make our way through, or end our days miſerably in an horrible want of all convenient neceſſaries, and in an enemy's country, where we grew weaker every day by the loſs of our men, we reſolved to hazard all to get out of it: inſomuch, that being no longer daunted at the dangers we were in

in

Digitized by Google

in this paſſage, and being perſuaded it would be better for us to die with our ſwords in our hands, than to pine away with hunger, we made all things ready for this journey; and to the end we might cut off from the moſt timorous any deſires they might have to return to their ſhips, if their minds ſhould alter in reference to their going along with us, we ran our veſſels aſhore, except our galley and periaugues, which we reſerved to carry us off the iſland where we were to the continent.

On the twenty-fifth we formed four companies, conſiſting of ſeventy men each, making all together two hundred and fourſcore; and as for the forlorn hope, we agreed for to draw out ten men out of each, and to relieve them every morning: we alſo made a contract among ourſelves, that thoſe who ſhould be lamed in the encounters we might have with the enemy in our way, ſhould have the ſame recompence as formerly, that is, a thouſand pieces of eight a man; that the horſes we ſhould take, ſhould be divided between the companies for the eaſe of all our men, and for thoſe that were incommoded above any of the reſt: that thoſe that ſtraggled and ſhould be lamed, ſhould have no recompence made them, and that violence, cowardice, and drunkenneſs ſhould alſo be puniſhed as formerly.

Before I leave theſe ſeas, I will ſpare the reader the trouble of aſking how we came to endure ſo much hunger, miſeries, and fatigues in theſe parts, ſince I have ſaid upon ſeveral occaſions, that the country is ſo good and pleaſant, as well as fruitful in the production of all things neceſſary for the ſupport and comfort of human life; as to this, there needs no more than obſerving, that, ſince our ſeparation from the Engliſh at the Iſle of St. John, we were all along ſo ill accommodated with ſhipping, that we were forced to keep continually to the coaſt, and by con-

Digitized by Google

ſequence in ſight of the Spaniards, who, diſcovering even the leaſt motions we made, had almoſt always time to remove all their effects out of the way, before we made our deſcent, and left us nothing but what they could not carry away, which was many times very inconſiderable; whereas, had we had but one good ſhip to put out far to ſea, they could not have diſcovered us, and we ſhould have ſurprized them continually in our deſcents, where we could have wanted nothing, not only that was neceſſary, but alſo pleaſurable, beſides the wealth we muſt have carried away in a ſhort time.

This want of ſhipping, under which we laboured, was ſo advantageous to our enemies, and the conſequence thereof they knew ſo well, that the people of Peru ſent no more ſhips to the weſtern coaſt where we were, for fear ſome of them might fall into our hands, and traded with one another no otherwiſe than by land.

The ſame reaſon alſo hindered us to go up to the coaſt of Peru, where we could not have failed of having ſhips, ſeeing they ſailed up and down there every day, and drove a great trade with one another, as knowing we were not ſo near unto their country; ſo that it is eaſy, from what I have remarked, to conjecture, that for want of theſe helps, which were of ſo much importance to us in theſe ſeas, we muſt alſo very often ſtand in need of all theſe things, which we could not but with the greateſt difficulty have without them; wherefore, to make any thing of it in theſe climates, and to raiſe a conſiderable fortune, without much danger and ſufferings, there needs no more than to be provided with a good ſhip, and, for the better conveniency, victualled for ſome time, that ſo there may be no neceſſity of going aſhore to ſeek it.

On

Digitized by Google

On the twenty-ſeventh we diſcovered a ſhip paſſing along between the iſlands, which made us ſend our galley and periaugue to ſee what ſhe was; ſhe put up a white flag, but as ſoon as we came within muſquet-ſhot of her, ſhe took down the white flag, and put out Spaniſh colours, and withal gave us ten or a dozen guns; we returned to the ſhore to give our people notice of it; not doubting, but if that ſhip came to an anchor in the ſame place, ſhe would deſtroy our periaugues: we ſent them with our baggage and priſoners up to the flats that are behind the iſland where we were.

This veſſel, about noon, came in with the tide, and anchored within half a cannon-ſhot of ours that were run aſhore, under the covert of which we fought againſt them with two pieces of cannon till it was night; but as the enemy had no other aim than to ruin our ſhips, they put them this firſt day out of a condition to ſail, which was what ourſelves had a mind to, and then put farther off from the ſhore.

On the twenty-eighth in the morning they drew nearer again, and began to fight us, which made us ſhelter ourſelves behind the points of the rocks that run out into the ſea, from whence our arms carried aboard them; upon this they were forced to ſend their ſhallop under the favour of their cannon, to take away an anchor that was nearer to ſhore than their ſhip; but being prevented therein, they cut off the cable that held it, and put off again; at laſt, concluding with ourſelves that this ſhip would not leave us ſo haſtily, we ſent an hundred men in the evening to the continent before us, that they might endeavour to take ſome horſes, on which we might lay our diſabled men, with orders afterwards to return and wait for us upon the ſea-ſide in the ſame place where they went aſhore (which was a kind of a port we had aſſigned them) in caſe they had re-

turned before our arrival there: and for fear the Spaniſh ſhip ſhould ſuſpect, from the running of ours aground, the deſign we had to go to the North-ſea, and that the men on board her would ſend to the continent to give the people notice to put themſelves in a readineſs to hinder us, we counterfeited all night long the caulking of our ſhips, that ſo we might fully poſſeſs them with a belief that we were careening them, which wrought ſo effectually upon them, that in the morning they failed not to come up, to deſtroy with their cannon the work they fancied we had been doing during the night.

On the twenty-ninth their ſhip took fire, which made them put farther off, where they extinguiſhed it: on the thirtieth we made uſe of a new ſtratagem to amuſe our enemies, and take away all manner of ſuſpicion from them that we deſigned to be gone, which was to charge our guns, granadoes, and four pieces of cannon, whereunto we tied lighted matches of different lengths, that ſo, having their effect in our abſence one after another, the Spaniſh ſhip's crew might ſtill believe we were upon the iſland, from whence we parted in the twilight, as ſecretly as ever we could, with all our priſoners, whom we reſerved for no other uſe than to carry our ſurgeon's medicines, carpenter's tools, and the wounded men we might have in this paſſage.

On the firſt of January, in the year 1688, we arrived on the continent; and, on the evening of the ſame day, the party which we had ſent before to look for horſes, came thither likewiſe: they had taken ſixty-eight with ſeveral priſoners, who, without any violence offered them, told us, they did not think it adviſeable we ſhould travel through Segovia, becauſe the Spaniards had intelligence, we had made choice of that province to paſs through; but as we had already

Digitized by Google

already reſolved upon the matter, and that our ſhips could be of no longer uſe unto us, all that they could ſay to the contrary, did not hinder us to perſevere therein. All our people, at the ſame time, packed up every man his charge, and put their ſilver into bags, which they thought they could carry with their ammunition: thoſe who had too much of the former, gave it thoſe who had loſt theirs at play for to carry, conditioning with them, that they ſhould return the one half back to the owner, in caſe it ſhould pleaſe God to bring them ſafe to the North-ſea.

As for myſelf I muſt ſay, I was none of the worſt provided, and though my charge was lighter than others, yet it was not for all that leſs conſiderable for the value, ſeeing I had converted thirty thouſand pieces of eight into gold, pearls, and precious ſtones. But as the beſt part of this was the product of luck I had at play, ſome of thoſe who had been loſers as well in playing againſt me as others, being much diſcontented at their loſſes, plotted together, to the number of ſeventeen or eighteen, to murder thoſe that were the richeſt amongſt us. I was ſo happy as to be timely advertiſed of it by ſome friends, which did not a little diſquiet my mind; for it was a very difficult taſk for a man, during ſo long a journey, to be able to ſecure himſelf from being ſurprized by thoſe who were continually in the ſame company, and with whom we muſt eat, drink, and ſleep, and who could cut off whom they pleaſed of them, in the conflicts they might have with the Spaniards, by ſhooting us during the hurry, which yet they executed in another manner, as may be ſeen in due place; the apprehenſions I had of this conſpiracy did not hinder me to retain ſo much judgment and preſence of mind, as to fall preſently upon ſuch methods as I thought moſt rational

and ſecure for the preſervation of my life, and which effectually ſaved it, which was to depoſit ſome of what I poſſeſſed in the hands of divers perſons, and that in the preſence of all the reſt, upon condition they ſhould reſtore unto me ſuch a proportion as I agreed with them for, when we were come upon the coaſt of Domingo. By this means I rid myſelf of the care I ſhould continually have had of keeping upon my guard, without expoſing them much who carried my effects, the which being divided diverſly, and to different perſons, they had to do with too many people to compaſs their ends. It is true I paid dear for this precaution; but what will not a man do to ſave his life?

CHAP. VI.

The return of the Free-booters from the South to the North ſea, over the continent, by another way than that by which they got thither.

ON the ſecond day of January, in the morning, after we had ſaid our prayers, and ſunk our periaugues, leſt the Spaniards ſhould have any benefit of them, we ſet out, and lay that night by the ſea-ſide; we ſtopped next day about noon at an hatto to bait: on the fourth we lay upon a platform that extends itſelf upon the tops of ſeveral high mountains, where the Spaniards, notwithſtanding all the precautions we had taken, were advertiſed of our departure, and failed not to let us have their company, keeping themſelves always in our flanks and rear.

On the fifth we lay at another hatto belonging to the tenient of Chiloteca, about which place the enemy began to barricade the ways: we reſted on the ſixth for an hour and better at an eſtancia to bait; and

Digitized by Google

and upon a bed, in a hall there, we found the following letter directed unto us, in these words:

'WE are very glad that you have made choice of our province for your passage through homewards; but we are sorry you are no better laden with silver; however, if you have occasion for mules to carry your baggage, we will send them to you; we hope to have the French general Grognet very quickly in our power, and we will leave you to consider what is like to become of the soldiers.'

We saw clearly by this letter, that they knew nothing of the death of Grognet, since they believed he was still our commander; and that they had no knowledge of him, but by the account that had been given them by the three men that had run away from him to them, when they failed of getting the gold of the mines of Tinsigal.

On the seventh we met with an ambuscade of the enemy, whom our van-guard forced to retire, and lay in the evening at an hatto: the Spaniards, who left no means unattempted to destroy us, burnt all the provision that was in our way, and also when we entered into any savannas, where the grass was very dry, they went to the windward of us to set it on fire, whereby we were very much incommoded, and our houses were even stifled with the smoke: as we were sometimes obliged to stay till the fire had burnt up all, to go forwards, this very much retarded our march; and this was the chief thing the Spaniards aimed at that the men might have leisure to finish a retrenchment, whereof I shall quickly have occasion to speak, which they erected unknown to us at some distance off from our road, to which also the work they cut out for us to remove the barricadoes of trees, where-

wherewith they had encumbered the way, contributed very much; insomuch that, not being able to penetrate into their designs, we persuaded ourselves that they did all this with no other intent than to chagrin us only, as being not able to do worse unto us, or I should have rather said, having not the courage for it.

On the eighth we passed on to a very fine sugar-plantation, and as we were very desirous to take some prisoners who might inform us of what was done, all our company filed off, and twenty of us staid behind in a house, after they had set it on fire, to oblige the Spaniards to come and put it out, when they saw our men at a distance from them, and this they failed not to do: but our impatience being the means of discovering of us too soon, they thereupon fled; yet we, firing upon them, wounded one, and took him, by whom we understood that all their reinforcements were coming together to dispute our passage, and that we were going to meet them that came from Tinsigal, who consisted of three hundred men.

When we had done with this wounded man, we rejoined our main body, who had halted to wait for us, and then jogged on till we came to a great borough, where we found those three hundred men, who afterwards were our continual guard, for they gave us, morning and evening, the diversion of their trumpets; but it was like the music of the enchanted palace of Psicha, who heard it without seeing the musicians, for ours marched on each side of us, in places so covered with pine-trees, that it was impossible to perceive them.

We lay this evening about a quarter of a league from the said borough, upon an ascent, according to our usual manner, who never encamped but upon high ground, or in the race of savannas, for fear of being

Digitized by Google

being hemmed in. We decamped on the ninth in the morning, after we had reinforced our advanced guards with forty men more, who were appointed to fire their muſkets at the entries or avenues of the woods, that we might have a ſight of the Spaniards, in caſe they laid any ambuſcades for us: in the mean time, about ten in the morning we paſſed on to a place that was ſo thin ſet with wood, that we might ſee a conſiderable diſtance from us, and, ſeeing no enemy appear, we did not fire at all: but we did not dream that we were ſeeking for that far before us, which we had at the ſides of us; for the Spaniards, who were ranged to the right and left of our way, lying on their bellies, made their diſcharges with ſo much precipitation, that there was no more than one half of our advanced guard who had time to anſwer their firing. They killed us two men preſently, who were turned out of the way, to paſs undiſcovered of the enemy; after which we went to refreſh ourſelves in a little town that was in our way, and lay half a league beyond it.

We met with another ambuſcade on the tenth, wherein we were beforehand with our enemies, and made them leave us their horſes; then went to bait at another borough, and lay a little farther.

On the eleventh, as we drew nearer unto the town of Segovia, we met with a new ambuſcade a little on this ſide it, and when we had forced them with our fuſils to retire, we went into the ſaid town, being reſolved and diſpoſed to fight ſtoutly, as believing, if the Spaniards were minded to try us, they would uſe their greateſt effort in that place; but they contented themſelves with firing only a few muſquet-ſhot at us from under the covert of ſome pine-trees that grew upon the aſcents which encompaſs the town, whither they were retired: we found nothing there to eat, becauſe they had burnt all the proviſion in the place.

By

Digitized by Google

By good luck we took a priſoner to conduct us to the river we ſought for, and which was ſtill twenty leagues off; foraſmuch as thoſe who had been our guides as far as Segovia knew not the way any farther.

This town lies in a bottom, and is ſo ſurrounded with mountains, that ſhe looks as if ſhe were laid up in priſon; the churches here are very indifferently built, but the place of arms is both very conſiderable and very fine; it is an inland place forty leagues off from the South-ſea. The way that leads to it, from the place where we were, is very difficult, being all mountains of a prodigious height, to the tops whereof we muſt creep with great danger, and the vallies conſequently are ſo very narrow here, that for a league of even ground you paſs over, you have ſix leagues of mountains to go: when we had paſſed theſe mountains we felt a very ſharp cold, and were taken with ſo thick a fog, that, even when day appeared, we could not know one another no otherwiſe than by our voices; but that laſted not till above ten in the morning, when the weather cleared up, and the fog went entirely off; and the heat, which ſucceeds the cold, becomes there very great, as well as in the plains, where none of this cold is felt, till you come directly to the foot of the mountains. Thus were we forced to endure ſuch contrary ſeaſons, as well when we travelled, as when we repoſed ourſelves, that they expoſed us to very great inconveniences; but the hopes of getting once into our native country made us patiently to endure all their toils, and ſerved as ſo many wings to carry us.

On the twelfth we departed from this town, and went up other mountains, where we had incredible trouble to clear the ways of thoſe works the Spaniards had prepared to barricade them up with; we went to lodge in an hatto, where they fired very much into the night into our camp.

On

Digitized by Google

On the thirteenth, an hour before ſun-riſing, we mounted along an eminence that ſeemed to us to be an advantageous place to encamp on; from whence we ſaw, upon the edge of a mountain from which we were ſeparated but by a narrow valley, twelve or fifteen horſes, which we took for ſome time for cattle that fed there, whereat we much rejoiced, as being in hopes we ſhould next morning have good cheer at the coſt of theſe animals; and that we might be the more aſſured of the matter, we ſent forty men thither, who told us at their return, that what we took for beeves were all ſaddled horſes, and that they had obſerved three retrenchments in the ſame place, about piſtol-ſhot one from another, which, raiſing by degrees towards the middle of the ſame ſide of the mountain, fully barricaded the way through which we were to paſs next day, and commanded a ſmall ſtream that ran along the ſaid valley, into which we muſt neceſſarily deſcend firſt, there being no other way, nor any likelihood of our going on one ſide thereof. They ſaw alſo a man, who, as ſoon as he diſcovered them, ſeverely threatened them with his cutlaſs, which he held naked in his hand.

Theſe ſad tidings was a mighty allay to our joy, and the transformation of thoſe pretended beeves, on whom our pining appetite had depended ſo much, affected us to a great degree; but theſe thoughts were at preſent to be laid aſide, to make room for to conſider how we ſhould diſentangle ourſelves from that place, and that without delay, becauſe the Spaniards, who were gathering together from all the adjacent provinces, would quickly fall upon our ſmall company, who muſt of neceſſity be overborne by them, if we ſtaid for them: the means to effect this were not eaſily found, and perhaps it would have appeared an impoſſible thing to any other than ſuch as we were, who, till then, had been ſucceſsful almoſt

moſt in all our undertakings; and to be plain in the matter, we found ourſelves now hard put to it: for, as I obſerved to the reſt of our people, ten thouſand men could not be able to force their way through that intrenchment without being cut to pieces, as well becauſe of the advantage of the place, as the number of Spaniards that defended it, which we might compute by that of their horſes; and ſeeing a ſingle man could hardly paſs on one ſide of it, there was no likelihood we ſhould be able to do it with our horſes and baggage, ſo rough was the country: and indeed, ſaving the road itſelf, all the reſt was no other than a thick foreſt, without either ways or paths, full of ſharp rocks in ſome places, of quagmires in others, and embarraſſed with a great many trees that had dropped down to the ground with age: and though after all we ſhould have found out a way to eſcape a croſs ſo many obſtacles, there was ſtill an indiſpenſable neceſſity that we ſhould fight with the Spaniards, that we might be at quiet for the reſt of our journey. This they all agreed to; but as they objected unto me, that it was to no purpoſe to repreſent theſe difficulties, which of themſelves were but too apparent, without propoſing ſome method to ſurmount them, nor to give counſel without facilitating the execution thereof, I told them, that, for my part, I could not ſee what elſe we could do, but go croſs thoſe woods, precipices, mountains, and rocks, how inacceſſible ſoever they appeared to be, and endeavour to ſurprize the enemy in the rear, and to gain the advantage of the ground from them by getting above them, where ſurely we were not expected; and that I would anſwer for the ſucceſs of the ſame at the peril of my life, if they would undertake it: that as for our priſoners, horſes, and baggage, wherewith we were incumbered, we ought not to leave them defenceleſs,

Digitized by Google

leſs, to the diſcretion of thoſe three hundred men, who always kept cloſe to us in our march, and encamped every evening about a muſket-ſhot off: that we ought to leave fourſcore men to guard them with all neceſſary precaution, as you will hear by-and-by, and that ſuch a number was enough to fight with ſo many Spaniards four times told.

We took ſome time to deliberate hereupon; and at length theſe expedients, how hazardous ſoever they were, being found the moſt ſuitable to the condition we were in, and I may ſay, the only ones we had left us, we reſolved to lay hold of them, and put the ſame in execution.

Scarce had we projected the deſign, and conſidered the aſcent where we were, the ſituation of the oppoſite mountain where the Spaniards had made their retrenchments, but that above the higheſt of them we ſaw a road, which we took to be the continuation of that which they had ſhut up againſt us, and, turning to the right, went winding about the ſide of the ſame mountain; which yet we could not diſcover but with difficulty, and by lights peeping in between the trees, which would allow us to ſee but ſome traces at a diſtance from one another.

As we had not hitherto reſolved upon which ſide to pitch, in order to get behind thoſe intrenchments, whether the right or left, this way decided that point, being well ſatisfied, that if we could but once croſs it, it would bring us directly upon the enemy: but yet, that we might not engage ourſelves inconſiderately in this enterprize, where all things went for us, we ſent twenty men, while we had any daylight left, to a place that was ſomewhat higher than that where we were, to cover another party, whom we had known by experience to have been very ingenious and expert upon ſeveral occaſions, that ſo they might pitch upon thoſe places by which we might, in the night,

Digitized by Google

night, the more eaſily get up as far as that road, thereby to go and charge the enemy in the rear by break of day.

As ſoon as our men were returned, and gave us an account of what they had obſerved, we made all things ready for our departure; but we firſt made that ſtation, we were leaving, a place of arms, where we left our baggage, all the priſoners we had, and fourſcore men to guard them, and this, that the three hundred Spaniards, who continually followed us, as well as thoſe who were behind the retrenchments, might be perſuaded we had not left our camp; and we gave the officer that commanded order to make every centinel he ſet, or relieved in the night-time, to fire his fuſil, and that he ſhould beat the drum at the uſual hour: we told him, moreover, that, if God gave us the victory, we ſhould ſend a party to bring him off, and that, if, about an hour after he heard the firing at an end, he did not ſee any body from us, he ſhould provide for his own ſafety as well as he could.

Things being thus diſpoſed, we ſaid our prayers as low as we could, that the Spaniards might not hear us, from whom we were ſeparated but by the valley we have ſpoken of: at the ſame time we ſet forward, to the number of two hundred men, by moonlight, it being now an hour within night; and about one more after our departure, we heard the Spaniards alſo at their prayers, who, knowing we were encamped very near them, fired about ſix hundred muſkets into the air to frighten us; beſides which, they alſo made a diſcharge at all the reſponſes of the litany of the ſaints which they ſung. We ſtill purſued our march, and ſpent the whole night (in going down, and then getting up) to advance half a quarter of a league, which was the diſtance between them and us, through a country, as I have already

Digitized by Google

already ſaid, ſo full of rocks, mountains, woods, and frightful precipices, that our poſteriors and knees were of more uſe to us than our legs, it being impoſſible for us to travel thither otherwiſe.

On the fourteenth, by break of day, as we were got over the moſt dangerous parts of this paſſage, and had already ſeized upon a conſiderable aſcent of the mountain, by clambering up to it in great ſilence, and leaving the Spaniards retrenchments on our left, we ſaw their party that went the rounds, who, thanks to the fogs that are very rife in this country (as I have already ſaid) till ten o'clock did not diſcover us. As ſoon as they were gone by, we went directly to the place where we ſaw them, and found it to be exactly the road we were minded to ſeize on: when we had made an halt for about half an hour to take breath, and that we had a little daylight to facilitate our march, we followed this road by the voice of the Spaniards, who were at their morning prayers, and we were but juſt beginning our march, when unfortunately we met with two out-centinels, on whom we were forced to fire; and this gave the Spaniards notice, who thought of nothing leſs than to ſee us come down from about them upon their retrenchment, ſince they expected us no other way than from below: ſo that thoſe who had the guard thereof, and were in number about five hundred men, finding themſelves on the outſide, when they thought they had been within, and conſequently open without any covert, took the alarm ſo hot, that, falling all on upon them at the ſame time, we made them quit the place in a moment, and make their eſcape by the favour of the fog.

This ſo much unexpected morning muſick diſturbed the whole œconomy of their deſigns, and ſo thwarted their whole contrivance, that thoſe of the other two retrenchments drew all without the lower-

lowermoſt, where they prepared to defend themſelves; we fought with them a whole hour from under the covert of the firſt retrenchment which we had got of them, and which exactly commanded them, becauſe of its elevated ſituation upon the mountain: but, as they gave no ground, we began to think that the ſhot we diſcharged did not reach them, becauſe of the fog which hindered us to diſcover them, and that we could not fire but according to the diſcharges that came from them; ſo that, being reſolved to loſe our aim no longer, we advanced, and fell directly upon the places from whence they fired: there we fought them ſtoutly, and they did not quit the place, till ſuch time as they ſaw the butts of our muſkets, and that near them, the ſight whereof the miſt had till then taken from them: but then, being much terrified, they left us all, and ran that way which was before their retrenchments, which proved very incommodious for them, becauſe, that being the only place by which they thought we could come at them, they had cut down all the trees that grew there, and in the adjacent parts, as well becauſe they might obſtruct their ſight in this bottom, as hinder us to come on under the covert of them: and thus the precaution which they had taken againſt us, by a quite contrary effect was turned upon themſelves, inſomuch that we had ſo clear a view of them from the retrenchments we had taken, that we did execution almoſt with every piece we ſhot. We purſued them after that for ſome time, ſtill beating them; but at length, being weary both of running and killing, we returned to the retrenchments where the five hundred men, whom we had put to flight at firſt, being come back, endeavoured to break in upon thoſe whom we had left to guard them, but we made them, like the reſt, quickly run away.

We

Digitized by Google

We were alſo fatigued mightily in purſuing of them; for, beſides that the ground was ſo extraordinary bad and hard to paſs, they alſo augmented the difficulties by making uſe of the trees which they had felled down to barricade and ſtop up even the leaſt avenue that was near the place round about.

We found theſe Spaniards had ſo little mind to give us quarter, if they ſhould have the upper hand of us, that even when we took any of them, they would not as much as aſk it at our hands, and to ſome of them we gave quarter in ſpight of their teeth, though they did otherwiſe all that ever they could to ſave themſelves out of our hands: but at this no man ought to wonder; for it is a maxim amongſt them in theſe parts, and whereof we have had experience upon ſeveral occaſions, whether it proceeded from pride, or natural fierceneſs of temper, or becauſe of an oath they take before their commander before they go to fight, that they will never ſubmit to aſk quarter of thoſe to whom they have ſwore they would give none: but we in the mean time, being affected with compaſſion upon ſight of the great quantity of blood we ſaw running down into the rivulet, ſpared the reſt, and went a ſecond time into our intrenchments, having loſt all this while but one man, and two only wounded. The Spaniards, among others, loſt their general, who was an old Walloon officer, who had given them the plan of this retrenchment, that would infallibly have prevailed againſt us, had we attacked them by the way they expected. In the mean time another old captain had adviſed him to ſecure their rear, but he ſaw ſo little likelihood of danger on that ſide, that he anſwered, we muſt be either men or devils; that, if we were men, he defied us to get over any way in eight days time; but if we were devils,

though he ſhould take never ſo much care of himſelf, he muſt ſtill be taken.

However, at the ſolicitation of the ſaid officer, he ſent a party that way to go the rounds, and to poſt the two centinels we ſpoke of, as they thought moſt convenient. The general being ſearched, there were ſeveral letters found in his pockets, which had been writ to him by the governors of the province, that ſet forth particularly the number of men they had ſent him; and one, among others, from the general of Coſta Rica, who expreſſed himſelf as follows:

A letter written by the general of the province of Coſta Rica to the commander in chief in the retrenchments. Dated January 6, 1688.

'SIR,

'I THOUGHT I had made a good choice, when I committed to you the conduct of an affair 'which ought to re-eſtabliſh our reputation, if you 'have the better of the enemy, as you induce me to 'believe you will; I was preparing to ſend you 'eight thouſand men, if you had not ſent me word 'that fifteen hundred was enough. I do not doubt 'but a perſon that hath ſerved ſo long as you have 'done, will take care of your men, eſpecially ſince 'you have to do with a people from whom there 'will no honour redound to you by over-doing 'them.

'According to the relation you have given me of 'your retrenchments, it is impoſſible but thoſe peo'ple, with the help of God, muſt be deſtroyed; I 'adviſe you to put a thouſand men into them, and 'two hundred near unto the river, by which they 'hope to get unto the North-ſea. In caſe any of 'them ſave themſelves croſs the mountains, don Ro'drigo Sarmado, the new governor of Tinſigal,

'ought

'ought to be at the head of three hundred men, to 'fall upon the rear as ſoon as ever they are en- 'gaged, for certainly their baggage muſt be there. 'Take good meaſures, for thoſe devils have a cun- 'ning and ſubtlety that is not in uſe amongſt us.

'When you find them advance within the ſhot of 'your harquebuſſes, let not your men fire but by 'twenties, to the end your firing may not be in 'vain; and, when you find them weakened, raiſe a 'ſhout to frighten them, and fall in with your 'ſwords, while don Rodrigo attacks them in the 'rear. I hope God will favour our deſigns, ſince 'they are no other than for his glory, and the de- 'ſtruction of theſe new ſort of Turks; hearten up 'your men, though they may have enough of that 'according to your example; they ſhall be re- 'warded in heaven, and, if they get the better, 'they will have gold and ſilver enough, wherewith 'theſe thieves are laden.'

After we had ſung Te Deum upon the field of battle, by way of thanks unto God for this victory, we mounted ſixty men on horſeback to go and give notice to our other people of the ſucceſs the Almighty was pleaſed to give us. We found them ready to begin another engagement againſt the three hundred Spaniards, whereof we have ſpoken; who, as ſoon as they heard that action at the retrenchments begin, and ſaw how few men we had left behind in our camp, were eaſily induced to believe we had made our attack by that diſadvantageous way I have ſpoke of, as ſuppoſing it impoſſible for us to do it in any other place, and that therefore our ruin muſt be inevitable; inſomuch that, inſtead of entering directly into the place, which, conſidering their number, they could have carried in a moment, they had ſo little courage, that they contented themſelves to ſend an officer to our men that guarded the bag-

gage, to parley with them, whom they ſtopped for a time, in expectation of ſome news from us, that ſo they might return an anſwer conformable to the intelligence they received. And thus the platform I had laid, whereon to ground the ſufficiency of fourſcore of our men for that work, or rather the cowardice of the enemy, was fully confirmed.

They told us, that, as ſoon we had begun the fight, thoſe three hundred Spaniards advanced a little, and, having got upon an eminence that commanded our camp, they alighted, and ſent them the ſaid officer to make the following harangue to them.

"I come hither from my general; you ſay, you "do not queſtion but you have force enough, and "that you are men of courage, which you have "let us know whenever you have been minded to "make yourſelves maſters of our country; yet you "are not to doubt but the great numbers of men "we have got together, will over-power you. We "are to let you underſtand, there are a thouſand "men in that retrenchment againſt whom they are "gone to fight, where they are worſted; that we "are three hundred men in this place, and that two "hundred are poſted near to the river you go and "ſeek, to wait for thoſe of you who eſcape out of "the fight: wherefore, if you will give yourſelves "up priſoners of war into the power of our ge"neral, who is a man of honour, we will be friends, "and we will let you paſs to your own country: "but as to thoſe of your men whom ours have ta"ken alive, their almoner, yeſterday after prayers, "begged quarter for them, for the honour of the "holy ſacrament, and glorious Virgin, which has "been promiſed unto them."

Our men, hearing him talk at this rate, were already ſomewhat alarmed, as fearing what he ſaid was

was true; but, as ſoon they ſaw us come at a diſtance, they took courage, and returned him as fierce an anſwer, like men who had no fear upon them, to this purpoſe.

'Though you had had force enough to deſtroy 'two thirds of our number, we ſhould not fail 'ſtill to fight with the remaining part; yea, though 'there were but one man of us left, he ſhould fight 'ſtill againſt you all.

'When we put aſhore, and left the South-ſea, 'we all reſolved to paſs through your country, or 'die in the attempt; and though there were as 'many Spaniards of you as there is graſs in this ſa-'vanna, we ſhould not be afraid, but look upon you 'always in our opinion cowards, and we will paſs on, 'and go where we will in ſpight of your teeth.'

The officer, being diſmiſſed upon our arrival, mounted his horſe to return from whence he came, and obſerving we were booted, and mounted upon his companions horſes, who guarded the retrenchments, he ſhrunk up his ſhoulders by way of amazement, and rode as faſt as he could to carry the news to his own party. As ſoon as he was got to them, who were not above a muſket-ſhot off, we advanced, and fell upon them, to put them out of condition all at once to follow us any more: we received their firſt firing, to which we made no return, otherwiſe than with our piſtols and cutlaſſes, and that unhappily for them who had not yet got upon their horſes, for we cut a great many of them to pieces, inſomuch that, God crowning all the advantages we had had in the reſt of our engagements by the ſucceſs we had in this laſt, we let the reſt go, detaining only their horſes; and when we had broken all their arms, we, with our baggage, rejoined our main body, who ſtaid ſtill upon the place to guard the retrenchments. We had no more than

one man killed in this engagement (as it was in the other) and two maimed.

We aſked ſome of the priſoners whom we had taken ſeveral queſtions, and they told us, among other things, that we ſhould ſtill meet with another retrenchment upon the road, about ſix leagues diſtant from thoſe we quitted, which made us fear, with very great reaſon, leſt the fugitives ſhould go and poſſeſs themſelves of it with a deſign to diſpute our paſſage once more: and indeed we ſaw fire upon the top of a great mountain, which they had made for a ſignal to gather their ſcattered troops together, and thoſe who, out of the fear they were in, might perhaps hide themſelves for eight days together, had it not been for this, as believing us ſtill at their heels: but we prevented their deſign, for we lay two leagues from thence to cut off their paſſage, there being no other way than this by which they might get thither, and whoſe ſides were ſtill leſs acceſſible the farther you went on, than they were behither the ſame. We had cut the hams of nine hundred of their horſes before, that ſo they might be made unfit to purſue us; we took much about the ſame number of them with us to eaſe our journey, till we came at the river we were in queſt of, and to kill and ſalt them upon our arrival, that ſo they might ſerve us for food in that long paſſage.

On the fifteenth we paſſed by the forementioned retrenchment, which was not yet finiſhed, without any reſiſtance (this proceeding in all appearance from the terror which the noiſe of our victory had ſtruck into the people) and lay at an hatto three leagues beyond it. On the ſixteenth we lay at another ſix leagues farther; and at laſt, on the ſeventeenth, which was the ſixteenth day ſince our ſetting out, we came to the ſo much deſired river, and preſently entered into the woods that grow upon the

banks

banks thereof, where every one fell to work in good earneſt to cut down trees to build piperies, wherein we might go down the ſame.

Some perhaps may think that theſe were ſome commodious veſſels, wherein to carry us with eaſe down the river, but there was nothing leſs than that in it. What we called piperies were four or five ſtocks of one kind of tree, which they called Mahot; it is a light floating ſort of wood, which, after we have taken off the bark, we join and tie together, inſtead of cords, with a ſort of lines that grow in theſe woods and cling like ivy unto every thing that is near them, and eſpecially to trees, to the height whereof they mount; and when theſe pieces are ſet together, they put two or three men upon them, according to the bigneſs of the pipery, and this is all the equipment we make thereof.

The ſureſt poſture we can find ourſelves to be in, is to ſtand upright thereon, though they ſink two or three feet under water; and you may judge by what follows, whether the continual apprehenſions of danger we were in were well or ill grounded.

We built ours no bigger than to hold two men, that ſo they might the more eaſily paſs between thoſe very narrow rocks we foreſaw, by thoſe that already preſented themſelves to our view, we muſt meet with before we got unto the ſea-ſide. When this pretty flota was in a condition to put out, we dragged it to the river-ſide, after we had furniſhed ourſelves with long poles, to keep us from being driven too violently upon the rocks, where we were apprehenſive we ſhould be carried by the violence of the ſtream, as it came alſo frequently to paſs.

This river ſprings in the mountains of Segovia, and diſcharges itſelf into the North-ſea at Cape Gracias a Dios, after having run a very long way in a moſt rapid manner croſs a vaſt number of rocks of a

Digitized by Google

prodigious bigneſs, and by the moſt frightful precipices that can be thought of, beſides a great many falls of water, to the number of at leaſt an hundred of all ſorts, which it is impoſſible for a man to look on without trembling, and making the head of the moſt fearleſs to turn round, when he ſees and hears the water fall from ſuch an height into thoſe tremendous whirlpools. In ſhort, the whole is ſo formidable, that there are none but thoſe who have ſome experience, can have right conceptions of it: but for me, who have paſſed theſe places, and who, as long as I live, ſhall have my mind filled with thoſe riſques I have run, it is impoſſible I ſhould give ſuch an idea hereof, but what will come far ſhort of what I have really known of them.

It was therefore upon this dangerous river that we went down, ſuffering ourſelves to be carried along at the will of the ſtream, in theſe pitiful machines, whereof the greateſt part was under water, as has been ſaid before, two or three feet, inſomuch that we were almoſt always up to the middle therein: but this was nothing in compariſon of the rapidity of it, which many times hurried us, in ſpight of all the reſiſtance we could make, into the publings of foaming water, where we now and then found ourſelves buried with our pieces of wood, which made many of our men tie themſelves thereon, as being in hopes the wood, that floated, would bear them up ſtill upon the water; but in this, ſome of them were miſtaken.

But as for thoſe great falls, they had, to our good fortunes, at their entrance and goings out, a great baſon of ſtill water, which gave us the opportunity to get upon the banks of the river and draw our piperies aſhore, to take off thoſe things we had laid on them, which, as wet as we were, we carried with us, leaping from rock to rock, till we

we came to the end of the fall, from whence one of us afterwards returned to put our pipery into the water, and let her ſwim along to him who waited for her below: but if he failed to catch hold (by ſwimming) of thoſe pieces of wood, before they got out of the baſon below, the violence of the ſtream would carry them away to rights, and the men muſt then be neceſſitated to go and pick out trees to make another.

We thought at our ſetting out to go down the water all together, to the end that, in caſe of any accident, one might give aſſiſtance to the other; but at the end of three days, when I knew the danger we expoſed ourſelves to in this way of ſwimming together, which had already been the occaſion of our loſing many piperies, I ſet myſelf againſt the deſign of our continuing thus together, by demonſtrating to all our men, that now we had no Spaniards in theſe parts to conflict with, but only the difficulties of this dangerous river, it was convenient on the contrary to allow every crew of us to advance a little before the other, and to keep, as it were, in a line ſucceſſively; and ſo, in caſe the firſt were carried (as indeed it came to paſs) by the violence of the ſtream upon the rocks on the brink of the water, whereof the river is full in an infinity of places, they might have time at leaſt to get off before the arrival of the next pipery, which had already wrought ſo much diſorder by the wrecks that had been occaſioned by their falling foul on one another, that all of us were in manifeſt danger of periſhing.

I afterwards found, as well as ſeveral others of our people who had made trial hereof, that this foreſight was not uſeleſs to us; for my pipery happening to be caſt upon ſuch a place, I was forced to untie the pieces of wood, and to ſtraddle upon one

Digitized by Google

piece, while my companion did the ſame upon another, and ſo leave ourſelves to be carried down in this manner, at the pleaſure of the ſtream, till it pleaſed God that we ſhould meet with a place, as we did indeed, that was not ſo rapid, where we could go upon the bank of the river, which we could not have done, if others had immediately followed us. I alſo adviſed, that thoſe who went down firſt ſhould take care to ſet up in the moſt dangerous places a flag or banner at the top of a long pole, that ſo we might diſcern it afar off, not ſo much to give notice to thoſe who were hindermoſt, that there was a fall in ſuch a place, for theſe would make themſelves to be heard almoſt a league off, but to ſignify to them what ſide they were to put to land, which ſhould be that where the flag ſtood. Theſe methods being put in practice, ſaved the lives of a great many men, though, for all theſe precautions, ſeveral were alſo loſt.

The many bananiers which we found along the the banks of this river, was almoſt the only food that kept us from ſtarving; for our arms being continually wet, and our powder all ſpoiled, we could not poſſibly go a hunting, though there is very good game there; for as to the horſe-fleſh which we had ſalted, we were forced to throw it away in two days time, for it could not keep in the water any longer.

Theſe bananiers have partly been planted by the Indians who dwell along the ſides of this river, and partly by the overflowing of the waters, which, having dragged them along, and then left them dry, took root again, and ſo have multiplied.

Some days after we found, when we began to go down the river, ſome carbets of an Indian nation called Albaouins, whom we chaced to get their victuals; there are a multitude of others, who dwell farther

farther from the brink thereof on the oppoſite ſide to the former, and thoſe of the one bank have neither war nor commerce with thoſe of the other.

It was in this place that thoſe of our men, who had loſt their money by gaming, put their cruel deſign in execution, and where I came to know that the warning formerly given me was too true: for theſe wretches being gone before, went and hid themſelves behind the rocks that are upon the brink of this river, by which we muſt neceſſarily paſs. As every man endeavoured to ſave himſelf as well as he could, and that for the reaſons already given, we went down the river at a diſtance one from another, and without any miſtruſt; they had but too much time and conveniency to pick out and murder five Engliſhmen, whom they knew to be ſome of the beſt furniſhed with booty, of which theſe aſſaſſins entirely deprived them. My companion and I found their bodies upon the river's ſide; and I muſt freely confeſs, that ſuch a ſpectacle would have ſtruck no ſmall terror into me, if I had been ſtill the bearer of my winnings; I bleſs God with all my heart, that inſpired me with a deſign to quit my treaſure, being then expoſed in going down the river, as I was laſt after the Engliſh, to the treachery of thoſe villains, where I muſt infallibly have run the ſame riſque as they had done. None of our people knew any thing of this murder; but when we were got all together farther down, I told them what I had ſeen, which was fully confirmed, as well by the abſence of the dead men, as by that of the aſſaſſins, who durſt not come and rejoin us, and whom we never ſaw from thence forward.

On the twentieth of February we found the river larger, and more ſpacious than before, and met with no more falls therein; but the ſame was ſo incumbered with trees and bamboes, which the floods car-

ried thither, that our wretched machines could not be kept from overturning; but the depth of the water in theſe parts being a means to moderate the rapidneſs of it, there were not many drowned.

At laſt, when we were gone down ſome leagues farther, we found the river very good, the ſtream very gentle, and no likelihood of our meeting any more rocks or trees, though we had ſtill above ſixty leagues to the ſea-ſide. Wherefore, now finding ourſelves freed from thoſe perils and dangers which we had been expoſed to in ſuch terrible places, where death, in the moſt frightful ſhape, preſented itſelf continually to our view, every one began to reſume freſh courage, and conceive good hopes of the remainder of the voyage; inſomuch that, being now all of us aſſembled together in the ſame place where thoſe who had gone before ſtaid for them that came after, and that we had now before us how we ſhould go quite through with the reſt of our voyages, we agreed to divide ourſelves into ſeveral companies, each conſiſting of ſixty men, to build canoes out of Mapou wood, which ſort of trees grow in great numbers upon the banks of the ſaid river.

Having, with wonderful diligence, finiſhed four canoes by the firſt of March, for the uſe of an hundred and twenty men that were of us in one canton, we put them into the water, and embarked thereon, without ſtaying for an hundred and forty more, who were finiſhing theirs; the ardent deſire we had to be, as ſoon as poſſible, ſatisfied, whether we ſhould really be able to reach the North-ſea, egged us mightily to put on; for, according to the idea we had conceived of our paſſage, we were apprehenſive of being carried back into that of the ſouth, as not being able to think we could be ſo happy as to recover the ſight of a ſea, by which we might

might be carried home to our native countries, and which we had for ſo conſiderable a time longed for.

The Engliſh, who would not make any canoes, had got in their piperies before us to the ſea-ſide: here they met with an Engliſh boat from Jamaica, at anchor, whom they were very forward to preſs, to go and aſk leave of the governor of that iſland for their ſafe coming thither, becauſe they had gone out without any commiſſion; but that veſſel being unwilling to go thither, without they laid down 6000 l. Sterling by way of advance, and they being not in a condition to run the hazard of ſuch a ſum, becauſe many of them had loſt their money, as ſeveral amongſt us had done, which they would have carried with them, by the overſetting of the piperies, they ſtaid with the Mouſtick Indians, that dwell ſome leagues to the windward of the mouth of this river, and who are very kind to them, becauſe of the trinkets they bring them from Jamaica.

Thus, that boat proving to be of no uſe to theſe Engliſh, they politickly bethought themſelves to ſend us word hereof, as hoping we in acknowledgment of this kindneſs, would obtain leave of the governor of St. Domingo for them to retire, and be protected in that iſland. This news we received by two Mouſtick Indians, whom in a boat they ſent to meet us forty leagues up the river, and who told us, that there ſhould no more than 40 men only come down, becauſe that ſhip could contain no more by reaſon of the ſmallneſs of it, and its ſcantineſs of proviſion: but, for all this, the 120, that made up one of our companies, went down together, for every one pretended to be of the number of the ſaid 40.

Though this river we are now leaving is by ſome Spaniſh maps made to run directly 80 leagues, and

then to fall into the North-ſea, yet we have computed the ſame to run above 300, being almoſt always carried to the ſouth-eaſt for to go to the north.

We happily arrived on the ninth at the mouth of the river, at cape Gracias de Dios, and entered into the ſea, which with much ſatisfaction we knew to be that of the north, where we were obliged to wait for the Engliſh ſhip that was at the iſles of Pearls, which are a dozen leagues diſtant from that cape to the eaſt; here we ſtaid till the fourteenth with the Mulaſters that live in theſe parts, and who fed us for ſome days with fiſh.

This cape which ſtands on the continent, hath been inhabited for a long time by theſe Mulaſters and negroes, both men and women, who have greatly multiplied there ſince a Spaniſh ſhip, bound from Guinea, frighted with their fathers, was loſt by coming too near the ſhore, which is very dangerous in theſe parts: now, thoſe who had eſcaped the ſhipwreck were courteouſlly received by the Mouſtick Indians living about this canton, who were well pleaſed with the loſs of that ſhip, and of the Spaniards, their enemies, that were in it.

Thoſe Indians aſſigned their new gueſts a place to grub up, where they built themſelves cottages in the fineſt country of Savanna's, that reach along the river from the mouth of it for five or ſix leagues upwards. Here, for their ſuſtenance, they plant maiz, bananiers, and magniots, which the Indians gave them; they alſo taught them to make a moſt nouriſhing ſort of drink, which they call Hoon; they prepare the ſame of a fruit that is produced on the top of a kind of a palm-tree, which grows naturally in theſe woods, and never exceeds ten feet in height; each of theſe trees bears no more than one bunch of grapes, but moſt of them are a full load for one man: its grain is of the ſame form and thickneſs as

an

Digitized by Google

an olive: ſome of them are yellowiſh, others reddiſh, and containing, in a very hard ſtone, an exceeding oily kernel: they pound the fruit, ſtone, and kernel all together, boiling the ſame afterwards in water; and this makes up the compoſition: when the ſame is grown cold, or but luke-warm, they put what quantity they are minded to drink into a calabaſh pierced through with ſmall holes like unto a ſkimmer; this drink, beſides that it is very nouriſhing, and fattens very much, is alſo a pleaſanter liquor than any that is to be met with amongſt the other Indians, the ſame being only peculiar to this nation.

The Mulaſters are all a very tall people, and go altogether naked, ſaving their privy-parts, which they cover, nature having provided for them upon that account a kind of greyiſh ſtuff, which they pull from a tree called a baſtard-palm, the top of whoſe ſtock is wrapped up in ſome fathoms of it, from the firſt riſing of its branches ſome feet downwards, according to the thickneſs of each of theſe trees: this ſtuff is alſo a great help to them to make coverlets, wherewith to cover them in the night; and ſome of thoſe people, who live more at eaſe, wear ſhirts and drawers, which the Engliſh bring them from Jamaica. They are the boldeſt people in the world for expoſing themſelves to the perils of the ſea, and undoubtedly the moſt expert in the art of fiſhing: they will commit themſelves to the waves in theſe little boats, or ſuch like, which an able ſeaman will ſcarce venture to do; and here they will ſtay for three or four days together, being no more concerned, let the weather be what it will, than if they were made of the ſame piece as their boat; and provided they can but once ſet ſight on the fiſh, though ſwimming never ſo low in the water, they will not fail

fail to take him, ſo dexterous are they at this work.

They many times do our Free-booters a kindneſs, when they take them on board with them, upon condition of letting them have a ſhare of what booty is got, which muſt be exactly performed unto them for if you deceive them, you muſt no longer expect their aſſiſtance; and this temper is peculiar almoſt to all the Indian nations in theſe parts, that they will never go again, when once you have broke your word with them.

The ancient Mouſticks, who gave theſe men I have ſpoken of entertainment, live about ten or twelve leagues to the windward of Cape Gracias a Dios, in thoſe places they call Sambay and Sambey: they are very ſlothful, and neither plant nor ſow but very little, and lie all day on their Amacks, which are a kind of moving beds in their Ajoupas or Barracks, while their wives wait upon them in every thing as far as they can ſerve them; and, when they are preſſed with hunger, they go a fiſhing in their boats, at which they are alſo very ſkillful, and, when they have taken any, they eat them, and go not out any more till hunger returns upon them again.

As for their cloathing, it is neither larger nor more ſumptuous than that of the Mulaſters at the cape. There are but a few amongſt them that have a fixed abode, moſt of them being vagabonds, and wandering along the river-ſide, and having no other houſe to ſhelter themſelves in but a latanier-leaf, which they manage ſo, that, when the wind drives the rain on the one ſide, they turn their leaf againſt it, behind which they lie, and this ſkreens them againſt the weather: when they are inclined to ſleep, they dig a hole in the ſand, where they lie, and then cover themſelves therewith; and this they do to keep themſelves from the ſtinging of the Mouſticks, wherewith the air is generally very full: they are little flies, that

are

are ſooner felt than ſeen, and have ſo ſharp and venemous a ſting, that, where they alight, they ſeem to have fiery darts wherewith to prick men. Theſe poor people are ſo tormented with thoſe miſchievous inſects, when they ſee them not, that their bodies appear like lepers; and I can aſſure it for truth, as knowing the ſame by my own knowledge, that it is no ſmall pain to be attacked with them; for, beſides that they cauſed us to loſe our reſt in the night, it was then that we were forced to go naked for want of ſhirts, when tho troubleſomeneſs of theſe animals made us run into deſpair, and ſuch a rage, as ſet us beſides ourſelves.

When theſe Indians go a journey, though never ſo ſhort, they take their wives, children, dogs, and fawns, which they breed tame, all along with them: it is a cuſtom I have obſerved to be held among all the Indian nations on the terra firma of America; and theſe I ſpeak of live as brutiſhly as any of the reſt, yet they are not ſo cruel and ſavage, becauſe of the ſociety they have with the Engliſh, who have no other aim than to endeavour to bring them under, and maſter their country, where they have a great many habitations already.

On the fourteenth the veſſel, which I ſaid was gone to the iſles of Pearls, arrived at the place where we were, and came ſcarce to an anchor, but we all crowded to go on board, becauſe we were to draw lots who ſhould embark; but about 50 of us for all that, being more vigilant than the reſt, made a ſhift to enter her; who, thinking it unadviſable to go aſhore again, to commit to chance a thing we were already in poſſeſſion of, and for to prevent a greater number from entering in, we being already piled as it were on the top of one another, we weighed anchor and departed.

The

The maſter would have carried us to Jamaica, but we not knowing how matters ſtood between France and England, whether it were peace or war, engaged him to carry us to St. Domingo, for 40 pieces of eight a head: we went to take in water at the iſle of Pearls, and on the ſixteenth left the ſame. On the ſeventeenth we doubled the iſland of Catalina or Providence, as the Engliſh call it, where the Spaniards had formerly a very fine fort and ſmall town, which were taken by the French and Engliſh, under the colours of the laſt. On the eighteenth we went to croſs the channel though it blew a ſtrong eaſterly breeze. On the twenty-fourth we came to land at Los Jardinos, which are a great many ſmall iſlands near unto that of Cuba: and on the twenty-ninth we took in water at port Portilla (in the iſle of Cuba) which is not inhabited. On the thirtieth we anchored to the S. S. E. of the borough of Baracoa, in the ſame iſland, where we ſurprized the hunters belonging to that place, whom we obliged to ſell us the victuals they had took by giving them their own price for it: but this our liberality towards them proceeded from another cauſe, and that was, that we were uncertain whether our nation was at peace or war with the Spaniards, ſince we had no intelligence here or from any French country, how things went with them.

On the ſixth of April we touched at Nippas, which is a ſmall borough on the coaſt, 7 leagues diſtant from Petit Guavis, that ſo we might hear ſome news of our own country, while we rode at anchor there. There were ſome of our people ſo infatuated with the long miſeries we had ſuffered, that they thought of nothing elſe but the Spaniards, inſomuch that, when from the deck they ſaw ſome horſemen riding along the ſea-ſide, they flew to their arms to fire upon them, as imagining they were enemies, though we aſſured them we were now come among thoſe of our own

Digitized by Google

own nation. We left this port on the fourth, and went to anchor in the port of Petit Guavis, from whence we had departed almoſt 4 years before; and before we came near the fort, I went to Monſ. Dumas, the king's lieutenant, to require him to grant us protection and indemnity in the governor Monſ. de Caſſy's abſence, by virtue of an amneſty the king had been pleaſed to ſend to thoſe that made war upon the Spaniards ſince the peace, which being concluded on ſince our departure, it was impoſſible we ſhould come to know it in ſuch remote places, and where we were thought to have been entirely deſtroyed.

Laſtly, when we were got all aſhore to a people that ſpoke French, we could not forbear ſhedding tears for joy, that, after we had run ſo many hazards, dangers, and perils, it had pleaſed the Almighty Maker of the earth and ſeas, to grant a deliverance, and bring us back to thoſe of our own nation, that at length we may return without any more ado to our own country; whereunto I cannot but farther add, that, for my own part, I had ſo little hopes of ever getting back, that I could not for the ſpace of 15 days take my return for any other than an illuſion, and it proceeded ſo far with me, that I ſhunned ſleep, for fear, when I awaked, I ſhould find myſelf again in thoſe countries, out of which I was now ſafely delivered.

A RE-

Digitized by Google

A

RELATION of a VOYAGE

MADE BY THE

Sieur DE MONTAUBAN,

Captain of the FREE-BOOTERS,

On the Coaſt of Guinea, in the Year 1695.

WITH A

Deſcription of the Kingdom of CAPE LOPEZ, the Manners, Cuſtoms, and Religion of the Country.

A LETTER to Monſieur ———

'SIR,

'A RELATION of the voyage made by captain Montauband, commonly called Montauban, is at laſt 'come to my hands, and I have ſent you the ſame 'in print: there is no doubt, but you will admire, 'as well as I, how much his prudence and courage 'have been inſtrumental to deliver him from 'many unhappy accidents, where another muſt 'have infallibly periſhed. You will remember, as 'ſoon as you begin to read, to have ſeen ſome of 'his men at Bourdeaux, in the year 1694; from 'thence it was he departed the following year to 'undertake the voyage you are here preſented with. 'He gave chace to ſeveral ſhips he met with in his 'way;

Digitized by Google

'way; he fought with a frigate carrying thirty-four 'guns, at Cape Verde; he met with an Engliſh 'ſhip of twenty guns, at Cape St. John, which 'he took in a ſhort fight; after which he took a 'Brandenburgh caper, and ſailed away for Angola. 'Near the ſhore he met with an Engliſh guard-ſhip, 'being a frigate carrying fifty-four pieces of cannon: 'this ſhip he fought five or ſix hours, and both of 'them very bravely boarded one another; and as 'he was about to make himſelf maſter of the ſaid 'ſhip, the Engliſh captain ſet fire to his powder, 'and ſo both the ſhips blew up into the air with a 'terrible crack.

'You will have the pleaſure to contemplate, in 'the perſual of this book (as if you ſtood upon the 'ſea-ſide) this tremendous ſhipwreck; as alſo ſee 'how the Sieur de Montauban, together with 'fifteen or ſixteen of his men, were ſaved. He ſuffered 'hunger for above three days together, and at laſt 'arrived at Cape Lopez, from whence he went to 'viſit the king of that country, of whoſe court and 'kingdom he has given us here a deſcription: he 'ſpeaks alſo of his reception, and advances a project 'how to ſettle the Roman Catholick faith in thoſe 'parts: he ſtood for ſurety at the baptizing of a 'ſon of prince Thomas, the foreſaid king's ſon. 'He went on board a Portugueſe ſhip in order to 'his paſſage to Europe: an Engliſhman, that was his 'friend, took him aboard his veſſel, and carried him 'to Barbadoes, where he was confined to his cham- 'ber by colonel Ruſſel, who was governor of thoſe 'iſlands: he was freed from thence, and went to 'Martinico, where he ſaw M. de Frontenac, general 'of the French iſlands. From thence he got into 'France, being very uncertain whether he ſhall return 'to ſea again. But, ſir, all theſe adventures are 'ſet forth in ſo natural and eaſy a ſtile, that you

'cannot

'cannot but infallibly obſerve the ſincerity and 'generoſity of the author. It is true, our ſea-far-'ing men are not ſo polite as thoſe who live on 'ſhore; and that proceeds from want of ſociety 'and converſation: but to make amends for that, 'they are an hundred-fold more ſincere than the 'other. And thus, ſir, do not think a ſea-faring man 'will impoſe upon you: for myſelf, I have ſeveral 'times heard Montauban, in perſon, give a relation 'of this ſame voyage, but I could never obſerve 'that he varied in any one thing at any time; and 'the free and generous air wherewith he delivered 'thoſe brave actions he has performed in fight, would 'perſuade you of the truth of what he hath related. 'It is not for any oſtentation that he has written 'this account; he has in the very beginning thereof 'declared openly enough, that he had no other end 'in doing it, than to give a miniſter of ſtate an 'account (as he calls it) of his campaign. In ſhort, 'if you are dubious in reſpect to the fight where 'the Sieur de Montauban was ſhipwrecked, you 'may recollect yourſelf, and find you have read the 'ſame in the gazettes of September and October this 'preſent year.

'I am, Sir, your moſt humble

'and moſt obedient Servant,

'B——'

RELATION.

Digitized by Google

Relation of a Voyage

made by the

Sieur DE MONTAUBAN,

Captain of the Free-booters,

On the Coast of Guinea, in the Year 1659.

SINCE I have so often felt the malignant influences of those stars that preside over the seas, and by an adverse fortune lost all that wealth which with so much care and trouble I had amassed together, I should take no manner of pleasure in this place to call to mind the misfortunes that befel me before the conclusion of the last campaign, had not desire of serving still both the public and particular persons, as well as to let his majesty know the affection and weddedness I have always had for his service, made me take pen in hand to give M. de Phelipeaux an account of such observations as I have made; wherein he may also find with what eagerness I have penetrated to the remotest colonies of our enemies, in order to destroy them and ruin their trade.

I was not willing to swell up this relation with an account of all the voyages I have made, and all the particular adventures that have befallen me on the coasts of New Spain, Carthagena, Mexico, Florida, and Cape-Verd, which last place I had been at twenty years ago, having begun to use the seas at the age of sixteen.

I could also have added hereunto the campaign I have made in 1691, when, being commander of the ship

Digitized by Google

ſhip called the Machine, I ravaged the coaſts of Guinea, entered into the great Serelion, and took a fort from the Engliſh, where they had four-and-twenty pieces of cannon, which I cauſed to be ſplit, that they might be of no farther uſe unto them.

But I am deſirous to confine myſelf to give an account of my laſt voyage, becauſe it is the neareſt, and that which is yet freſh in the memory of the public; notice and ſome information having been given thereof by the noiſe made in France and elſewhere, of the burning of my ſhip, and the terrible crack it made in the air.

In the year 1694, after I had ravaged the coaſt of Caracca, I went up to the windward towards St. Croix, where I underſtood that there were ſome merchants ſhips, with a convoy, to come from Barbadoes and Nevis, and bound for England; and upon the ſame information I reſolved to ſail up to the height of the Bermudas, hoping to take this ſmall fleet, and ſo to make a good booty of it. I was ſcarce got thither, but that I ſaw them appear, and ſailing directly towards me, without any apprehenſions of danger upon them: but I preſently attacked their convoy, called the Wolf, and took her, with two more of the merchant ſhips laden with ſugar, the reſt having made their eſcape during the fight. As I was carrying my prize into France, I met with another Engliſh ſhip of ſixteen guns coming from Spain, and bound alſo for England, that after a ſhort fight ſtruck, and which I carried to Rochel, where the admiralty judged the ſame to be good prize. When I had ſold this ſhip, I carried my three other veſſels to Bourdeaux, where I arrived in September 1694; and theſe laſt being alſo condemned as good prizes, I made it my buſineſs preſently to find out merchants that would buy them.

In

In the mean time, my freebooters, who had not ſeen France of a long time, finding themſelves now in a great city, where pleaſure and plenty reigned, were not backward to refreſh themſelves after the fatigues they had endured, while ſo long abſent from their native country. They ſpent a world of money here, and proved horribly extravagant. The merchants and their hoſts made no ſcruple to advance them money, or lend them as much as they pleaſed, upon the reputation of their wealth, and the noiſe there was throughout the city of the valuable prizes whereof they had ſhares: all the nights they ſpent in ſuch divertiſements as pleaſed them beſt, and the days in running up and down the town in maſquerade, cauſing themſelves to be carried in chairs, with lighted flambeaux at noon-day, of which debauches ſome died, while four of my crew fairly deſerted me: ſo that now, ſeeing I loſt my men, notwithſtanding all the care I had taken, and ſtrict injunctions I had laid upon them, I thought it adviſeable for me to be gone from thence as ſoon as I could, that I might keep the reſt together.

In the firſt place I ſupplied the room of thoſe whom I had loſt with as many Bourdeaux young men, who in a ſhort time became as expert as the old ones; for you are to obſerve, I made it my continual care and buſineſs to teach my men to ſhoot; and my ſo frequent exerciſing of them rendered them in a ſhort time as capable of ſhooting and handling their arms, as the oldeſt ſea freebooters, or the beſt fowlers by land.

When I had revictualled my ſhip, that carried no more than thirty-four pieces of cannon, I left Bourdeaux in the month of February 1695, with an intention to go and cruiſe on the coaſt of Guinea in Africa. I got up to the Azores, which are thirty-ſeven degrees north latitude, and cruiſed thereabouts for

for the ſpace of eight days without any purchaſe: from thence I paſſed to the Canary Iſlands, which are in twenty-five degrees north latitude: we diſcovered the Pike of Teneriff a great way off, which they ſay is the higheſt mountain in the world. They report theſe mountains had their names from dogs, which the Latins call Canes, and which the Portugueſe found here in great numbers upon their firſt arrival. I cruiſed round about them for fourteen days, in expectation of meeting with ſome Dutch ſhips which I was informed were to come that way, and it proved to be really ſo; for the ſaid ſhips came thither, but they got into the port before I could reach them; and this made me ſail away for the White Cape, and the Iſles of Cape Verd, that are between fourteen and eighteen degrees north latitude. Upon my arrival there, I found two Engliſh ſhips lying at anchor in the road of the iſle of May, which made me put out my ſhallop to know what they were, and the ſame informed me that they were two interlopers, carrying about thirty guns each. I reſolved to board and take them; to this end I lay by to come nearer them; but as we bore upon one of the points of this iſland, theſe ſhips did not think fit to tarry for my coming up; but ſmelling my deſign, they made all ready, and left their cables and anchors in the road, at which their ſhallops lay.

I purſued them all day; but night coming on I loſt ſight of them, and returned to the road from whence they were gone, in order to take away the cables and anchors, and to ſink the ſhallops faſtened by them. When I had ſo done, I ſailed away for the iſle of St. Vincent, to caulker my veſſel in that place, and to take in water and wood. This iſland alſo is one of thoſe of Cape Verd. Here I ſtaid for the ſpace of eight days, at the end whereof, underſtanding by a Portugueſe bark that there were

two

Digitized by Google

two Engliſh ſhips carrying from twenty to thirty guns, at the iſle of Fugo, one of which was refitting there, becauſe of a fight ſhe had been engaged in with ſome other ſhips: I preſently weighed anchor and ſailed away for the ſaid iſland, which is not far diſtant from that of St. Vincent, being in hopes to meet with the enemy in that place; but upon my arrival, I underſtood by a Portugueſe, that they were gone away four or five days before, in the night, without ſaying any thing of the place whither they were bound, from the ſaid iſland of Fugo, or Fire-Iſland. I thereupon ſteered my courſe for the coaſt of Guinea, and firſt diſcovered the Cape of Three Points, where I met with the guard-ſhip, which was a Dutch frigate, carrying thirty four guns, and cruiſed out at ſea. She quickly diſcovered me, and made directly towards me, in order to know what I was: as I had alſo on my part perceived her, and was in hopes to come cloſe and fight her, I hung up Dutch colours, that I might not frighten her away, but give her an opportunity to come within cannon-ſhot of me. When I ſaw her near enough, I put up French colours, and gave her a ſignal to ſtrike; but inſtead thereof ſhe, without any more ado, very bravely gave me a broad-ſide, and at the ſame time received one from me. We continued to fight one another in this manner from morning till four in the afternoon, without my being able to get the weather-gage, or come up near enough unto her, to make uſe to any purpoſe of my fuſils, which are the chief arms in ſuch ſhips as ours be; nor to hinder her, by the favour of the wind which ſhe had of me, to go and anchor under the fort of the Cape of Three Points, where there were two Dutch ſhips more fitted out for men of war, one whereof carried fourteen, and the other twenty-eight pieces of cannon. I preſently thought theſe three ſhips had

Digitized by Google

joined together, in order to come out and fight me, which made me lie by thereabouts for a whole day in expectation of them. I anchored alſo within a league of the ſhore, hoping at length that they, being ſpighted at my inſulting them in this manner would be eager for revenge: but all this to no purpoſe, and in all appearance the guard-ſhip had already found herſelf ſo ill-treated, that ſhe had no occaſion for a ſecond fight. A ſmall Portugueſe ſhip, that paſſed by ſoon after, told me theſe ſhips were the ſame that had forced the Sieur Rey, captain of the king's flute called the Deep, to leave that coaſt; which alſo was confirmed afterwards unto me by the Sieur Rey himſelf at Prince's *Iſland*, where I met him.

Seeing therefore that the enemy would not fight, and conſidering with myſelf it was not adviſable for me to attack them under the cannon of the fort, I reſolved to go to Cape Lopez, and to Prince and St. Thomas iſles: in my paſſage I diſcovered Cape St. John, that ſtands on the continent of Guinea, as well as the Cape of Three Points, and I happened to meet with an Engliſh ſhip of twenty guns, and that had three hundred and fifty negroes, elephants teeth, and wax on board it, which did not coſt me much pains to take her. The captain told me he was come from Ardra, where he had taken five hundred and fifty negroes on board, but that they had ſlain ſome of them, becauſe they had mutinied againſt his ſhip's crew; and that ſome more of them had made their eſcape to land in his ſhallop, which they ſecretly ſtole from him. Ardra is one of the principal towns in Guinea, ſtanding upon the ſea-ſide, and the uſual reſidence of a prince who governs a great country in this part of the world.

From thence I went to Prince's Iſle, in ſight whereof I took a ſmall Brandenburgh caper, mounted with

Digitized by Google

with eight pieces of cannon, and carrying ſixty men. She cruiſed about this latitude, and took all the barks ſhe could light on, without diſtinction of nation or colours. When I had done this, I went into the port, in order to clean my ſhip, which was foul enough; and that I might clear myſelf of the Engliſh prize I had taken, I ſent her away to St. Domingo in America, to have the ſame condemned, under the command of the Sieur de Nave, and a ſufficient number of men in her, whom I picked out of my own crew. But ſome time after, I underſtood ſhe was taken by ſome Engliſh men of war that were before Little Goara.

In the mean time, that my men might not be idle, I gave my officers orders to ſee my ſhip careened, while I myſelf with the Brandenburgh caper which I had taken, and ninety men whom I had put on board her, went out to cruiſe, and continued at it for ſix weeks, upon the coaſt of Guinea, or about the Prince's and St. Omer's Iſlands, without meeting any enemy. Whereupon I returned back into the road of the firſt of theſe iſles, where I revictualled my ſhip as ſoon as poſſibly I could; and when all things were ready, I weighed anchor, and ſailed directly for the iſle of St. Thomas, there either to ſell or truck the caper I had taken; which laſt I choſe to do for ſome proviſions, becauſe I had not enough to go and cruiſe long upon the coaſts of Angola, whither I had reſolved to go and ſpend five or ſix months, in order to avoid the Engliſh ſhips they were fitting out at the ſame town of Guinea, which conſiſted of three men of war and a fire-ſhip, and were deſigned to go in queſt of me, cruiſing about St. Thomas, where they thought I ſhould continue.

As I left St. Thomas, I ſaw a ſhip at anchor; I ſailed towards her, and gave her chace a long time;

Digitized by Google

but I could not prevent her getting to land at the Iſle of St. Omer, and ſtaving to pieces. In ſtriving to take her, I loſt an hundred and fifty pounds of gold duſt, which this Dutch interloper had got in trading on this coaſt.

This being over, I ſailed for the coaſts of Angola, which is two hundred and fifty leagues on the other ſide of the Line: there I arrived on the twenty-ſecond of September, and underſtood, when I came within three leagues of the port of Cabinda, there were two Engliſh ſhips with negroes on board in that place. As I was to leeward of that port, I bore out to ſea, in hopes next day to have a ſouth-weſt wind, that uſually blows from the ſea-ward, to help to recover the port. When day appeared, I ſaw a ſhip under Engliſh colours bearing upon me, whom I preſently did not take to be a man of war; but ſome time after I diſcovered ſhe carried no leſs than four-and-fifty guns. I uſed all the art I could to amuſe her, and for that end I hung out Dutch colours that I might alſo the more eaſily come near her; while ſhe on her part was not backward to amuſe me, and by the guns ſhe fired from time to time, to aſſure me of her friendſhip, endeavoured to come up with me. When I perceived my enemy's deſign, I took upon me to make a ſhew of waiting for him, and ſailed but very ſlowly, that I might make him believe my ſhip was heavy laden, or that I was incumbered for want of ſails and hands. We kept in this manner from break of day till ten in the forenoon. He gave me a gun from time to time without ball, to aſſure me what he was, and as he ſuppoſed my friend; but finding at laſt I did not anſwer him on my part in the ſame manner, and that we were now within cannon-ſhot of one another, he gave me one again with ball, which made me preſently put up French colours, and anſwer him with another. Hereupon the Engliſh captain without

out any more ado gave me two broadſides, which I received without returning him one again, though he had killed me ſeven men; for I was in hopes if I could have got ſomething nearer to him, to put him out of condition ever to get away from me: I endeavoured to come within a fuſil-ſhot of him, and was deſirous to give him an opportunity to ſhew his courage in boarding me, ſince I could not ſo well do the ſame by him, as being to the leeward. At laſt, being come by degrees nearer, and finding him within the reach of my fuſils, which for that end I kept concealed upon the deck from his ſight, they were diſcharged upon him, and my men continued to make ſo great a fire with them, that the enemy on their part began quickly to flag.

In the mean time, as their ſhip's crew conſiſted of above three hundred men, and that they ſaw their cannon could not do their work for them, they reſolved to board us, which they did with a great ſhout, and terrible threatenings of giving no quarter, if we did not ſurrender. Their grappling-irons failing to catch the ſtern of my ſhip, made theirs run in ſuch a manner, that their ſtern run upon my boltſprit, and broke it. Having obſerved my enemy thus encumbered, my men plied them briſkly with their ſmall ſhot, and made ſo terrible a fire upon them for an hour and a half, that being unable to reſiſt any longer, and having loſt a great many men, they left the ſport, and ran down between decks, and I ſaw them preſently after making ſignals with their hats of crying out for quarter. I cauſed my men therefore to give over firing, and commanded the Engliſh to embark in their ſhallops, and come on board of me, while I made ſome of my crew at the ſame time leap into the enemy's ſhip and ſeize her, and ſo prevent any ſurprize from them. I already rejoiced within myſelf for the taking of ſuch a conſiderable prize; and ſo much the more, in that I hoped, that after having

Digitized by Google

taken this veſſel that was the guard-ſhip of Angola, and the largeſt the Engliſh had in thoſe ſeas, I ſhould find myſelf in a condition ſtill to take better prizes, and attack any man of war I ſhould meet with. My ſhip's crew were alſo as joyful as myſelf, and did the work they were engaged in with a great deal of pleaſure; but the enemy's powder ſuddenly taking fire, by the means of a match the captain had left burning on purpoſe, as hoping he might eſcape with his two ſhallops, blew both the ſhips into the air, and made the moſt horrible crack that was ever heard. It is impoſſible to ſet forth this horrid ſpectacle to the life; the ſpectators themſelves were the actors of this bloody ſcene, not knowing whether they ſaw it or not, and not being able to judge of that which themſelves felt. Wherefore, leaving the reader to imagine the horror which the blowing up of two ſhips above two hundred fathom into the air muſt work in us, where there was formed as it were a mountain of war, fire, wreck of the ſhips, cordages, cannon, men, with a moſt terrible clap made, what with the cannon that went off in the air, and the waves of the ſea that were toſſed up thither; to which we may add the cracking of maſts and boards, the rending of the ſails and ropes, the cries of men, and the breaking of bones: I ſay, leaving theſe things to the imagination of the reader, I ſhall only take notice of what befel myſelf, and by what good fortune it was that I eſcaped.

When the fire firſt began, I was upon the fore-deck of my own ſhip, where I gave the neceſſary orders; now I was carried upon part of the ſaid deck ſo high, that I fancy it was the height alone that prevented my being involved in the wreck of the ſhips, where I muſt have infallibly periſhed, and been cut into a thouſand pieces. I fell back into the ſea (you may be ſure) giddy-headed enough, and continued a long time

time under water without being able to get up to the ſurface of it; at laſt, falling into a debate with the water, as a perſon who was afraid of being drowned, I got upon the face of it, and laid hold of a broken piece of a maſt that I found near me. I called to ſome of my men whom I ſaw ſwimming round about me, and exhorted them to take courage, hoping we might yet ſave our lives if we could light upon any one of our ſhallops. But what yet afflicted me more than my very misfortune was, to ſee two half bodies who had ſtill ſomewhat of life remaining in them, from time to time mount up to the face of the water, and leave the place where they appeared all dyed with blood. It was alſo much the ſame thing to ſee round about me a vaſt number of members and ſcattered parts of men's bodies, and moſt of them ſpitted upon ſplinters of wood. At laſt one of my men having met with a whole ſhallop, among all the wreck that ſwam up and down upon the water, came to tell me that we muſt endeavour to ſtop ſome holes therein, and to take out the canoe that lay on board her: we got to the number of fifteen or ſixteen of us who had eſcaped, near unto this ſhallop, every man upon his piece of wood, and took the pains to looſen our canoe, which at length we effected. We went all on board her, and after we had got in, ſaved our chief gunner, who in the fight had had his leg broke. We took up three or four oars or pieces of boards, which ſerved us for that purpoſe; and when we had done that, we ſought out for ſomewhat to make us a ſail, and a little maſt; and having fitted up all things as well as poſſibly we could, we committed ourſelves to the Divine providence, who alone could give us life and deliverance.

As ſoon as I had done working, I found myſelf all over beſmeared with blood that ran from a wound

I had received in my head at the time of my fall. We made ſome lint out of my handkerchief, and a fillet to bind it withal out of my ſhirt, after I had firſt waſhed the wound with urine: the ſame thing was done to the reſt that had been wounded, and our ſhallop in the mean while ſailed along, without making land, or our knowing where we were going and what was ſtill more ſad, was that we had no victuals, and we had already ſpent three days without either eating or drinking. One of our men, being greatly afflicted with hunger and thirſt at the ſame time, drunk ſo much ſalt water that he died of it; moſt of our men vomited continually, whether it were that they were incommoded with the water that got into them when they fell into the ſea, as it will happen if they drink it out of mere neceſſity. As for myſelf, I was incommoded for a long time: I afterwards ſwelled up mightily, and my excrements came from me in the form of ſmall buttons; and I attribute to a quartan ague, that ſeized on me ſoon after, the cure of my dropſy, and recovery of my health, that by degrees returned to me: I make no enumeration of the other inconveniences which ſo dangerous a fall brought upon me, ſuch being unavoidable to a man that fell into ſo great a fire: all my hair, face, and one ſide of me, were burnt with the powder; and the ſame fate attended me as uſually does bombardiers at ſea, and that was, to bleed at the noſe, ears, and mouth. I do not know whether this be the effect of the powder or no, by ſwelling up thoſe veſſels which contain the blood in our bodies to ſuch an extraordinary degree, that the ends of the veins open and let it out; or that the great noiſe and violent motion that is wrought in thoſe organs, makes the ſame happen. But let it come which way it will, ſince there is no room here for a conſultation of phyſicians, as long as we were dying

of

Digitized by Google

of hunger, nor to enquire what became of the Engliſh, when we had ſo much difficulty, and could hardly ſave ourſelves, we continued our courſe up the current with the help of our oars, becauſe we knew the ſame came from the port of Cabindas: but as the wind was againſt us, we could never get thither, and were forced to be ſatisfied to get to the cape of Corſa if we could, which ſtands a dozen leagues from that of Catherſna, where we could not land, becauſe of a bar that renders the coaſt inacceſſible: that was our deſign, but hunger hindered us to put the ſame in execution, and we were forced even to overcome the obſtacles which nature laid in our way, by running aſhore in ſpight of the bar: this we performed at laſt (after much difficulty) being in hopes to find there ſome negroes that might furniſh us with ſome victuals. One of our company preſently landed, in order to go and ſeek out ſomewhat to ſatisfy our hunger; and by good fortune found in a pond, ſticking to the branches of trees, ſome oiſters, whereof he gave us preſently notice. We went all up to the very pond along a channel of the ſea, where we were no ſooner come, but we eat luſtily of the oiſters with a very good appetite: we opened them with a few knives we found in our pockets, lending the ſame from one to another very charitably and readily. When we had ſpent two days in that place, I divided my men into three ſmall companies, and ſent them up into the country to ſeek for victuals and houſes, with orders to return again in the evening to the ſhallop: I went out myſelf alſo as the reſt did; but we could find neither any houſes, nor the leaſt ſign of any men in thoſe parts. All that we could ſee were great herds of buffaloes, as large as oxen, who fled ſo faſt from us, that we could not poſſibly come near them: wherefore having ſpent all the day in this manner, and got

nothing, we returned to our ſhalloop to eat oiſters again, and reſolved next day to leave this place, and go to Cape Corſa, to the leeward of which there is a large port, where ſhips that ſail that way put in to furniſh themſelves with water and wood. The negroes that live in the country having notice of the coming in of ſhips by firing a cannon, come thither alſo with proviſions, and barter the ſame for brandy, knives, and hatchets. They are forced to live remote from the ſea, becauſe all the coaſt is very marſhy. As ſoon as we were got to the ſaid cape, we heard a great noiſe made by the negroes who came thither to ſell wood to the ſhips that lay at anchor in the port: I looked amongſt them to ſee if I could find any one whom I knew, for as they had often brought me ſome wood, and other refreſhments in the courſe of my former voyages, I was in hopes to find ſome or other that would know me again: but though I knew ſeveral of them, it was impoſſible for me to perſuade any of them that I was captain Montauban, ſo much was I disfigured with my late misfortune; and all of them took me for a man that would impoſe the belief of it upon them: I thought fit to tell them in their own language, whereof I underſtood a little, that I was ready to die with famine, and prayed them to give me ſomewhat to eat; but it ſignified nothing: ſo I deſired them to carry me to prince Thomas, who is ſon to the king of that country, as hoping he might call to mind the favours I had formerly ſhewed him.

I carried all my company with me to that prince. We were firſt brought to the dwellings of thoſe negroes, where they began to be a little more tractable, and gave us ſome bananiers to eat, which are a ſort of figs longer than a man's hand. Next day we got to the prince's habitation; but I was in ſo pitiful a condition, that I could never, by the figs I gave,

Digitized by Google

I gave, make him know me, though I ſpoke to him in his own language, as alſo in the Portugueſe tongue, which he underſtood very well. It fortuned one day, that going to bathe ourſelves, he ſaw a ſcar upon my thigh, that was the effect of a wound I had received with a muſket-ball: he told me that he muſt immediately know whether I was captain Montauban or no; and that if I were not the man, he would cut off my head: he aſked if ever I had a ſcar with a muſket-ſhot upon my thigh, which when I ſhewed him, he preſently embraced me, and ſaid he was exceeding ſorry to ſee me in that condition, and immediately cauſed victuals to be diſtributed among my men, and divided them into ſeveral habitations, with ſtrict orders to the negroes with whom they were quartered, to take the greateſt care they could of them. As for me, he kept me with himſelf, and made me always eat at his own table. When I was a little brought into order, he ſaid he would carry me to ſee the king his father, who lived five or ſix leagues off, that is, about ten or a dozen from the ſea-ſide. I let him know how great the favour and honour was he did me, and prayed him at the ſame time that I might have the liberty to let my free-booters go along with me, and grant us ſome pieces of ſtuffs to put ourſelves in as good equipage as we could, in order to appear before ſo great a prince; all which he allowed me, and three days after we went all together in a great canoe, and paſſed by the river of Cape Lopez, becauſe the country is ſo full of marſhes that you cannot go by land.

Being arrived at the king's habitation, which is a village conſiſting of three hundred booths, covered with palm-leaves, wherein the king keeps his wives, family, relations, and ſome other negro families whom he loves beſt, I was lodged in prince Thomas's

houſe, and all my men were diſtributed into other habitations. We found all the people in great lamentation, becauſe the chief of their religion, whom they call Papa, had died that day, when they were to begin the funeral obſequies, which were uſually to laſt for ſeven days for prieſts of that quality. This ſame perſon was had in great eſteem and veneration by all the people, they looking upon him to be an holy man. As the king is in mourning, and ſees no body all the while that this funeral ceremony laſts, prince Thomas bid me have patience, and not to go out of my lodgings for to ſee the king, becauſe that was the cuſtom of his nation.

However I could not forbear going to ſee the funeral ſolemnity, where I ſaw nothing elſe but a great concourſe of people ſtanding round the dead corpſe. I was in the mean time very well fed by prince Thomas's orders, who was gone to ſee his father: they did not let me want bananiers, elephant's fleſh, and river fiſh, though all of it came without either bread or wine, as you may well ſuppoſe. My men were treated in the ſame manner in their reſpective quarters all the time we ſtaid there.

At the eight days end prince Thomas came in order to carry us before the king. He is a large negro, well enough made, and about fifty years old, who to do me the greater honour, according to the relation given of me to him by his ſon, came out of his houſe to receive me, and advanced ſome ſteps to meet me. He was ſupported by four or five women, which gave him a kind of an air of grandeur, in a very cumberſome and fantaſtick manner: he was guarded by ſeveral negroes, who were armed with lances and fuſils, which they diſcharged from time to time with no great order: there were ſeveral trumpets and drums marched before him, at the head of which

Digitized by Google

which company there were ſeveral ſtandards carried, alike in colour to thoſe uſed in Holland. He had no other clothes than a piece of cotton ſtuff, ſtreaked with white and blue, wherewith part of his body was covered, the ſame being ſeveral times folded round about him.

He gave me many demonſtrations of his friendſhip; he alſo ſtretched out his hand to me, ſaying, it was the firſt time he had ever done ſo to any man before me. Being come to his houſe, he ſat at his door, and made me take place on the one ſide of him, as his ſon did on the other. He aſked me ſeveral queſtions concerning the greatneſs and power of the king my maſter; and when I had told him that he alone waged war againſt the Engliſh and the Dutch, whom himſelf knew, as having ſeen them often at the cape of Lopez; that he alſo warred againſt the Germans and Spaniards, who were more potent nations than the Engliſh and Dutch; he alſo told me, he was pleaſed with my account, and that he would drink the king of France's health. Preſently they brought him up ſome palm-wine, which is not unpleaſant to drink, and his wives ſerved him in a great chryſtal glaſs. As ſoon as he began to take the glaſs the negro men and women lifted up their right arm and held the ſame in that poſture very ſilently till he had done drinking; but when it was over, they made a great noiſe with their trumpets and drums, and diſcharged all their muſkets, or I ſhould rather have ſaid fuſils.

Prince Thomas then aſked me, what was the king of France's name, and having told him, Lewis le Grand, he ſaid he had a mind I ſhould hold a child of his, of about ſeven or eight months old, to baptiſm, and that I ſhould give him the name of Lewis le Grand, which made me ſmile a little at the humour. He told me alſo, that the firſt voyage I ſhould make

into

into his country, he would give me the child to carry to France for a preſent to the king, to whoſe ſervice he devoted him, being very deſirous he ſhould be brought up according to the cuſtom of the country and court of ſo great a prince. I alſo promiſed on my part, that the firſt time I came to the coaſt of Guinea, I ſhould not fail to come and put him in mind of his promiſe, that ſo, upon my return into France, I might be capable of making the greateſt preſent that could be unto the king, in preſenting him with the ſon of prince Thomas. And aſſure him, ſaid the ſame prince, that I am his friend, and that if he has occaſion for my ſervices, I will go myſelf into France with all the lances and fuſils belonging to the king my father; which was as much as to ſay, with all the force of the kingdom. The king preſently purſued the diſcourſe, and aſſured me he would go thither in perſon, if there was need for it; and with that all the negro men and women raiſed ſuch a ſhout as much ſurprized me; and this was ſcarce over, when the fuſileers made a general diſcharge of their arms; the drums and trumpets went to it again, and thoſe who carried the lances ſet themſelves a-running from one ſide to another with ſuch horrible outcries as frighted me. I was really ignorant of the meaning of all this, and could not be ſatisfied till I ſaw the king drink the French king's health a ſecond time, with the ſame ceremonies as at firſt; prince Thomas drank it alſo, and all of us were commanded to do the ſame. This being over the king ordered two wax cakes to be brought, whereof he made me a preſent, deſiring of me to accept of them as a token of his friendſhip; and then he went into his houſe.

The audience being thus over, prince Thomas carried me along with him into all the parts of the village, whither he went to viſit his friends; and we went on

on the ſucceeding days to ſee ſeveral other villages that are ſcattered up and down the country, about five leagues diſtant from each other.

Theſe people, the greateſt part of whom had never been at the ſea-ſide, and conſequently had not ſeen any white people, ran from all quarters to ſee us, and brought us more fruit, with buffaloe's and elephant's fleſh, than we could eat. As for the elephants of this country, they are not altogether like unto thoſe in the Eaſt-Indies, whereof they are a different ſpecies; as are alſo thoſe of Cafala, near Zanguebar on the Eaſtern coaſts of Ethiopia. The negroes eat of their fleſh with a good appetite, and like the ſame better than any other; hereof they provide their beſt feaſts, and thoſe who were minded to honour us moſt, brought it unto us inſtead of that of buffaloes, which I prefer much before it.

As they were not able to comprehend the difference there was between the colour of their faces and ours, they would frequently put their hands upon our faces to ſee if the white colour would go off; and it was the fortune of many of us to meet with hands ſcrubbed with knives, ſo as that many times we were hurt with them, which yet we durſt not complain of. Prince Thomas, when he ſaw that, commanded all the attendants that they ſhould ſuffer none to come and rub and ſcrape us with their fingers in that manner, and ſpake aloud to all the people who came to ſee us, that all ſtrangers were white as we were; and that if the negroes went into another country, they would ſeem to be as odd coloured there as we were in Guinea. He laughed alſo from time to time to ſee the people run in that faſhion after us, as if we had been ſome unknown animal; and I am not certain whether he were ſorry to ſee us thus incommoded with the importunities of thoſe negroes, or that he took ſome pleaſure to

ſee

Digitized by Google

ee the folly of his countrymen, as I have done many a time, to behold all their extravagant humours.

At laſt, after a journey and diverſion together of 3 days, the prince brought me back by another way to take my leave of his father: the king careſſed me a thouſand times, after a moſt obliging manner, according to the cuſtom of his country, and made me promiſe I ſhould give him a viſit the firſt time I returned into Guinea. Then we embarked in our canoes, and next day came to prince Thomas's village, where he continued to treat us after the ſame manner he had been uſed to do. Here he ſpake to me again, that he would have me ſtand witneſs for his ſon at his baptiſm; which I did with ſo much the more pleaſure, in that I was helping to make a chriſtian, and ſanctify a ſoul.

But as I was dubious whether the prieſt of the town knew how to baptize a child, or that he could remember he words he ought to ſay at the adminiſtration of that ſacrament, I deſired the prince to ſend for a prieſt out of one of the Portugueſe ſhips, which he preſently did, to Cape Lopez: ſo that one came from thence in two days time. The Portugueſe were the people that brought the chriſtian religion firſt into theſe countries. It is true, they have not kept the ſame up there as they ought to have done; but the difficulties that obſtruct that good eſtabliſhment proceed, without doubt, from hence, that men muſt dwell in a country that is no better than ſavage, where the air and the victuals are not ſo agreeable to ſtrangers. To give religion a ſure footing in theſe regions, it is neceſſary that the Europeans have fixed habitations, or build towns there; that they inſtruct the negroes in the truths of the chriſtian faith, and that they ſend out miſſionaries from time to time among theſe poor wretches. This

might

Digitized by Google

might very eaſily be done, becauſe the people are very docile, and readily apprehend the truths which you would teach them, as having lived without any faith at all, or any idea of another religion, for a long time. Theſe negroes being once become chriſtians, you might make prieſts among them of their own nation, who might be furniſhed with books for the ceremonies of the church, and a catechiſm for the rule of their faith, until they were capable to read the New Teſtament. It is neceſſary alſo, that a biſhop were conſtituted in this town, who ſhould take care to ſend prieſts to the dwellings of the negroes up and down the countries, and to build oratories in the moſt populous places. The chriſtian religion might in this manner be ſettled in Guinea, and ſo become leſs ſubject to be ruined by the wars which ſtrangers make there. The chriſtians alſo who dwell in the kingdoms of Feſs and Morocco might be reformed, and a correſpondence ſettled between the prieſts of that nation, and thoſe of Guinea, that ſo they might be aſſiſting to one another for the keeping up of religion on all the coaſts of Africa. It was in a manner not unlike unto this, that chriſtianity eſtabliſhed itſelf among the Gentiles, who were an hundred-fold more averſe to our faith than the negroes of Guinea. The prieſts of this country are for the moſt part no prieſts at all, as having never been ordained by any biſhop, and conſtituted themſelves in the room of thoſe that were deceaſed in their country. And thus it is that they have nothing in a manner that ſavours of chriſtianity, though they have ceremonies enough, and ſome appearance of a ſacrifice.

But to return to our baptiſm: the Portugueſe prieſt being come, prince Thomas's ſon was baptized, and named Lewis le Grand, in purſuance to the intention of his father. A negro woman, one of

of his relations, ſerved as god-mother, and I for godfather. I was told this lady was called Antonia, and that ſhe had been thus named by the wife of a Portugueſe captain at her baptiſm.

Two or three days after this ceremony was over, which was performed with all the magnificence the negroes were capable of, prince Thomas's guards, which he kept at Cape de Lopez to give him notice of the arrival of any ſhips, came to tell him there was an Engliſh ſhip come thither. I deſired him to let me go on board her, that I might return to my own country, to free myſelf from thoſe many inconveniences I ſtill laboured under. But he would not have me commit myſelf into the hands of my enemies, and deſired me to have a little patience till the arrival of ſome Portugueſe ſhips, with which he would let me go. In the mean time the prince went to Cape Lopez, there to exchange elephants teeth, bees-wax, and negroes, for iron, arms, and brandy, and returned from thence in ten or twelve days.

He told me, when he came back, that there was a Portugueſe ſhip come to anchor at Cape de Lopez, and that I ſhould go down in his canoe in order to go on board her; that he had recommended me to the captain, and that I ſhould want nothing that was neceſſary for my voyage into Europe.

I preſently gathered my men together, except two whom I did not think fit to wait for; for they were gone up into the country five or ſix days before, and I knew not where to find them. We therefore embarked on board this prince's canoes, after I had taken my leave of him; and upon our arrival at Cape Lopez, I found the Portugueſe commander to be one of my friends, with whom I had contracted acquaintance at the iſle of St. Thomas. I went on board him, and three days after we anchored at the

Digitized by Google

the ſaid iſland, the governor whereof ſhewed me and my men a thouſand civilities during a month's ſpace that we were forced to tarry in that port. At the expiration of that time came in an Engliſh ſhip that had been out upon the Gold-Coaſt: I made acquaintance with the captain, and we grew to be ſuch friends, that I thought myſelf obliged in honour to accept of the offers he made me: he prayed me to go on board his ſhip, and aſſured me I ſhould find all the help imaginable at Barbadoes, whither he was bound, becauſe there were very good Jewiſh phyſicians of that iſland of his acquaintance. I embarked therefore in his ſhip, with all my men, notwithſtanding all the reaſons given me by the governor of the iſland to make me ſuſpicious of the Engliſhman, who was undoubtedly as honeſt a man as any of his country: he was ſo civil as to give me his own cabbin, with all the pleaſure and diverſion he could think of, for the ſolacing of my ſpirits under the afflictions I had from time to time endured.

Ten days after our departure from St. Thomas, a blaſt of wind unhappily made us loſe our rudder, in the room whereof we were forced to ſet up a ſpare top-maſt; and this proved very detrimental to our voyage, which laſted no leſs than three months.

Proviſions began to be ſcarce before our arrival at Barbadoes; ſo that when we came there, we had no more than what would have ſerved us for three days longer; inſomuch that the captain, being concerned that he had taken our men aboard, ordered our allowance to be leſſened three fourths of what it ſhould be. When we were got to port, the captain went to wait upon colonel Ruſſel, who is general there, related to him my whole adventure with the guard-ſhip of Angola, and was much blamed for bringing me

Digitized by Google

me to Barbadoes. When the captain returned on board his ſhip, he told me what the governor had ſaid, who had forbid him upon pain of death to let me go aſhore: however, he ſaid nothing to me of this prohibition, but contented himſelf with only deſiring me not to go aſhore, that it might create no ſuſpicion in the governor; which I promiſed exactly to perform, having no great concern upon me of ſeeing a place again that I had known ſo long ago, and being unwilling to create my captain any trouble.

Next day ſeveral Jews that had been driven away from Martinico, having heard of my arrival, came to ſee me, and finding I was very crazy, and much out of order, they ſent ſome phyſicians of their nation to me, who ſaid I could not be cured, if I were not carried aſhore, and thereupon offered to ſollicit the governor on my behalf, for giving me leave to go and lie in a houſe in the town. I drew up a petition to him, praying him to grant me that liberty, and promiſing I would not ſtir out of the chamber where I was placed, till I were to reimbark to go for Martinico.

The phyſicians themſelves were obliged to be my ſecurities, and I was at length carried to Mr. Jacob Lewis's houſe, where I was very well looked after all the time I ſtaid there. Three days after I was brought thither, the major-general came to ſee me from colonel Ruſſel the governor: he very civilly offered me his protection, and all thoſe things that could be conducive for the recovery of my health; the ſame major, as alſo the captain of the garriſon, came alſo to viſit me from time to time, though I apprehended they came not ſo much to inſpect into the ſtate of my health, as to ſee if I were in a condition to be tranſported out of that iſland. Colonel Ruſſel, about ten or twelve days after my arrival, came to

ſee

ſee if I were as bad as they ſaid I was. He came again about ſeven or eight days after in the evening, and cauſed me to be carried out of the Jew's houſe where I was, to an Engliſh merchant's. He told me I ſhould be better accommodated there than at Jacob Lewis's; but I thought it was to the intent I might be watched more narrowly, and not converſe with many people. He came to ſee me the next day, and aſked, how I liked my new lodgings? I rendered him many thanks for the civilities and kindneſſes he ſhewed me, and that he might have no occaſion to ſuſpect my men, I prayed him to ſhut them up in the citadel, that they might not run about the iſland, and to prevent their making of their eſcape.

He ſaid, he would take care of it; but that I was to underſtand they were priſoners of war as well as myſelf. I made anſwer, I knew that, and that I thought myſelf an happy man, to have fallen into his hands: but that the Engliſh captain, who had brought me to Barbadoes, had given me his word, I ſhould not be detained, nor any of my men; that it was upon his faith given me, and the tenders of ſervice he made, that I had embarked, as firmly relying upon thoſe teſtimonies of his friendſhip he had given me. Then I deſired him to grant me and my men our liberty, promiſing I ſhould be ever mindful of the favour done me, whether it were by reſtoring of the priſoners I might take belonging to the iſlands, or paying him ſuch a ranſom as he required.

No, ſaid the governor, I will have neither your ranſom, nor your priſoners, and you are too brave a man for me to have no compaſſion upon your many misfortunes; I deſire, on the contrary, that you would accept of theſe 40 piſtoles, which I preſent you with to ſupply your preſent occaſion: he gave them me

Digitized by Google

me in a purſe, which he had doubtleſs brought along with him for that purpoſe; and when he left me, he ſaid, he went to give orders for to bring my men together. Next day he ſent me two of them, who ſaid they knew not what was become of the reſt, and that they had orders from the governor to ſtay with me. I had the liberty to ſend them aboard to get me neceſſaries; and at laſt, finding myſelf ſomewhat recovered by the care my landlord took of me, I told the officer that came daily to ſee me, that I deſired the governor to let me go on board the firſt veſſel that was bound to Martinico.

Three days after came a bark, which the count de Blenac, general of the French iſlands, had ſent thither about the exchange of priſoners: colonel Ruffel ſent me word ſhe was come, and that I ſhould prepare to be gone. Then it was I had the liberty to go to his houſe to render him thanks for all the civilities he had ſhewed me: he told me, he was ſorry that by the laws of war he was bound to allow me no more liberty than I had, and that he prayed me to uſe the Engliſh kindly that ſhould happen to fall into my hands. This being done, I went on board the French bark, which was commanded by the Sieur Courpon, formerly an inhabitant of St. Chriſtopher's, and I could never find any more of my free-booters than thoſe two I have ſpoken of, whom the governor ſent me.

We went aſhore at Port-Royal in Martinico and I, went with my men to the town to wait upon monſieur de Blenac who was then ſick of that diſtemper he died of. I gave him a relation of all my adventures, and I am ſure he was ſurprized to hear the particulars of ſo many misfortunes: as he would have me ſtay at his houſe all the time I tarried in Martinico, he made me every day repeat unto him the manner of

of my fight with the Engliſh man of war; and at laſt finding an opportunity of getting me tranſported into France, he ſent for the captain of the ſhip who was bound thither, and recommended me to him. He would alſo have writ letters by me to monſieur Phelipeaux, to recommend me to ſome employ; but the day before my departure he was taken ſo very ill that he could not write, and that day, which was the 10th of June, in the evening he died: I was mightily troubled at his death for ſeveral reaſons. He was a perſon that took delight in ſerving every body; who had great compaſſion on ſuch as had been perſecuted by an evil fate, as was my caſe, who went forwards with what he knew, who of himſelf made an offer of thoſe favours he was minded to beſtow, before they were aſked of him; and who in ſhort, was brave as to his perſon, ſkilful in maritime affairs, a good ſeaman, knew all the coaſts and heights of land in America, was in great eſteem with the king for his integrity, wiſdom, juſtice, and for all the great ſervices he had done the government in the way of commerce and diſcovery of iſlands. The next day after his death I embarked on board the Virgin, a ſhip belonging to Bourdeaux, and which had been built there, in which port, after a paſſage of not many days, I arrived at laſt, with many different thoughts, and contrary ſentiments within me. I do not know whether I have bid the ſea adieu, ſo much has my laſt misfortune terrified me; or whether I ſhall go out again to be revenged on the Engliſh, who have done me ſo much miſchief, or go and traverſe the ſeas with a deſign to get me a little wealth, or reſt quiet, and eat up what my relations have left me. There is as ſtrange an inclination in men to undertake voyages, as there is to gaming; whatever misfortunes befal them, they do not believe they will be always unhappy, and therefore they will play on.

Digitized by Google

on. Thus it is as to the ſea, whatever accidents befal us, we are in hopes to find a favourable opportunity to make us amends for all our loſſes. I believe whoever reads this account will find it an hard taſk to give me counſel thereupon, or to take the ſame himſelf.

Digitized by Google

INDEX.

A

ALBICORE, a sort of fish so called by the Spaniards, ii. 95. An huge one taken, 97. Another of 135 lb. taken, ib.

Ahorcados, two rocks so called, near the island of Solango, ii. 62.

Alexander (John) a bucanier, drowned at the gulph of Nicoya, ii. 46.

Alonso (don) the Spanish admiral, his letter to Morgan, i. 149. A sharp answer of his to the Spanish prisoners sent to him, 158.

Anchovies, huge shoals of them, ii. 6.

Andreas (captain) a chief commander among the Indians, conducted the bucaniers to the Golden Island, i. 236. Embarks with them for Santa Maria, 238. Returneth home with the king of Darien from before Panama, 268.

Antego, one of the Caribee-islands, its governor denies the bucaniers entrance, ii. 106.

Antonio (captain) a man of great parts among the Indians of Darien, and chief commander, joins the bucaniers, and persuades them to take the journey of Santa Maria, i. 238. Returneth home from before Panama, 268.

Arica, designed against by the bucaniers, i. 282. Dare not land there, 313. Its hill described, ib. Attempted a second time, and taken, but recovered again, ii. 34. Described, 35.

Author of the first part, his first setting out, i. 1, & seq. Arrives at the Caribbee-islands, 10. Sold once and again, 20. Being freed, turns pirate, ib. His voyage along the coasts of Costa Rica, in his return from Chagre to Jamaica, 206. Arrives at Bocca del Toro, ib. Seeks provision in vain, and departs westward, 207. Assaulted by the Indians, they kill one with a golden beard, 208. Desire to speak with them in vain; return to Chagre, and are chased by a ship of their own party, 209. Go to the river of Zuera, and their adventures there, 211. Arrive at Gracias à Dios, and are relieved, 214. Buy women for a trifle, ib. Go for De las Pinos, and their entertainment there, 219.

B

Bananas, a fruit, i. 45.

Baptism (a ceremony and custom thus called) used at sea by the French, i. 8. by the Dutch, 9.

Bartholomew Portuguese, a grand pirate, takes many Spanish ships, i. 61. Taken himself, carried to Campechy, and condemned to be hanged, 63. Kills his centry and escapes, ib. Goes to Golfo Triste, gets a boat, and retakes the ship that took him, 64. Loses his ship in a storm, and escapes in a canoe, 66.

Basco (Michael de) a pirate, joined with Lolonois, i. 76.

Digitized by Google

Binkes (Jacob) ſent from Holland to retake Cayana from the French, annò 1676. Prevails, i. 229. Beaten out again, retires to Tobago, where he beats the French fleet, 231. Attacked there again, was blown up, 233.

Bocca del Toro, the place of the bucaniers general rendezvous, i. 234.

Booby, a ſea-bird, a ſign of land being near, ii. 102.

Bucaniers, who they are, manner of living, vices, &c. i. 41. Complained of by the king of Spain, 52. Their ſtrength, 232. They march to S. Maria, with an account of their number, army, and proviſion, 237. The difficulties of this march, cauſeleſs jealouſy of the Indians, arrival at and taking the town and port of Santa Maria, 238, &c. Find little purchaſe, but redeem the king of Darien's daughter, 245. Reſolve to go for Panama, but are deſerted by the Indians, except the chief commanders among them, 246. Take two barks by the way, 257. Arrive at Chepillo, and barbarouſly kill their priſoners, 258. Engage the armadilla of Panama, and after a ſharp fight deſtroy it, 260. Block up Panama by ſea, and take ſeveral veſſels before the town, 267. They go to the iſland of Tavoga, and take other prizes, 270. Go to Otoque and Cayboa, 271. Are repulſed before Puebla Nueba, 272. They take one veſſel here, and deſtroy two more, 273. Deſerted by many of their company, 274. Careen at Gorgona, 279. They alter their ſhip, and deſign to plunder Arica, 282. They loſe a ſhip of their company, 283. and find her again, 286. They take a prize off of Guayaquil, 294. The information they received from the captain of it, ib. Their cruelty towards a friar, 297. Sink Capt. Cox's veſſel, 298. Short of proviſion: take a prize, and turn away many priſoners, 301. Make a dividend, 302. Allowance ſhortened, 308. In great want of water, 311. Arrive at Arica, but dare not land; bear away from Hilo, and take it; are cheated by the Spaniards, and forced to retire with little pillage, 312, &c.

Eat a mule at Hilo, ii. 2. Take La Serena, and plunder it; but are forced to retire without any conſiderable booty, 8. Fire the town, 11. They mutiny among themſelves, and chuſe a new commander, 21. They out-brave three Spaniſh men of war, and give them the go-by, 24. Their cruelty towards an old man at Yqueque, 28. They attempt Arica a ſecond time, 31. Are beaten out of the town, but make a bold retreat, 34. Reſolve to go home over land, 36. Land at Guaſco, 37. They ſurpriſe Hilo the ſecond time, 39. They mutiny again among themſelves, but yet take down the deck of their ſhip, and ſo mend her ſailing, 41. Are left by ſeveral of their companions who go home over land, 42. Take ſome priſoners and two barks at the gulph of Nicoya, 45. Set ſeveral priſoners at liberty, and put men into another bark they had, 47. Their interpreter runs away, 48. They careen at Golfo Dulce, and reſolve

Digitized by Google

reſolve to go and cruiſe under the æquinoctial, 49. They take ſeveral prizes, 55. Make a dividend, 56. Peruſe letters taken in a prize, 60. In danger of being maſſacred by their ſlaves, 61. They endeavour to ſurpriſe Paita, but in vain, 64. They ſtand for the Streight of Magellan, 65. A journal of their voyage, 65, &c. Arrive at an unknown place, which they call The Duke of York's Iſland, but in great danger of being loſt then and after, 72, &c. Make a dividend of eight cheſs of money, 89. Some of them reſolve to ſhoot Captain Sharp on Chriſtmas-day, 90. Feaſt upon a ſow that day, 95. Their allowance very ſhort, and a reward to him that firſt ſaw land, 101. Arrive at Barbadoes, but dare not put in for fear of the Richmond frigate, 103. Arrive at Antegoa, 105. Give away their ſhip to the pooreſt of the company, and diſperſe ſeveral ways, 106. Some of them arrive in England, ib.

C

Caldaira Bay, deſcribed, ii. 172.

Cano, an iſland ſo called, its latitude and appearance at ſea, with ſome account of it, ii. 43.

Cape Paſſao, i. 285.

Cape St. Laurence, i. 286.

St. Catherine, the iſland of, taken by Manſvelt and Morgan, but recovered again by the Spaniards, i. 108. A relation of the retaking of it, written by a Spaniſh engineer, 110. Betrayed to Morgan again by a ſtratagem, 169.

Cayana iſland retaken from the French by Binkes, i. 229. Is taken again by the French, 233.

Cayboa, an iſland famous for the fiſhery of pearl, i. 272. Some account of it, 275.

Cayman, a ſort of crocodile, an account of it, i. 33.

Cayos, the iſland of, the pirates refuge, i. 117.

Chagre, a caſtle, its ſituation, taken by the help of a ſtrange accident, after great reſiſtance, i. 173. Its governor killed, 177.

Chappel (James) one with whom the author fights a duel at The Iſle of Plate, ii. 61.

Chiriquita deſcribed, ii. 177.

Colan, a town ſo called, its deſcription, ii. 65.

Cochinillas, their deſcription, i. 31.

Comet, one ſeen and obſerved, with what followed thereupon, ii. 4.

Cook (captain) a commander among the bucaniers, with the party he led at their landing upon Darien, i. 237, &c. Is put into a veſſel taken at Puebla Nueba, but ſoon quitteth it, 276. and Cox put in his place, ib. Put into irons, and wherefore, ii. 22. Accuſed by his ſervant, and of what, who perſiſted in it to the laſt, 22. 36.

Coxon, captain among the bucaniers, with the party he led at their firſt landing at Darien, i. 235. Made captain in chief, 246. Mutinies, and returns home, 268.

Digitized by Google

INDEX.

Crocodiles in the Iſland of Pines, and an account of t
Cuba, the iſland of, a deſcription of it, i. 126.
Curaſſo iſland deſcribed, ii. 123.

D

David (captain) admiral of the freebooters, ii. 141.
Spaniards at ſea, 263. Sails for the North Sea, 275
Davis (John) a famous pirate, lands at Nicaragua
centry, enters the town, ſpares not the churches, a
with a great booty, i. 70. Made admiral of the p
ſacks St. Auguſtine, 71.
Darien, a province of America, with the manner of th
i. 239. The king meets the bucaniers, his habit and
alſo the queen's, ib. The natives by a ſtratagem f
peace by the Spaniards, ii. 51.
Dolphins, ſeveral of them caught, ii. 42. Seen play
the ſhip, 93.
Doree taken, with a deſcription of it, ii. 76.
Drake (Sir Francis) ſome memoirs of him, i. 287.
Duke of York's Iſlands, ſo named by the bucaniers,
count of them, ii. 73.

E

Earthquake at La Serena, while the bucaniers were there,
Eclipſe of the ſun, and what followed thereupon, i. 305.
Enchanted Iſland, ii. 98.
Eſtrees (count de) his actions againſt the Dutch at Cay
Tobago, anno 1676, i. 229, &c.
Excommuniation, how uſed in America, ii. 169.

F

Franciſco (Cape San) the latitude and proſpect of it, i. 2
Freebooters, who, ii. 117. meet: names of their captains
Endeavour to enſnare the Spaniards, but diſcovered
Diſagree and part, ib. Take ſome prizes, 127. Quit the
and go aſhore, in order to paſs over land to the South Se
Deſcription of their paſſage, 130, &c. Proviſions
them from other freebooters, 137. They eſcape the Spa
138. Arrive in the South Sea, 139. Liſt of their fl
commanders there, 141. Adventures of the Engliſh
they joined, 142. Take an advice-boat, 145. Caul
prepare their ſhips, 149. Fight the Spaniards fleet, 152.
engagement deſcribed, 152, &c. Engliſh and French f
and part, 157. Make a deſcent near St. Jago, 161.
Puebla Viego, 169. Take Chiriquita, and burn it, 176.
the Spaniards again at ſea, 181. Are in great want of vi
182. The French oppreſs the Engliſh in their turn, but
again, 184. March to Granada, attack and take it, 185
Burn it, 189. Rout 2500 Spaniards, 190. Burn the bo
of Ginandego, 195. Diſagree again, and ſteer different co
196. Take La Villia, and a very great booty; are ſurp
and loſe it again, 199, &c. Receive a ranſom for their pr

Digitized by Google

ers, 205. Take a ship, and get information, 206. Arrive at Bocca del Chica, 211. Beat the Spaniards out of their intrenchments, 212. Take two Spanish ships, 215. and decoy two more, 216. Write to the president at Panama, and his answer, 217. A second letter from the president, and the answer to it, 220. Receive a ransom from Panama, 221. Take St. Lorenzo, 228. In great danger of shipwreck, 230. A pretty adventure, 233. Take Sancta Catalina, Nicoya, and a great booty, 234. Account of the English, 251. Take Queaquilla, with a vast booty, 256. Fight the Spanish armadillas, 268. Divide their booty, 273. Arrive at Mapalla, and consult about returning to the North Sea, 291, &c. Are attacked by the Spaniards, 294. Resolve to go over land, 295. A notable amusement to facilitate their escape, 298. Travel over the continent by another way than that by which they got thither, with an account of their journey, 300, &c. Murder one another for their money, 321. Fifty of them get on board an English ship, 327. and arrive at Petit Guavis, 329.

G

Gabriel (Joseph) a Spanish prisoner, his death, and some account of him, i. 281.

Gallo, an island near Gorgona, i. 283.

Genipa tree, its fruit and juice, or ink, i. 28.

Gibraltar, its situation, inundations, and trade, i. 80.

Gorgona island, its situation, i. 279.

Gorgonilla, an island, i. 284.

Gracias à Dios, the customs and policy of the island, how peopled with the negroes, the religion, arms, diet, feasts, marriages, burials, strange custom of the widows, &c. i. 213, &c.

Granada described, ii. 190.

Greeks at La Seppa, who they are, ii. 145. Beaten by the freebooters, 146.

Grognet (captain) comes over land with 270 men to the South Sea, ii. 144. His adventures, 151, &c. Dies of a wound he received at the taking Queaquilla, 261.

Guasco, the bucaniers land there, account of the place, ii. 37.

Guayaquil, a rich town, with some account of it, i. 292.

Guyones, a cape so named, its latitude, ii. 48.

H

Harris (captain) a chief commander among the bucaniers, and the party he led at his first landing upon Darien, i. 237. Killed in the engagement before Panama, 262.

Havanna, the strongest place in the West Indies, its jurisdiction, commerce, castles, and inhabitants, i. 118.

Hispaniola, its description, i. 20. Cities, Harbours, &c. 23. Its productions, 24.

Hourqua of Acapulco, a rich trading ship of the Spaniards, an account of it, ii. 286.

Digitized by Google

INDEX.

I

Indians of Jucatan, their cuſtoms and religion, i. 97, &c.
Indians, an odd relation of them, i. 210. Their arms, and how they make their arrows, 213. Their conſtitution, ib.
Indians, their miſery under the Spaniards, ii. 292.
Inhabitants of Nicoya ranſomed, ii. 239.
Juan Fernandez, an iſland ſo called; deſcription and other particulars, ii. 15, &c.

K

Kidnappers, an account of them, i. 50.

L

La Puna iſland deſcribed, ii. 253. Their beſt winter quarters, 265.
La Seppa taken, ii. 147.
La Villia river deſcribed, ii. 203.
Latanier Palm, i. 25.
Loa, a river ſo named, which the bucaniers could not find, ii. 39. A church built there by Sir Francis Drake, ibid.
Lolonois (Francis) his origin, and ſerves the pirates, i. 72. Loſes his ſhip and eſcapes by a ſtratagem, then goes to ſea, ib. His enterprize at Los Cayos, 73. His cruelty, 74. Takes a ſhip of Maracaibo, 76. Cuts a Spaniard in pieces at Maracaibo; 83. His ſpeech to his men, 85. Marches to Gibraltar, and takes it, 86. The priſoners die for hunger, 87. Fire the town and their booty, 88. Sails for Tortuga, 90. Makes new preparations againſt the Spaniards, 91. His expedition, ib. Takes a great Spaniſh ſhip, and cruel towards the Spaniards, 92. Marches to San Pedro, defeats ſeveral ambuſcades, and takes the town and burns it, 93. Goes to Guatimala, &c. 96. Takes another great ſhip, but is forſaken by a great many of his companions, 100. Loſes his ſhip, 101. His misfortunes, with his and many of his companions death, 104. The progreſs and diſperſion of the reſt, 105.

M

Magellan Clouds, i. 306.
Manchanilla Tree, its noxious nature, i. 29.
Man of War Fowl, a ſign of land, ii. 101.
Manipouryes, an animal, deſcribed, ii. 131.
Mandioca, or Cazave, its deſcription, i. 45.
Manſvelt, a noted pirate, ſet foot on Granada, penetrated to the South Sea, and took St. Catherine, 108. Retires to Tortuga, and dies, 109.
Mapou Tree, i. 29.
Mapalla Bay, deſcribed, ii. 280.
Maracaibo, the lake and city deſcribed, i. 78, &c. Taken by the pirates, 82. Ranſomed by the inhabitants, 157.
Matteo (San) the latitude and proſpect of it, i. 284.
Merida, its ſituation and commerce, i. 81.
Monkeys, ſtrange relation of them, i. 212.

Monkeys,

Digitized by Google

Monkeys, a very large ſort, their hardineſs and cunning, ii. 231.
Monte de Chriſto, its latitude and appearance at ſea, i. 285.
Manentine, a kind of ſea cow, i. 209.
Mora de Sama, i. 312.
Morgan (Sir Henry) his origin, i. 107. Goes to Barbadoes and turns pirate, ib. Made vice-admiral to Manſvelt, and takes St. Catherine, 108. Attempts to keep it, but in vain, 116. Gets a good fleet, with his deſign upon the Havanna, 118. Attacks and takes Puerto del Principe, puts it to ranſom, and retires, 119, &c. Sails for Puerto Bello, 124. Takes it, 126. His anſwer to the governor of Panama, 131. Departs for Cuba, with an account of the booty, 132. Forms a new expedition againſt Maracaibo, 133. Sails for Savona, 137. Arrives at Maracaibo, and takes it, 139. Cruelties againſt the priſoners there, 140. Goes to Gibraltar, and takes it, 141. His cruelties, 142, &c. Fails to take the governor, 145. Takes a ſhip and four boats, and returns to Maracaibo, 146. Is blocked up by a Spaniſh fleet there, with his bold meſſage to the admiral, 148. The admiral's letter to him, 149. A treaty on foot between them, 150. Deſtroys the Spaniſh fleet by a ſtratagem, 152. Attempts the caſtle in vain, 153. The ſpeech and diſcovery of a Spaniſh pilot, his priſoner, unto him, 154. Receives him into his ſervice, 156. His ſtratagem to get by the caſtle of Maracaibo, 159. Equips another fleet, 162. Is joined upon his invitation by multitudes of old pirates, ib. They arrive at the river La Hacha, and take a corn veſſel, with great ſpoil, and returns, 163. His fleet 37 ſail, and 2000 fighting men, 165. Divided into two ſquadrons, and articles of the voyage, ib. Reſolves to go to Panama, but firſt to St. Catherine for guides for the enterprize, 166. Arrives there and lands, 167. Endures great hardſhip, 168. Had the iſle of St. Catherine, through the governor's treachery, ſurrendered to him, 169. Number of perſons, with the arms and forteſſes of the iſland, 171. Finds three guides there, and ſends four ſhips to Chagre, 172. They arrive at Chagre, which, though a hazardous adventure, they take at laſt by the help of a very ſtrange accident, 173, &c. He arrives at Chagre, and is received with loud acclamations, but through inadvertency loſes four ſhips, 178. Leaves a garriſon at Chagre, 179. Departs for Panama, with the particulars of his ſailing, the great hardſhips they endured, leaves three boats behind him the third day, with 160 men to keep them, 179, &c. Some ſmall proviſion they found on the fifth, which was diſtributed to the weakeſt, 182. His conduct murmured againſt, 183. On the ſeventh drink Peru wine, are all ſick, and think themſelves poiſoned, 184. He ſends back his canoes, 185. Eight of his men killed, and ſome wounded by the Indians on the eighth day, 186. Their hardſhips continued, and diſcover the South Sea on the ninth, with great joy; find many cattle, eſpecially aſſes,

aſſes, which they kill and devour, i. 187. Get ſight of, and encamp near Panama, with drums beating, &c. 188. Go to attack the Spaniards on the tenth in the morning; afraid, but engage and beat them, 189. The loſs on each ſide, 191. Aſſault the city, meet with loſs, but take it in three hours, 192. Orders not to drink wine, ib. Burns Panama almoſt in one day, 193. Sends a convoy to Chagre, 194. Much riches found in the ruins, 195. Boats taken, but miſſed a good prize through the debaucheries of his men, 195, &c. Cruelties exerciſed by them, 197. His uſage of a virtuous Spaniſh lady, and her conſtancy, 198. Prepares to depart, a plot diſcovered; demands ranſoms, and ſpoils the Spaniſh artillery, 201. His inexorableneſs towards the priſoners, 202. Releaſes the aforementioned lady, 203. Arrives at Chagre, makes a dividend of the booty, but with much diſguſt on all ſides, 204. Fears his mens diſpleaſure, and ſteals privately away, 205. Intends to keep St. Catherine, but is prevented, 220.

Muſquitoes, or Maranguines, flies, and their different kinds, i. 30.

Muemeluna taken, ii. 288.

Mulatto, and Mouſtick Indians, an account of them and their manner of living, i. 235, &c.

Muſcles found in great quantities at The Duke of York's Iſlands, ii. 73. Large ones, which the Indians open more readily with their hands than we with knives, 77.

N

Needle, its variation obſerved by the author at ſeveral times and places, ii. 81. 99.

Noddy, a bird ſeen at ſea, a certain ſign of land, ii. 203.

Nicoya burnt a third time, ii. 245. Deſcription of it, 246.

O

Ogeron (Bertram) governor of Tortuga, his deſigns againſt the Dutch Weſt-India plantations, but is caſt away, i. 222. Taken by the Spaniards, his fiction, and flight, 223. Seizes a canoe, and arrives with his companions at Samana, 225. Attempts to reſcue his companions from the Spaniards of St. John de Puerto Rico; lands, but is beaten, yet himſelf eſcapes, 226.

Orſon, a name ſo given to an Indian boy by the buccaniers, ii. 79.

P

Palm-trees of Hiſpaniola, their deſcription and ſeveral ſorts, i. 25. Prickle-palm, 26. Wine-palm, ib. Palm-roſary, 27.

Panama attacked and taken by Morgan in three hours, i. 192. Fired, and the deſtruction made there, 193. Its houſes built of cedar, with the bigneſs and magnificence of it, ib. The preſent ſtate thereof, 266.

Panama, iſlands in this bay deſcribed, ii. 147. Fruits growing there, 148. The preſident's letter to a camp-maſter, 213. The biſhop's letter to the freebooters, 219.

Parrots

Digitized by Google

Parrots in Hiſpaniola, and how they build their neſts, i. 40.
Paxaros Ninos, a ſea fowl, deſcription of them, ii. 82.
Penguin, a ſea bird ſo named, ii. 76.
Peralta (Don Franciſco) a valiant Spaniſh commander, i. 261. His undaunted courage in the engagement before Panama, 263. Highly extols the valour of the Engliſh, 265. Removed from the admiral on board Captain Cox's ſhip, 276. Directs the bucaniers to the iſle of Gorgona, 278. Relates a ſtrange ſtory of a croſs, 298. Peralta is taken frantick, but recovers, ii. 6. He and others are ſet at liberty, 12.
Perico, an iſland before Panama, where the bucaniers take ſeveral veſſels, i. 267.
Pertas (De las) iſlands, their inhabitants and cuſtoms thereof, i. 102.
Peru, an account of it, ii. 274.
Pierre le Grand, a pirate, his original and bold attempts, i. 53. Takes the vice-admiral of the pearl-fiſhers fleet, and is taken himſelf, 60.
Pirates, their original at Tortuga, arming their boats, food, mutual articles, and fidelity, i. 52, &c. Places where they cruiſe, 58. Take a rich ſhip, 77. Make a general dividend of their booty, 89. Take Veraguas, 100. Their miſeries at the iſles De las Pertas, 102. Take Panama in three hours, 192. Arrive at Gracias à Dios, 214. At the iſle De las Pinos, 219. At Jamaica, 220. Some of them hanged, 221. French pirates, priſoners tranſported into Spain, return again to America, and take De la Trinidad, 228.
Pitch, in great quantity, with the author's opinion of it, i. 96.
Planters of Hiſpaniola, ſubject to the governor of Tortuga, i. 46. Rebel, 47. Reſolve to kill the governor, 48. Are forced to ſurrender to him, 49. Their cruelty towards their ſervants, 51.
Plate, the iſle of, deſcribed, i. 286.
Porpus, a white one ſeen, ii. 48. Hinder the bucaniers fiſhing, 101.
Prieſts Tobacco, ſo called for its goodneſs, i. 81.
Puebla Nueba, a town on the continent, and ſome account of its river, i. 273.
Puerto del Principe, a rich town, taken and ranſacked by Morgan, with the reſiſtance made there, i. 119, &c. Put to ranſom, 121.
Puerto Bello, a city on Coſta Rica, deſcribed, i. 125. Attacked by Morgan, bravely defended by the governor, but taken, 126.
Punta Borrica, its latitude, the bucaniers anchor there, ii. 49.
Punta de Santa Hellena, its latitude and proſpect, i. 291.
Punta de Hilo, its latitude and proſpect, i. 314. The town taken, 315. The ſugar-work burned, 317. The inhabitants force the bucaniers to retreat, 318. The place taken again, ii. 39.

Quarrel

Q

Quarrel between the Engliſh and French pirates, and how begun, i. 121. Separate, ib.
Quarter-maſter deſerts to the Spaniards, ii. 166. Heads 500 of them, who are routed, 193.
Queaquilla taken, ii. 256. Deſcribed, 257. The vaſt booty found in it, 258. Fired by accident, 260.
Quicara, its latitude and appearance at ſea, i. 277.

R

Ravenau de Luſſan, the author, his firſt adventures and diſpoſitions, ii. 113. Embarks at Dieppe for America, 116. Reſolves to turn freebooter, and why, 117. Departs with Capt. Laurence de Graff from Petit-Guaves, 118. His adventure with a Spaniſh lady, 265. His device to ſave his treaſure, 299. Advice about forcing the Spaniards, 306.
Realeguo Port deſcribed, ii. 165, &c.
Reaſons of the neceſſities and fatigues of the freebooters, ii. 295, &c.
Ringroſe, Mr. the author, embarks on the river Santa Maria, i. 243. His misfortune in going to Panama, 247. Is ſhipwrecked, 251. Saves the lives of ſix Spaniards, 253. Made priſoner by the Spaniards, but releaſed for his generoſity, 254. Overtakes the fleet, 256. Reſolves not to go over land with the deſerters, but repents of it, 274.
Uſes the table of Lima, ii. 4. He and others in great danger at Juan Fernandez, 17. The advertiſement he gives of his journal, 36. Is himſelf and others ſtruck blind by a ſtrange accident, but recover, 52. Fights a duel at the Iſle of Plate, 61. Makes a quadrant, 70. Arrives in England, 106.
Roads, the Spaniards method of burning them, ii. 246. Put in practice by them, 301.
Roche Braſiliano, a famous pirate, his original, made a captain, takes a ſhip, and exerciſes great cruelties to the Spaniards, i. 65. Loſes her, and eſcapes in a canoe, 66. Purſued by the Spaniards, and routs them, ib. Takes a fleet of canoes, a boat of war, and a ſhip from New Spain, 67. Goes to ſea, and made priſoner with all his men, 68. Set at liberty, and ſent into Spain, 69.
Ruba, iſland of, its ſituation and commerce, i. 138.

S

San Iago, a river of that name, ii. 56.
Sawkins, captain of the bucaniers, i. 234 What party he led at their landing at Darien, 237. Choſen general, 268. Receives a meſſage from the preſident of Panama, with his ſmart anſwer, 270. Killed before Puebla Nueba, 273.
Scot (Lewis) the firſt pirate that made land invaſions, and ſacked Campechy, i. 69.
Sea-cows, fiſhes deſcribed, and how taken, i. 205.
Sea-graſs, i. 309.

Seals,

Seals, great quantities of them at the isle of Juan Fernandez, ii. 16.
Sea-lion, described, and where seen, ii. 18.
Segovia described, i. 304.
Serena (La) taken by the bucaniers, described, ii. 8. An earthquake there, 10. Fired, 11.
Serpents, many bred in divers parts of the South Sea, ii. 172.
Sharp, captain of the bucaniers, lands at Darien, i. 237. Absent at the engagement before Panama, 269. Chosen in chief at Cayboa, 274.
Deposed from his command, and Watlin chosen in his room, ii. 21. His prophetick saying at Yqueque, upon the cruelty of the bucaniers, 29. Made captain in chief again, and makes a bold retreat from Arica to his ships, 33, &c. Discovers and prevents a plot against his life, 90. Is presented with a mulatto-boy by the rest of the company, 104. Buys a dog for forty pieces of eight, with a design to eat him, ib.
Silla da Paita, i. 300.
South Sea described, ii. 139. A remarkable difference between this and the North Sea, 171.
Spaniards intrench themselves to stop the journey of the free-booters, ii. 305. Who fall upon their rear, and prevail against them, 309. Their strange temper, 311.
St. John de Pueblo island described, ii. 159. Serpents here; the danger of stings, and method of cure, 160.
St. Lorenzo described, ii. 228.
Strange story of the savages, ii. 125. and of a Spanish soldier, 128.
Stratagem of a Greek captain discovered, and he killed, ii. 208.
Story of a Spanish woman, ii. 259.

T

Tecoantepequa described, with the avenues in marching thither, ii. 282. Taken, 283.
Tobago island attacked by the French, taken, and the castle demolished, i. 232.
Tobacco, how planted, i. 45. Its property, 46.
Tornadoes, ii. 53. 88. 102.
Tortoises, four species of them, their eggs, and where they lay them, i. 58. Manner of fishing for them, 59.
Tortuga, the island of, described, i. 11. Is possessed by the French, lost and retaken, 14, &c. Is possessed by the French West India company, 18. Quit it, 19. Its inhabitants piracy, 55.
Tropick Birds, divers sorts, ii. 102.
Townsley (captain) came over land with one hundred and fifteen English to the South Sea, ii. 143.

V

Vatulco Port described, ii. 287.

Digitized by Google

Velas, a port of that name, ii. 49.
Vigies, what, ii. 147.

W

Watlin (John) chosen commander in chief by the mutineers, i. 21. Killed in Arica, 33.
Whale, a sign of land, i. 310.
Wild Dogs in Hispaniola, their fierceness, and how they came to be so, i. 36.
Wild Horses in Hispaniola, their description, i. 39.
Wild Bulls and Cows there, i. 39.

Y

Yacos-tree, its description, i. 30.
Yqueque, an island so called, found by the bucaniers, some account thereof, and its inhabitants, ii. 27.

Z

Zamblas, islands so called, their situation, with the habit of the Indians therein, and beauty of their women, i. 255.

FINIS.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

4.56

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google